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RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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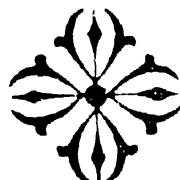
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NOTES

American Agents in India

America, i.e. the United States of America, have great political ambitions. In the days of imperial conquests and establishment of empires a conquering country imposed its sovereignty on the conquered territories. But to-day when open and blatant conquests are looked upon as attacks on human rights no power with an honourable position in the society of nations openly tries to thrust its sovereign authority upon another country. Present day methods of imposing overlordship on others usually follow an economic path. With economic dependence on the controlling power come military subservience through supply of arms and military equipment. The aspirant to overlordship also attempts to exert its influence by working its way into the fields of education, cultural activities, moral reforms and religious observances. Agents are employed by the power that wants to establish its overlordship on other countries and these agents work secretly and without in anyway divulging their ulterior motives. They enter the field of their activities in the garb of

teachers, doctors, musicians and preachers of religion and try to establish preceptor-pupil relations with chosen members of the community they wish to use as their tools. Once they get a hold on the minds of their followers they slowly begin to put ideas into their heads which eventually make them the ardent followers of their foreign gurus.

The Americans, who have been trying to become the virtual rulers of the world since the end of the second world war, have been spreading a vast net work of espionage, economic propaganda and aid and control through secret agents over various countries of Europe and Asia. These agents have all received training to mix with and create bonds of fellowship with the peoples of other lands in a manner which caused them to be accepted as near friends by foreigners. They learnt the languages, the social manners and customs, cultural practices and religious rituals of other peoples with a degree of perfection that was remarkable. In India the American agents spoke the Indian languages and dialects, sang Indian songs, played Indian musical instru-

ments and even assumed Indian dress and accepted Indian religious customs with a view to be trusted by Indians. Religious preachers have preached rebellion even before the American devotees came on the scene to induce the common people to challenge the teachings of our own leaders. We therefore have to watch carefully how the Americans go about their business of destroying political balance, the spirit of tolerance and faith in our own leaders. The Americans build industries for us, they finance our projects, they sing our songs, recite verses from our holy books dress and eat like we do and assist us to set up hospitals and other institutions. It is all very well, only most of these benefactors have some objective which is not beneficial to us.

Bravery Keeps Step with Sense of Honour

The Pakistan forces must have been brave in a manner of speaking but they certainly lowered the standards of chivalry by attacking unarmed, men women and children and by rape, plunder and arson. Such conduct lowers the morale of any soldiers by creating a deep sense of shame and guilt in their mind. Low morale is bad for rousing proper fighting spirit and one may say that the crimes committed by the Pakistani soldiers were at the root of their precipitate defeat and surrender.

The Indian Jawans fought bravely and with a swift moving precision that was most remarkable. The Indian soldiers were not only brave and great fighters, but they also proved themselves to be faultlessly chivalrous and honourable. Wherever they went or camped, they never roused any sense of insecurity in their neighbours. Quite often our Jawans have camped near girl's colleges but no one ever complained in the slightest about their behaviour. Not by chance have our soldiers caused uneasiness to any women members of the public. This high reputation

for honourable behaviour was earned by the soldiers of the Indian army by their steady attachment to the principles of correct behaviour and the rules of civilised warfare. Inspite of the fact that the Pakistan forces had been behaving in a genocidal manner and had been guilty of crimes against women and destruction of places of worship, the Indian soldiers treated the POWS with kindness and consideration. This proved their strict attachment to the laws of warfare. Chivalry and honour kept pace with bravery and fighting ability in the case of the Indian soldiers.

Trial of War Criminals

The Pakistan army killed in cold blood nearly two million civilians ; men women and children, hand picked members of the intelligentsia and professional persons ; and they dishonoured hundreds of thousands of women, plundered and burned down villages, markets, factories and places of worship. They chased out ten million people from their homes and forced them to seek refuge in India. This great crime against humanity was something unparalleled in the history of modern nations. The people of Bangla Desh, against whom the crimes were committed have been demanding that those of the criminal's against whom cases could be made should be tried and punished if found guilty. At a very careful estimate the Bangla Desh people think that 260 persons could be accused of definite crimes and put up for trial before an internationally approved body of judges. It is well known that the crimes were committed at the instance of Pakistani army officers and that these officers received their orders for the mass slaughter of Bengalis, particularly of the educated classes, from top ranking army chiefs. At the apex of the army organisation was General Iyahya Khan, who advised by men like Mr. Bhutto thought of this genocidal attack on the Bengalis. So the army chiefs would be cited

as the major criminals and the lesser officers and men would be the actual perpetrators of the crimes. Orders were given to the soldiers of the Pakistan army to machine gun people, to shoot down fleeing persons, to bomb and to burn down houses and buildings. Those who gave these orders were the criminals. Women were abducted and kept in places where they were molested and dishonoured. Some officers arranged all this. They should be brought to trial. The idea of trying these criminals should be carried out soon otherwise, delay will destroy evidence.

Ten Nation European Common Market

On January 22, 1972 Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway signed a treaty of accession to become members of the European Common Market. The six member community will thus be enlarged to a ten member body. The six members were France, Italy, West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. There was a colourful ceremony at which Mr. Edward Heath, Mr. Jack Lynch, Mr. Jens Otto Krag and Mr. Trygve Brattell represented Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway respectively. All members signed the new treaty of which the documents were bound in blue leather. The signatories went one by one to a rosewood table on which the documents were kept and appended their signatures. The old six signed first in the following order. Luxembourg went first and was followed by Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France and Italy. The new members, Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway followed. This was the culmination of negotiations that had been going on for 18 months and 21 days. The ceremony was imposing but was delayed by an hour after a woman, masquerading as a photographer, threw a plastic bag of ink at Mr. Heath. This forced Mr. Heath to send for a change of clothing. After cleaning his face which was covered with

what looked like printing ink Mr. Heath changed into fresh clothes and proceeded to sign the economic treaty. He said, "We in Britain have every reason to wish for better relations with the states of Eastern Europe. Mr. Heath suggested that Britain's participation in the common market organisation will be of benefit to the commonwealth countries. He did not mention the USA at all, though the common market idea began with hopes of achieving freedom from American control over the economic life of Europe. The new Europe that was going to be built through economic cooperation of the various countries of Europe must satisfy three conditions.

Firstly, it must be strong and confident within itself.

Secondly this Europe will have no tension between eastern and western European countries and

Lastly it must actively live upto its responsibility for assuring a better life to all humanity

It would appear that the American policy of anti-Russian economic activities was no longer appealing to most European countries. They felt that it would be better for them if they collaborated with the iron curtain countries in preference to acting as henchmen of the USA as had been the case since the end of the second world war.

The European Common Market came into existence with a fair dose of anti-USA ideas in it. The British were probably not very keen being anti-USA in the beginning. But they soon discovered that if America carried on an economic war against Russia, it would damage the healthy growth of European trade and industries. The ten nation combine in Europe therefore will be a great challenge to the USA.

Those who opposed Britain's collaboration with common market countries said that Britain was surrendering many of her econo-

mic rights and advantages by signing this treaty creating a ten nation community for economic cooperation. British fishing grounds for instance, they said, would be exploited by French, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian and German fishing fleets. May be so, but there would certainly be new found advantages too, which would compensate for any losses that Britain may suffer. The most important thing that we can see should be the stimulus that this would give to British commercial carrying by sea and to British Banking. London had been a great market for money transactions connected with buying and selling between the nations. The ten nation pact and their exchanges of goods with other communities like the East European communist countries or the markets in South America or the Middle East should provide greater scope to the British bankers to regain their lost position

the world money market. The Americans had usurped this position of importance but there are symptoms that they might not be able to retain their newly gained importance.

The Elections

The elections were due to be held in 1972 and we are going to have the elections early in 1972 duly and on time. The atmosphere is very favourable for the party in power for the reason that the Government was forced into a war in which the Indian army, navy and air force displayed remarkable ability, courage and generalship and won a victory which was swift, sure footed and won with the minimum loss of men and equipment. Ruling Congress Party with Sreemati Indira Gandhi as its very capable leader is therefore contesting in the elections with the voters fully conscious of the fact that Mrs. Gandhi has proved herself to be a sound administrator, a bold leader in times of national danger and a person who really means to bring relief to the poverty stricken masses of India, without in any way indulging

in drastic changes in the social, economic and political structure of India. The other important Parties which are contesting in the elections are the two Communist Parties, The Swatantra Party, the Jana Sangha, the Praja Socialist Party, the DMK and the Forward Block. There are many other parties who may form Fronts or combines but these have little hope of wielding any great power at the centre. The C. P. I. (Marxist) group will win some seats in certain states but the number of seats they may win in the Lok Sabha will not be considerable. The present atmosphere is unsavourable to the Sinophil communists and it is doubtful whether they will win many seats in any state legislatures either. Russia having befriended India in the recent crisis, the Communist Party of India, which is devoted to Russia, may win some followers who may defect from the pro-Chinese Camp. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangha may show noticeable success in some states, but their supporters are remarkably few in most other states. After the Bangla Desh incidents the name of the Muslim League is no longer held in high esteem anywhere in India and persons who will appear in the elections with that party ticket will probably suffer from loss of popularity on that account. Some people think the Government should ban that name.

President Giri on India's Future

The theme of President Giri's Republic Day speech was India's future. He began by exhorting Pakistan "to give up the attitude of ill-will towards" India. This was very sound in principle in so far as Pakistan's attitude has been a major cause of holding up India's progress in the fields of mass education, internal road development, setting up minor industries, provision of social security to the people and general upliftment of the masses. Had Pakistan been sensible and less prone to incitement to anti-Indian activities by the

foreign enemies of India ; both India and Pakistan could have developed much more by diverting resources wasted on warlike preparations to constructive schemes of achieving greater social well being.

The President then spoke of the great necessity "for a three-year moratorium on strikes and lock outs". One may say that a moratorium of that type can only be established if the government also instituted a moratorium on inflation, increased taxation causing rise in prices, monopolistic attempts by the state to drive out private persons from business by the creation of expensive centralised enterprises and the creation of more states on a linguistic, racial or some other basis.

Inspite of all difficulties the President thought India's future was bright. And he believed that "A strong, stable and prosperous India will benefit not only all the people of India but add to the strength, stability and prosperity of this whole region." No one of course expected President Giri to give a lengthy account of the reasons on which he based his faith in India's future strength and prosperity. A Republic Day announcement should be and, in this case, was short, precise and to the point. It was made with a view to boost the morale of the people of India. The recent victory over Pakistan no doubt is a strong reason for an optimistic assessment of the future progress of India. But we must not forget that our enemies would be busy planning now to damage our future prospects of developing our economy and our social institutions. We shall not be able to relax for a minute and we shall have to be extremely careful about all our plans and movements. We have said many times before this and we say now that the total or partial unemployment of about 300 million persons in India is a terrifying obstacle to our chances of rapid

progress and this national waste of labour power must be stopped. If all people worked full time in India for wages or for personal gain, our position will soon begin to improve. How this can be achieved is our problem. Every man and woman should start thinking about the solution of this great problem.

Refugees Return Home

By this time more than half the refugees, who entered India to escape the atrocities committed by Pakistani army personnel have gone back to Bangla Desh. This proves the correctness of the statement made by Sreemati Indira Gandhi that the refugees would go back the moment they felt that their lives would be safe in Bangla Desh. That could only happen when the Pakistan army surrendered in Bangla Desh. Now that nearly sixty lakhs of refugees have returned to their home land, we can imagine what they have suffered during their journey to India. Added to that is the suffering that they are experiencing while trying to travel back to their own country. Nearly two hundred thousand persons are going back daily. They are travelling by trains, by trucks and buses, by steamers and boats, by bullock carts, private cars, rickshaws and on foot. The physical pain is comparable to what they felt when they were coming ; but now there is hope in their heart and a glorious feeling of freedom in their souls which makes all physical suffering less painful. They know they are no longer the slaves of Pakistan and the barbarous soldiers of that land of treacherous oppressors of fellow human beings have been compelled to surrender. Soon everybody will be at home. There will be tears of anguish ; for many have lost their near and dear ones ; but life is such that it gives one little chance to sit and suffer. They have much work to do ; and that will keep them going.

Anthony Mascarenhas

Anthony Mascarenhas was born in Mysore in 1928. In 1947 he came to Bombay to work with Reuters. After partition Mascarenhas settled in Karachi and was working for the Associated Press of Pakistan upto 1954. He became a very important journalist in Pakistan and we find him as Reuter's Correspondent in Pakistan and as Correspondent of *New York Times*, *Life* and *Time* during the next seven years. He joined the *Morning News* of Karachi in 1961 and was sent to Delhi by that journal. He was in New Delhi upto 1965. He went back to Pakistan and was assistant editor of *Morning News* upto 1971. It was in that year that Pakistan started a genocidal attack on its own eastern wing and Anthony Mascarenhas was one of the chosen men who were sent to Dacca to see things for themselves and to report to the Pakistan Press, for world circulation, how normalcy had returned in East Bengal. When he came to Dacca he found that the Pakistan army had been indulging in a large scale massacre of Bengalis. The barbarous deeds that the Pakistani soldiers committed defied description. He wrote later "What I saw in East Bengal was to me more outrageous than anything I had read about the inhuman acts of Hitler and the Nazis." His soul revolted and he decided to write the true story of the East Bengal atrocities and to publish it in some widely circulated newspaper in Great Britain. He accordingly flew out to London and contacted the *Sunday Times*. He wrote the True Story of the mass killings in which no one was spared on account of age or sex. He made one condition with the *Sunday Times*. It was about withholding publication of his account until he went back to Pakistan and removed his wife and five children out of the country. Permission to send his family to England was conditional and he had to stay back. This however

could not be enforced by the Pakistan Government as he soon managed to escape from that country. Anthony Mascarenhas is now working in England. He did a great service to humanity by telling the world what Yahya Khan had done to the people of East Pakistan. When the *Sunday Times* splashed the full story of the genocide on the 13th June 1971 it created a sensation. Millions of People read the blood curdling story and realised the bestial horror of the situation. The Pakistan army leaders said, "We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years." Anthony Mascarenhas was the first press reporter who gave proper publicity to the gruesome story of killing, mutilating and torturing hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children. There were horrifying accounts of mass molestation and dishonouring of women and maiming of children. He rendered great service to the world press by his courageous action.

Surrender of Arms by Unofficial Bands

There are many anti-Bangla Desh Government groups in that newly formed state and most of them have illicitly procured arms. The Pakistan army before surrendering gave arms to most of these groups in the hope that the war against Mujibur Rehman's Government will be carried on by these secret supporters of Pakistan even after the Pakistan army surrendered. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman asked all unofficial armed bands to surrender arms by a given date ; so that, thereafter, all who disobeyed him and kept their arms, could be dealt with according to the law. Many armed bands which fought the Pakistan army side by side with the Indian army and the Bangla Desh Mukti Bahini, came forward immediately to deposit their

arms. One of the most spectacular acts of such surrender of arms was by the Kader Bahini led by "Tiger" Siddiqui a courageous youngman with 17000 followers. "Tiger" Siddiqui announced that he felt it was a great honour to lay down arms at the command of their great leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. He laid a Sten gun at the feet of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as a symbolic gesture of surrender. Thereafter his followers stacked up thousands of rifles, mortars and other weapons to complete the disarming of their unofficial army of freedom fighters. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman will now deal with the enemies of Bangla Desh in the manner that they should be dealt with.

USA's Contribution to Refugee Relief

Ambassador Kenneth B. Keating sent the following to the American Reporter of January 26 1972.

As the refugees move back to their homes in Bangla Desh, a number of them will be carrying food, clothing and blankets provided by the people of the United States.

Hardly a week has gone by these past months when a cargo plane from the United States has not set down in Calcutta and unloaded relief supplies ranging from medicines to warm blankets. By sea, too, the U.S. has dispatched chartered ships carrying blankets and high-protein food supplies.

Yet, judging from my mailbag, which has been rather full lately, this fact isn't generally known. Some letters have been critical of the U.S. relief effort. While it isn't important itself who gets credit for what it happens—it does serve as a factor in reaching conclusions and making judgments.

In any event, the content of the letters surprised me. I knew that the U.S. Government and people through voluntary contributions, had been far and away the largest outside contributor to relief efforts.

So I asked my staff to do a little research into just what we had gone. The result surprised me; the amount was greater than I had thought.

President Nixon allocated 36 million dollars (26.3 crore rupees) in cash and 54 million dollars (39.4 crore rupees) in specific materials such as protein foods, medicines, blankets, shelter materials for a total of 90 million dollars (65.7 crore rupees).

In addition, the American people, through voluntary efforts of humanitarian private agencies such as C. A. R. E., the Red Cross and others, have contributed more than 11 million dollars (8 crore rupees) for relief to refugees in India.

These funds were collected in a variety of ways -door-to-door solicitations, musical concerts, bake sales, handicraft auctions, and even marches by youngsters.

One of the more imaginative solicitations was undertaken by a gentleman named Shrikumar Podder, a university graduate student from India who is in the process of becoming an American citizen. He and six friends sent letters to Americans across the nation. More than 20,000 responded and, at last count, Mr. Podder had collected \$300,000 (22 lakh rupees) for relief.

The results of the efforts of Mr. Podder and other volunteers have gone to provide cholera vaccine, blankets, tents, medicines, vitamins, food and clothing for refugees.

Admittedly, 100 million dollars (73 crore rupees) is not a large sum in relation to the massive needs of the refugees, but an expression of concern by a nation and people living on the other side of the world, I think it is of significance.

The refugees are returning now, and we are all glad that their dislocation was only temporary. Still, the needs remain great, and I am sure that the American people will continue to contribute in an attempt to ease their resettlement.

There has been considerable criticism of the U. S. policies toward the subcontinent in

recent months. Some of it, regrettably, is based on misinformation or distortion, and even outright untruths. This is understandable, of course, in view of the considerable emotion kindled by recent events and in light of the complexity of the situation.

Yet, who gave what toward relief really shouldn't be a part of it ; for the facts are clear. The Indian Government and people shouldered the major burden of relief. The U. S. sought vigorously to help ease that burden, and I am rather proud of what we have done, both as a government and as a people with a long tradition of humanitarianism.

The world public have been critical of the part the Americans played in the Pak-Bangla Desh conflict as almost all the bullets and shells that killed 2 million innocent men women and children in Bangla Desh were supplied to the killers by the USA. Pakistan's major supporters were the USA. Ten million refugees fled into Indian territory because Pakistan soldiers got endless supplies of arms and munitions from the USA. The help given to the refugees by the USA therefore should

be presented side by side with the help the USA gave to the criminals who killed, maimed, raped and terrorised the people of Bangla Desh and devastated numerous towns and villages there.

Mr. Bhutto Runs Around

Mr. Zulficar Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan is going from capital to capital to seek inspiration and economic aid. He has visited Kabul, Teheran and has immediate plans of going to Ankara, Moscow and Peking. He has no declared intention of visiting the USA ; but he must be in constant touch with Mr. Nixon who tells him what to do next in order to act as the spearhead of attack on India. He must also be consulting his Chinese advisers, and one knows little about the conferences that take place between China and the USA in order to coordinate the joint plan of action against India that Pakistan, the USA and China may be fudging up. Turkey and Iran are of little consequence excepting as far as they carry out the orders of the USA. We do not yet know why Bhutto is proposing to visit Moscow. He should break off relations with Russia ; but would he ?

N. C. Chatterjee

N. C. Chatterjee, a leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court and the Supreme Court of India, died on January 24, 1972 at his Calcutta residence. He was 77 years old and he left behind him his widow, three daughters and two sons. Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee was the son of the late Bholanath Chatterjee, an engineer of good standing. He was born in 1895 and had a brilliant academic career. At Calcutta, he obtained his M. A. and LL. B degrees with credit and also the Premchand Raichand Scholarship. He went later to England to study law and stood first in the first class in the final Bar examination. He became a top ranking lawyer in Calcutta and he acted as a judge of the Calcutta High Court for some time. He later resigned this judgeship and went to New Delhi to practise in the Supreme Court, where he soon made his reputation as a Constitutional lawyer.

Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee was an able assistant to Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee and

he worked for the Hindu Mahasabha in various capacities. He was on the Dacca Riots Enquiry Commission and worked for the rehabilitation of the sufferers in the Dacca and Noakhali riots. Dr. Mukherjee had great faith in Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and relied upon him for many important political work of great importance. He was a member of the Lok Sabha for many years and had been Chairman of the All India civil Liberties Council Vice-President of the Supreme Court Bar Association, Chairman of the Lok Sabha Committee on Subordinate Legislation and a member of the Committee on Tibet set up by the International Commission of Jurists. He represented the Supreme Court Bar at the Commonwealth Law Conference in London in 1955, at the International Bar Conference or Salzburg in 1960 and he was the leader of a delegation of lawyers that visited Russia in 1959. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee was India's counsel when the Rann of Kutch case was heard by the International Court of Justice at the Hague. He was also appointed Chairman of the Refugee Rehabilitation Committee set up by the Central Government.

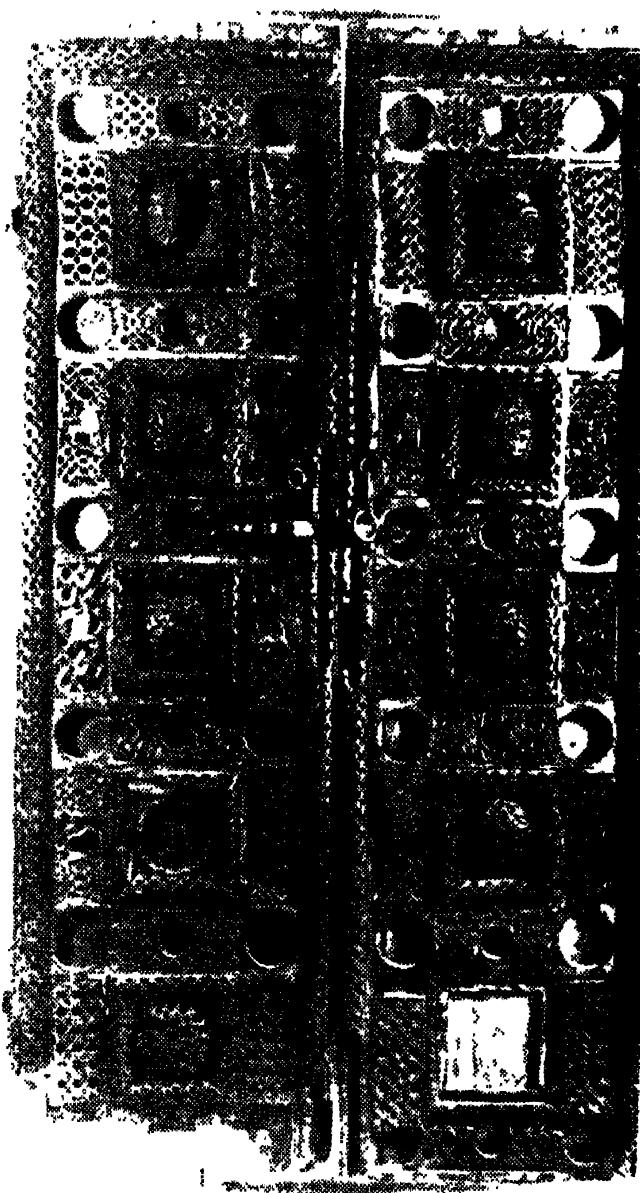
WOOD CARVING IN BULGARIA

DIMITER DROUMEV

We can speak of an art of wood carving in Bulgaria from the time when the Slavs came to live in the territories along the Balkan Mountains. They used to make their huts, utensils, and implements of wood, and decorated them with different ornaments, such as incisions and arches, parallel lines and grooves. As a matter of fact, these were the first steps towards the future great art of wood carving which was to develop in these parts and was to become an art very rich in forms, creative inventions and artistic achievements.

The Balkan Peninsula was a crossroads of cultures from east to west and vice versa, a centre where the cultural, artistic and aesthetical trends from Asia, Africa and Europe met, having before that given a material expression to their ideas with their emotional impact in the great cultural centres along the Mediterranean coast.

For this, as well as for many other reasons, a homogeneous, pure style such as the Egyptian and the Gothic could not be developed in Bulgaria. On the other hand, an intricate art developed here, which in its artistic manifestations found a place for the lotus and other flowers of Mesopotamia for the volumes of the Ionic order and the aconthus leaf of Hellas, the Byzantine curves and the Roman candelabra for the Gothic hop twigs, the Eastern and Renaissance arabesques, the Baroque sculptures, and for neo-classical exquisiteness and all this with a fine sense for measure, directing the hand of the wood-



1. Rila Monastery. The gate of the Hrelyo Tower

carver to establishing unity in this eclectic collection and imbuing it with a purely national atmosphere which characterises the art of every individual nation.

The oldest preserved piece of wood carving is a church door from the 14th century (Rila Monastery). It features intricately intertwined bands in a sort of lacework. Each of the two leaves has 10 convex rosettes decorated with lacework motifs. On the vertical sides of the door are carved griffins, lions, and double-headed monstrous creatures. This was the door of a ruler's church with symbolic representations of power, knowledge and strength. In it we can find many typical features of the Middle Ages in Bulgaria.

Lions and double-headed eagles in lace-work ornaments are also seen on other pieces of wood carving dating from that time. They testify to the tendency of lending a festive and impressive aspect to the interior of a church.

Later on, however, the lacework ornaments disappeared and were replaced by plants and geometrical motifs. In 1393 Bulgaria fell under Ottoman domination. The oppression and the barbarity of the enslavers, on the one hand, and the militant spirit and the aspirations of the Bulgarians for freedom, on the other, introduced new subjects and forms in the art of wood carving. The struggle between good and evil, most often personified in the figures of a lion and a dragon, a man or a bird a snake, became the principal motif. Thus, the iconostasis in a church in Assenovgrad features the scene of *Samson and the Lion*. As a matter of fact, instead of the Biblical Samson we see a whiskered Bulgarian peasant in his national costume consisting of a tight-fitting vest and baggy trousers, tearing apart the jaws of the beast. In this way the wood carvers artistically recreated the people's longings for a free life, for shaking off the yoke. Wood carving thus became a sort of outlet for the pain of the oppressed people.

At another place, in Berkovitsa, we see the images of Adam and Eve amid wood-carved vegetation. Adam is hoeing and Eve spinning.

In a naive way, but with artistic frankness and with emotional force, the first Biblical human beings are portrayed in costumes of Bulgarian peasants, who expect nothing to be doled out to them from Paradise but are working with their hands to earn their living.

In the Cathedral church of Pazardjik, amid ornaments made up of branches, leaves, and flowers, are sculpted scenes taken from the Bible. They are depicted with high artistic mastery, and an inner connection between the figures has been achieved. On one of the reliefs, *Exodus to Egypt* we see a very familiar, every-day episode. A family of working people is returning from a day's work in the fields. Executed sweepingly, impressionistically and with daring, the relief wins us with the fine feeling that unites the people in the group, with the expressive simplicity through which the 'divine' is brought down to earth and is instilled in the hearts of the common people.

The Bulgarian wood carvers are also outstanding composers of ornaments consisting of plant motifs, birds and animal figures. In those instances where the wood carver has not come to the sculptural problem, he fascinates us with his unusual imagination as a decorator. There are iconostases the ornamentation of which is made up of leaves, little flowers, and bunches of grapes but which produce on the viewer the impact of a blossoming garden from some fairy land with exquisite, queer birds in it.

During the period of the Bulgarian National Revival (18th-19th century) when the town and village houses began to be decorated, a new tendency appeared in the art of wood carving in Bulgaria. Domestic or pastoral wood carving develop Yokes, distaffs, walking sticks, the typical Bulgarian two mouthed flat wooden vessels for keeping wine, cradles and other objects began to be decora-

ted with a new kind of wood carving. Ceilings, built-in-cupboards, doors and wooden columns were also thus decorated. Ceilings were usually decorated with a large sun radiating sharp rays surrounded by a frame of flower motifs or else with a convex rosette made up of the fruits of the earth in a flat plain with little flowers scattered over them. Very often the capitals of the wooden columns were nothing but local interpretations of the classic capitals.

Today Bulgarian wood carving again goes through a revival, entering at some places timidly and slowly the day-to-day life, the workdays and holidays of modern man. Wood carving decoration in the interior and the

exterior of buildings are often provided in the designs of public buildings, houses of culture, holiday houses, hotels, library clubs, and schools. The result is an interesting artistic synthesis between architecture and the wood carving decorations.

Wood, unlike plaster of Paris, travertine metal and plastics is a living material which under all circumstances produces an impact of cosiness and warmth. Wood carving is a folk art in Bulgaria which has not yet had its day or become old fashioned and which will continue to play an important role in the development of Bulgarian culture and the people's way of life.

KATHAKALI—AN INDIGENOUS ART FORM OF KERALA

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPI

An astonishingly unique and dynamic combination of traditional dance, elaborate gesture, picturesque costume, grand make-up and vigorous music, KATHAKALI is a dance-drama form peculiar to Kerala. This pantomime came into existence in the first half of the 16th Century. It is popularly believed that KATHAKALI is an improvement upon KRISHNATTAM, a kind of dance-drama which was originated by Manavedan Raja, a scion of the Zamorin family of Calicut and a great devotee of Shri Krishna. KRISHNATTAM which came into being by about 1650 A.D. was based on ASHTAPADIYATTAM, a

kind of folk dance in which the feeling of love was predominant. Modelled on Jayadeva's famous literary masterpiece GITA GOVINDAM, KRISHNATTAM was entirely in Sanskrit, confined to Court Circles, and performed as a votive offering lasting for eight consecutive nights.

Origin of Kathakali

Legend and tradition aver that Raja Veera Kerola Verma of Kottarakkara once requested the Zamorin of Calicut to send his troupe of KRISHNATTAM players for a performance in connection with a Royal wedding there.

The Zamorin added insult to injury by not only declining the request of the Raja of Kottarakkara, but also by jeeringly remarking that there were no scholars in the South who were capable of appreciating such a highly artistic and literary performance as KRISHNATTAM. As a measure of retaliation, arising out of righteous indignation, the Raja of Kottarakkara evolved a new type of dance called RAMANATTAM. He dispensed with the costly dress of the actors in the KRISHNATTAM and adopted simpler costumes which looked primitive. RAMANATTAM was first performed in front of the deity in the Ganapathi Temple of Kottarakkara. It is a convention which is followed by KATHAKALI actors that their first performance should invariably be performed as an act of adoration of God Ganapathi at this temple. RAMANATTAM is considered to be the "*FOEUS ET ORICO*" of KATHAKALI which in its form, substance, depth and dynamism is unique.

The Raja of the principality of Kottarakkara, a great scholar who lived between 1575 and 1650 A.D., was the first composer and originator of KATHAKALI. A revolutionary revival of the old folk dance-drama in anew, attractive garb, this new drama liberally borrowed both from the old and the new but sedulously preserved the trinity of harmonies as its most precious heirloom. It was originally called RAMANATTAM, for the earliest theme theatrically represented was the story of Sri Rama, one of the AVATARS (incarnations) of Lord Vishnu. Thn Raja of Kottarakkara took for all his eight plays the incidents in the RAMAYANA, from the birth of Sri Rama to his coronation after killing Ravana, and these episodes were graphically represented in his plays. The Raja of Kottayam who next developed this dance-drama based his themes on the BHARA-

THAM. He flourished between 1665 and 1743 A.D. The Author of four KATHAKALI plays, he set the standard for the subsequent writers. An inspired dramatist and accomplished actor, he once took by surprise the Zamorin of Calicut who was a great connoisseur of the art of KATHAKALI. The Raja of Kottayam, during his visit to the Zamorin, without the knowledge of others, participated in a performance. The Zamorin was pleased with the new actor and was about to give him presents when he recognised to his great surprise, the person of the fifty-year old Kottayam Raja as the actor. The Raja of Vattathunad was the pioneer in improving upon the RAMANATTAM and making it brighter and more spectacular.

The art of KATHAKALI is older than its literature which is about four centuries old. Certain facts go to prove that KATHAKALI is at best a thousand years old. In KATHAKALI, literature is subordinate to art. A type of pantomime using a stylized gesture language, acted to the accompaniment of drums, and songs sung by special singers, and the whole set in a framework of dance, the KATHAKALI has no counterpart elsewhere, except in the shadow dance and dramas of Java.

History says that Ammu Raja of Bali Islands, nearly a thousand years ago, took some people from Travancore and that they taught to the people of Bali a kind of dance in which predominance was given to gesture. This dance spread to Java.

Heritage of a Race

KATHAKALI, a perfect idealised art in which the acting, dancing and music exist in perfect union, has come to be recognised as the most wonderful histrionic art of the Orient and has caught worldwide attention. This Kerala art form which is both fascinating and spectacular has won the full-volumed admira-

tion of art connoisseurs who are greatly impressed by its originality and elaborate technique. KATHAKALI has had a more intimate association with the social and secular life of the country than any other form of Kerala Art. Dr. C. A. Menon says that "it is a mistake to regard KATHAKALI as an isolated phenomenon divorced from its social and historical background" and that the art is "a cumulative growth expanding over several centuries". He strikes the right chord when he declares that "the Nayars and the Nambudiris, the two leading communities of Malabar and their special characteristics, have gone into the making of KATHAKALI as an art" and that "its features reflect their dominant qualities which they acquired in the course of their evolution". As another eminent art critic has put it, "KATHAKALI must be the heritage of a race, as old as itself".

Hasta-Mudras (Hand Poses)

In the development of this scientific mimicry the whole gamut of literary expression of the flawless type has been reduced to elementary motions for which there are separate finger signs. The codified finger poses (*Mudras*) are full of definite symbolical significance and meaning and are effective substitutes for spoken language. Imitative, technical and suggestive, they are cent per cent symbolical and denote objects, action and even inflection. The system of finger poses is based on the BHARATHA NATYA SASTRA. HAS T A LAKSHANA D E E P I K A and ABHIHINAYA DARAPANA are two standard works on MUDRAS. The MUDRAS which constitute the alphabet of a language of more than seven hundred words, aim at indirect suggestion rather than direct exposition. Each pose has a separate name. Greater significance has been attached to indirect suggestion. There are 24 basic MUDRAS and about 300

main continuations. It is believed that the *Mudras* have their origin in the TANTRIC rites of old. This wonderful gesture language has in it all the potentialities of a universal medium of effectively expressing thoughts. The MUDRAS permit endless permutations and combinations, providing ample scope to the talented artiste endowed with originality to express his rare and full volumed genius.

HASTA-MUDRAS (Hand Poses) are shown with one hand and both hands, as befitting the occasion. Showing a basic MUDRA with one hand is called ASAMUKTA (Single) pose, while showing the same root MUDRA with both hands is called SAMYUKTA (Combined) Pose. The display of one root MUDRA with one hand, and simultaneously another root MUDRA with the other hand, is known as MISRA (Mixed). The twenty-four basic MUDRAS are PATAKA (Flag), MUDRAKHYA (Pose), KATAKA (Bracelet), MUSHTI (Fist), KARTARIMUKHA (Face of Arrow Shaft), KAPITTHAKA (Elephant Apple), SUKATUNDA (Parrot's Beak), KAMSAPAKSHA (Wing of Swan), SIKHARA (Peak), HAMSASYAM (Face of Swan), ANJALI (Greeting), ARDHACHANDRA (Half Moon), MUKURA, BHRAMARA (Beetle), SUCHIMUKHA (Face of Needle), PALLAVA (Tender Foliage), TRIPATAKA (Triple Flag), MRIGASIRSHA (Head of Deer), SARPA SIRA (Head of Serpent), VARDHAMANAKA (Causing Flourishment), ARALA URNANABHA, (Spider), MUKULA (Flower Bud) and KATAKAMUGHA (Opening in a Bracelet),

Kathakali Literature

KATHAKALI plays are of supreme dramatic and literary excellence. They are written in mixed verse and quasiprose called MANIPRAVALA, a melodious, well balanced, amalgamation of Sanskrit and Malayalam. The

dialogues are in songs and the intermediate incidents between scenes are in verse. The dialogues are invariably in Malayalam but the verses are in a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam. The verse, or SLOKA as it is called, introduces the actors to the scene. The verses, as a rule, close with the words, "And so they spoke", and immediately, behind the curtain appear the actors. The curtain (THIRASSILA) holders have to raise or lower the curtain according to the tempo of the dance of the actors. The silk curtain is five feet long, four feet broad and of a single colour and bears usually the emblem of a lotus or the representation of God Siva or Vishnu. The KATHAKALI literature has as its rich background an enormous amount of labour and research in the realms of art, literature and music. The religious devotion to the art, the impersonal participation in it, a lofty craftsmanship in the governance of the tools, the rhythm and emotion are the distinguishing features of this classical dance-drama which draws vital inspiration from the stories of the PURANAS. The lyrical sublimity and epic grandeur of the KATHAKALI are unique. Rhythm, harmony and cadence, the primary requisites of dance, are in evidence in the KATHAKALI. KATHAKALI comprises a mixture of the various types of religious, folk, artistic, and martial dances prevalent in Malabar from very ancient times.

The eight plays composed by the Raja of Kottarakkara, some six hundred years ago, are not now-a-days put to large use by KATHAKALI actors, as it is considered that the plays are out of date both in respect of literary merit and adaptability to dance. Though the plays by the Raja of Kottayam, written about four hundred and fifty years back, are of considerable literary merit, they also do not find favour with the public at present.

Towards the close of the 17th century there

flourished Unnaayi Varier (1735-1785) who composed four plays on the story of Nala (NALA CHARITAM). Superb in literary excellence, dignified in diction, and difficult to act, his plays broke convention and became easily the most popular. The twelve compositions by H. H. Kartika Thirunal (1785-1798) and H. H. Aswati Thirunal (1756-1788) who flourished towards the close of the 19th Century are also popular. Irayimman Tampi, (1783-1858), Court Poet of H. H. Swati Thirunal, wrote three plays which are first rate, and most often performed.

A Difficult Art

KATHAKALI is one of the most difficult of arts and the actors have to undergo a scientific course of severe and strenuous physical, spiritual and intellectual training for a period of twelve years under reputed masters to become proficient in the art. During the training, if the trainees have acquired enough skill, they are allotted minor roles in KATHAKALI performances. Ten to fifteen years of stage experience makes an actor competent to play major roles. KATHAKALI students join a KALARI or gymnasium between the ages of 10 and 12 and follow the old GURUKULA system. Waking up at 3 a.m. they begin their training and continue it till the evening, with short breaks for food and rest. Physical exercises, language lessons, training in MUDRAS and rhythm, form the chief items of study. They gain complete control over the members and muscles of the body and are experts in the control of mental and emotional processes through meditation, contemplation and concentration. The actors have to master the art thoroughly and they need not aspire to achieve in twelve months what their masters only achieved in twelve years of hard work and great sacrifice. The training is severe and thorough, and only a visit to a KATHAKALI school will give an

idea of it. With lightning speed the actors move their limbs, jump and dance. Their movements are acrobatic but never obtrusive. The face, heels, ankles, toes, waist and every part of the body and the face is used by the KATHAKALI actor. There are nine different movements or actions of the head, six movements each of the eyebrows, nose, cheeks and lips, seven movements of the chin, and nine movements of the neck, eleven glances of the eye, each varying in meaning.

The actors are tabooed from speaking while on the stage. The strides, dances, hand poses, and facial gestures are the effective substitutes for vocal expression. The actors are so clever in the art of pantomime that they with amazing ease, majestic grace and consummate ability, express emotion with telling effect. The hand poses are suggestive and recondite. The eyes of the KATHAKALI actors actually dance. The movements of the eye brows and eye lids are sharp and full of meaning and charm. The KATHAKALI dancers are masters in movements of the eyes. There are nine different movements of the eye-balls, nine movements of the eye-lids, and seven movements of the eye-brows. The reddening of the eyes of the actors lends an ethereal charm and superhuman effect to this pantomime PAR EXCELLENCE.

The KATHAKALI is a highly artistic manifestation entirely new to the Westerner. The KATHAKALI actors "dissolve one into ecstacies or bring all heaven before one's eye." The histrionic art-form expressed in KATHAKALI is truly one of union—union of all aspects of the actor. The KATHAKALI actors transmute into dance both emotion and narration. The KATHAKALI has a rhythmic vitality, sweet cadence and rich beauty. Infinite melodies rise out of the steps of the KATHAKALI actors and exquisite rhythms flow from their souls. The KATHAKALI actor is a

true aesthete whose aestheticism is at once divinely naive yet carefully cultivated. The renowned KATHAKALI Masters of the present day have to their credit uniformly dazzling records of thirty to forty years of intense work on the stage.

Wonderful Pantomime

Rishi Bharatha, the author of a treatise on Dance, while describing NRITYA, ordains that "the dancer should with the throat sing ; with the feet express the TALA, with the eyes express the BHAVA and with the hands express meaning." This terse definition does justice to KATHAKALI and demands a four-fold talent of the dancer. The KATHAKALI Dancer should have agile feet, expressive eyes and dexterous hands, for the hands, eyes and mind of the performer should work in unison. Gestures which constitute the soul of KATHAKALI dance are a four-fold entity, namely, ANGHIKABHINAYA (expression through bodily movements) VACHIKABHINAYA (expression through musical speech), SATVIKABHINAYA (expression through emotions) and AHARABHINAYA (expression through ornaments and costumes). In short, expression and emotion should flow from the various parts of the body of the dancer. "WHERE THE HANDS GO, THERE THE EYES SHOULD FOLLOW ; WHERE THE EYES GO, THERE THE MIND ; WHERE THE MIND, THERE THE FEELING, AND WHERE THE FEELING THERE THE MIND." The connoisseur of this unique art form must "comprehend the artiste's own values" and "perceive the beauty of which the artiste has exhibited the signs", if he wants to realise the greatness of the dance.

Costume and Make-up

The costume and make-up of KATHAKALI actors, though old fashioned and queer, are impressive and contribute to the dignity of the

actors. Strong Malayan and Tibetan influences are discerned in the embellishments of the actors. Some critics have observed that a pronounced Moslem influence is noted in the costume and make-up of the female characters. Legend avers that the Raja Kottarakkara who first conceived the characters had a vision of sea nymphs and monsters from whom he copied the form. A Raja of Vettathunad family introduced certain far-reaching changes in the facial make-up and head-gear of actors. He insisted upon the actors painting their faces, wearing crowns and covering the body with skirts. He introduced the songster and the drummer. Vast improvements in the facial make-up of the actors were effected by

Kaplingat Kallatike Nambudiris who were great scholars. There are four different colourations of the face, each connoting a different mood. While exhibiting the different moods with the body and it is necessary that the colouration of the face is appropriate to create the required effect.

The elaborate make-up and the gorgeous costumes of the KATHAKALI actors were designed by scholars who wanted the characters to be considered not as puny human beings but as either Gods or demi-Gods, essentially super-human. It takes about three to four hours for this cumbersome and dazzling make-up. An actor has to tie at least eighty knots in the process of dressing. Red, green, yellow, black and white are the dominant vegetable and earth colours used for the make-up. The colour scheme of the make-up follows a distinct convention which is truly psycho-spiritual. There are different standardised make-ups for the various types of actors. The head dress is elaborate and it is heavy and a magnificent affair. The make-up of the female characters is simple. The actors use bangles, anklets, necklaces and armlets in profusion. All the characters except sages and

rishis wear voluminous skirts which resemble the skirts worn by ballet dancers. The characters representing Kings, Gods and Demons put on fantastic dresses and paint their faces in the most hideous fashion. The characters which represent Gods wear carved wooden masks symbolically coloured and clothe themselves in gorgeous and oversize garments, which give a wonderful swagger to their movements. Shawls terminating in a lotus-shaped tassel hang round the neck. Inside the shawls are fixed tiny mirrors to enable the actor to see his facial make-up. The costume and make-up make them appear super-human. Mask like designs are painted on the faces of the actors. Their eye brows are accentuated and a white facial outline known in the language of the KATHAKALI as CHUTTI makes them look austere. Different types of white borders (CHUTTIES) are made use of to denote the nature of characters. A paste of rice flour and lime is used for this white chin border. The CHUTTI is put on the face of the actors by a laborious process, bit by bit, allowing sufficient time for the mixture to harden. It forms an attractive frame for the face extending from the temples to the chin.

There is a wealth of colour, grace and jewellery in the costumes. The ornaments worn by the actors bear a definite resemblance to the archaic decorations found in the deific sculpture in ancient temples. Dance, gesture, costume and make-up of KATHAKALI are all highly stylised. The most beautiful of all the costumes is the towering head dress. The magnificent looking head dress is profusely embellished with multi-coloured beads, spangles, shells and glass pieces. The head dress triumphantly demonstrates quite a lot of intricate, elaborate and delightful carving, cunningly executed by master craftsmen. The head dress is after the pattern of a Crown,

et with gleaming glass pieces. Its shape, colour and decoration vary to suit the attire of the actor. The dress and decoration worn by the actors signify the characters personified by them.

The KATHAKALI characters are classified under three principal types, SATVIK (virtuous), RAJASIK (having vices) and TAMASIK (terrifying and destructive). The KATHAKALI Demon looks most formidable and fearful. He strikes terror into the minds of the youngsters. His make-up is terrifying. Some of the characters have long flowing tufts and thick black hair, long and pointed nails, looking like claws, round and bulging eyes and protruding canines. The use of powerful rhythmic movements and symbolic hand poses elevates the characters from actual life to the realm of celestial beings.

Types of Actors

Five distinct types of actors, namely PACHA (Green) KATHI (Knife), THADI (Beard) MINIKKU (Polished) and KARI (Black) are identified in the KATHAKALI. The characters which belong to the general classification PACHA (Green) colour their faces (deep green). The characters who impersonate Gods and mythological heroes are called PACHA. They paint their lips deep red. Their movements are dignified. The emotion which dominates them is love and they usually wear scarlet coloured dress, and ornaments in profusion. They enact their roles, with consummate refinement and in absolute silence. The characters classified under the group KATHI paint their faces red and green and they represent ferocious and evil beings such as Ravana, the demon king. A knife shaped reddish marking on either side of the nose extending to the cheeks distinguish the KATHI type of actors. They wear artificial teeth, cork spikes and claws. Actors who appear with white, red and black beards

are called THADI. BALI, SUGRIVA, KALKEYA have red beards, while KALI, KATTALAN (Hunter) have black beards. Hanuman, the Monkey God, is depicted as having a white beard. All these characters roar loudly. Those who impersonate Narada, the wandering minstrel, ladies, ambassadors etc., come under the group MINIKKU. They paint their faces in a mixture of yellow and light red, and put white dots on their cheeks. Also, they put on their fore-head caste marks. They put black dye on the eye-brows and redden the eyes and lips. Demons and evil characters symbolising primitiveness and savagery are called KARI. The elaborate facial make-up is a great art by itself and has to be done by experts. Three to four years of training are essential to make one an expert make-up artist. The KATHI, THADI and KARI characters give expression to some noise in moments of excitement whereas the other characters bear every storm of feeling in absolute and dignified silence. KATHAKALI actors redden their eyes by applying the flower of the CHUNDA (*Solanum Pubescens*).

Kathakali Music

The dance and mimicry are rendered rhythmic in complete harmony with the RASA (aesthetic delight) and BHAVA (aesthetic emotion) represented by the actors. The actor dances to the tune of the songster and the drummers and every moment of the dance is executed with well defined steps, attractive and harmonious movements and gyrations. The foot rhythm is intricate, powerful and capable of infinitive, expansive, modification, and the earth trembles under the feet of the actor. Close upon the songster finishing the verse, the actor takes up the song, and elaborates it, all in pantomime. There are two musicians, the chief and his deputy. The chief recites the stanza first in the appropriate

RAGA and the deputy takes it up, thus giving time and scope to the actors to elaborate it through MUDRAS.

KATHAKALI music, which is of the 'MARGI' type, follows the classical RAGAMALA code with its characteristics psychosis and time-elements and represents the purest form of South Indian (Carnatic) music now extant. The period of training of a KATHAKALI musician is moderately calculated to be five years.

A general and vigorous rhythm dominates the entire performance, and the sharp plastic movements of the body (ANGA ABHINAYA) and the different gestures (HASTA ABHINAYA) enormously help the eloquent and perfect expression of the various emotions; the NAVA RASAS (nine classical aesthetic sentiments), SRINGARA, VIRA, KARUNA, ADBHUTA, RAUDRA, HASYA, BHAYANAK BIBATSA, SANTA (Love, Heroism, Pity, Wonder, Mirth, Terror, Disgust, Fury and Tranquility) both in their elemental intensity and complex reactions to each other or the chemistry of feeling, as the expert psychologist would put it. The emotional effect of the KATHAKALI is superb. There are more than five thousand KATHAKALI PADAMS (songs), but the most popular songs are by the Titans of KATHAKALI music Kottayath Tampuran, Unnayi Varier and Iravimman Tampi.

The music on the stage is comprised of the stentorian but melodious voice of a couple of singers accompanied by the clinking of the cymbals (called 'KAIMANI', being a pair of small circular bell metal pieces) and the jingling of the CHENGALA (gong) in harmony with the booming of the drums. The leading singer has a gong and the secondary singer a pair of cymbals (ELATHALAM) to mark time. Strokes made on the gong with a stick keep time for the actors. The

drummers emphasise each gesture and keep rhythm for the singers. The measures, steps and poses of the actors are guided by the time beats on the drum. The conclusion or full stop to every conversation is marked by a KALASOM, i. e., measured steps and poses controlled by the time beats on the drum. Every rhythm is definitely correlated with a particular mood and produces its characteristic and thrilling effect with precise calculation. This rhythm is more than art ; it is a powerful manifestation of the all embracing rhythm of life, love, battle, romance, death, growth and decay. The variety of sounds which the drummers produce with the aid of their hands and the tiny stick is marvellous. Two drums called MADDALAM (a long finger drum) and CHENDA (cylindrical drum) are used. The MADDALAM is fixed to the waist of the artiste with a cotton belt and remains in a horizontal position. The CHENDA is fastened in a vertical position. The extremely clever and incessant drumming that shakes up the hearers assumes an entire gamut of rhythm. Of late, EDAKKA, a percussion instrument, is also used when female characters are on the stage, and then the CHENDA is not used. The music of the KATHAKALI is a perfect combination of RAGA (melody), TALA (rhythmic time measure) SWARA (note) and BHAVA (aesthetic emotion). KATHAKALI orchestral groups stand facing the audience.

KATHAKALI music has attained a high level of perfection. The RAGAS of the songs have been carefully selected to suggest the relevant emotional nuance and dramatic content. Their synthesis of imagery and melody is perfect achievement. Sixty different RAGAS and six TALAS are used with supreme evocative quality by the accomplished musicians. The movement of the actor is exquisite and never obtrudes itself beyond the meaning of the dance, delicately soft when

necessary and extremely virile and tense at other times. The closest and most harmonious co-operation is necessary between the three artistes—the dancer, the singer and the drummer—to render a KATHAKALI performance a success. The colour effect of the triangular harmony between GEETHAM (singing), NRITTAM (dancing) and VADYAM (drumming) is supremely enchanting. The songs are long drawn. The esoteric significance of KATHAKALI songs has been extolled AD LIBITUM. The voices of the songster resound and carry far into the night.

The Performance :

The themes for the KATHAKALI are generally taken from the Puranic Lore. The stories of the KATHAKALI are many and varied, both tragedies and comedies, the former, however, being more realistic than the latter. The native and romantic background of this indigenous art-form is the darkness of the charming Malabar night. No scenery is allowed. The KATHAKALI is always performed in the night and under the shadow of a giant bell metal lamp which stands four to five feet high with wicks all round. This lamp of exquisite workmanship is fed by coconut oil. The yellowish light adds to the grandeur and solemnity of the performance. The flicker from the lamps produces ripples of light. The tapering tremulous, light throws into emphatic relief every subtle nuance or shade of feeling flitting across the faces of the actors. Only high class Hindus take part in the KATHAKALI performance. Some of the best KATHAKALI Dances are to be seen during the UTSAVOM (Temple festival) season in the Temples in Kerala. There are special KATHAKALI troupes attached to the leading temples in the State. The one characteristic feature of the traditional and typical KATHAKALI is that only men take part in the performance. On late, a few women

have also trained themselves as KATHAKALI Actors, and they have appeared on the stage. Duel and death are essential items on the KATHAKALI Stage. The majority of plays end in a battle followed by the death of a demon or TAMASIK hero. The martial tradition of the Nayars has contributed to this feature of KATHAKALI.

A standard KATHAKALI performance will take eight to ten hours. A good KATHAKALI Troupe consists of about thirty men including dancers, make-up artistes musicians, green room assistants and servants. Towards dusk the drummers announce the performance with a special call known as KELI KOTTU. This vigorous sounding of drums, cymbals, and gongs effectively serves the purpose of the modern advertisements. At 8 p. m. the massive bell-metal lamp which can hold one gallon of oil at a time is brought to the stage and lighted. The audience usually gather after supper to witness leisurely this pantomime which continues till day break. The drummers stand on one side. The singers stand behind the actors. A few minutes before the actual commencement of the KATHAKALI, the curtain, usually 12 ft. - 8 ft. in size, held by a couple of green room assistants is taken to the stage. From behind the curtain the invocatory item called THODAYAM (meaning beginning) follows. At the end of the Invocation two characters, one male belonging to the PACHA (Green) type, and one female, representing God and His consort, the PARAMATMA and JEEVATMA, appear on the stage and perform the PURAPPADU, literally meaning the start. Elaborate technique is scrupulously followed when a character makes his first appearance on the stage. This is called PURAPPADU or the debut. It is all the more ceremonious, cumbersome and colourful if the character is a hero or heroine. The instru-

ments are tuned to their proper pitch ; the torch wicks are brightened and the royal ensigns are exhibited. The drummers indulge in rhythm and counter rhythm for some time and the singers improvise variations and elaborations of the single melody. The ensemble of the entry is really charming and has a powerful and thrilling effect upon the audience and they watch lost in rapturous admiration. The actors in the PURAPPADU stand with their knees bent sideways. The curtain holders have to be extra careful to raise or lower the curtain according to the tempo of the dance of the actors. The PURAPPADU is an exacting time both for the musicians and the curtain holders, and exciting to the spectators. Before the KATHAKALI proper commences, the drummers display their skill when the songsters sing the MANJUTHARA, and invocation to God, is followed by a dexterous display of drumming (MELAPPADAM) which thrills the audience with its technical competence. The performance rolls on to the grand finale with a hymn, BHARATHA VAKYA, and a devotional dance at the break of rosy dawn.

The KATHAKALI is one of the greatest contributions of Kerala to the cultural heritage of the world. Well may it be said of the KATHAKALI dancer :

"IN THY DANCE, DIVINE DANCER,
FREEDOM FIND ITS IMAGE, AND
DREAMS THEIR FORMS ;

ITS CADENCE WEAVES THE THREADS
OF THINGS, AND UNWINDS, THEM
FOR AGES ;

CHARMS THE ATOM'S REBELLION
INTO BEAUTY, GIVES RHYTHM TO
THE SYMPHONY OF STARS ;

THRILLS LIFE WITH PAIN AND
CHURNs UP EXISTENCE INTO
SURGING JOYS AND SORROWS."

Dance Per Excellence :

KATHAKALI Actors are masters in both the LASYA and THANDAVA styles of classical dance. It is marvellous to watch these experts changing in the twinkling of an eye from LASYA to TANDAVA and vice versa in the course of a performance. Their acting is both subjective and objective realisation of what they feel and describe. The aesthetic spiritual self-identification of the actors is complete.

There are three distinct varieties of KATHAKALI Dance.

(1) ILAKIYATTAM, the mild and gentle type usually adopted while depicting love and such other sweet and subtle emotions.

(2) IDAMATTU. The intermediate type which is half way between the too slow and the too quick varieties.

(3) MURUKIYATTAM. The extremely vigorous variety used in duels and battle scenes.

The KATHAKALI Actor may engage you for a full hour with an elaborate description of a garden in full bloom and you will hardly realise that the clever artist has taken away an hour of your time. Fastidious critics of art consider the actor is more accomplished if his acting is more elaborate. This type of acting which demands great experience, vivid imagination, and complete mastery over the art, is most difficult. The KATHAKALI dancer dances, eyes ravished with rapture, celestially painting, and transforms his body into an instrument which can be played upon by inner command or outer design. Joy, illumination, spiritual exaltation and self-abnegation are caused by the KATHAKALI which is born of religion and is symbolic of the salvation of the high class Hindus in Kerala. KATHAKALI stands at the very apex of all the arts of Kerala.

Our ancestors looked upon Dance with

passionate religious adoration and found in it the essence of the four Vedas and PURUSHARTHAMS. In the words of Nandikeswara's ABHINAYA DARPPANA, Dance was valued even more than bliss which persons meditating upon *Brahman* experience. In KATHAKALI there is a harmonious combination of NRITTAM, the essence of which is sweetness and grace of movement, NRITYA which is the expression of inner emotions by gestures, and NATYA the paramount feature of which is RASA, strictly speaking, KATHAKALI should be classified under NRITYA, for paramount importance is given to the MUDRAS in this form of dance. Nandikeswara has, in his ABHINAYA DARPPANA, defined NATYA NRITTA and NRITYA. Dr. Ananada Comaraswamy has, in his "MIRROR OF GESTURE," rendered the relevant text of Nandikeswara thus :—

"NRITYA IS DANCING USED IN A DRAMA (NATAKA) COMBINED WITH ORIGINAL PLOT, NRITTA IS THAT FORM OF DANCE WHICH IS VOID OF FLAVOUR (RASA) AND MOOD (BHAVA), NRITYA IS THAT FORM OF DANCE WHICH POSSESSES FLAVOUR, (MOOD) AND SUGGESTION (RASA, BHAVA, VYAYANGA ETC) AND THE LIKE."

Summit of the Kerala Stage

It is no exaggeration to say that the summit of the Kerala stage has been attained in the KATHAKALI. The most brilliant expression of the national genius of Malabar in the realms of art literature, imagination and beauty, KATHAKALI is a DRISYYAKAVYA or visible poem interpreted through ABINAYA (acting) and NRITHAM (dance). This indigenous art form has made as distinctive a local variant as the Wayang Orang of Java and Bali has done to the parent art of BHARATHA NATYA or the classical Indian Dance. It is believed that this Dance, full of

antiquarian and ethnological interest, was ordained by *Brahma* to be performed at the INDRA SABHA (the durbar of the King of the *Devas*) before the celestial beings for the delectation of the Gods. KATHAKALI is regarded as a means to apprehend the Infinite through the bliss of rhythm. In some of famous temples in Kerala KATHAKALI performances are arranged by devotees as much priced offerings to the Deity. The KATHAKALI shows how artistically and scientifically a splendid system of Dance was evolved and enunciated by our ancestors as a source of imparting Joy, Wisdom and Mental Sublimation. KATHAKALI is the most important contribution of India to the dramatic art of the world. It is the only performance which combines music, acting, gesture, language and dance so as to make each element an integral part of the whole. Adolph Appia when attending the famous operas of Wagner developed his own theory of the word-tone drama wherein the guiding, though not the paramount, factor over acting and dancing, was the rhythm of music. Nearly two centuries before Appia wrote, the people of the West Coast of India delighted in spending the nights in aesthetic enjoyment of KATHAKALI performances the music of which is expressive of the different emotions. The wordtone drama reached a state of perfection and fullness in the absorbing KATHAKALI performances.

Royal Patronage

KATHAKALI has flourished long in Kerala under Royal patronage. His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal (former Maharaja of Travancore) is a patron of the various troupes of KATHAKALI actors who carry on this remarkable art. His Highness maintains a Royal Troupe of talented KATHAKALI actors who performs on special occasions. His Highness is an enthusiastic admirer and

competent critic of the KATHAKALI which, in His Highness's own words, has "given one new art-form to the world". His Highness Karthika Thirunal Maharaja (1758-98 A. D.) who was an authority on BHARATHA NATYA, and his gifted nephew Aswathi Thirunal Rama Varma, were well known patrons of the art. They also distinguished themselves as great composers of first rate KATHAKALI plays. KATHAKALI reached its highest watermark during this period. Two of the greatest writers of KATHAKALI plays, Kilimanoor Vidwan Rajaraja Varma Koil Tampuran and Irayimman Tampi, flourished under the royal patronage of His Highness Swati Thirunal (1828-1847) who was a great composer of songs and an accomplished linguist and scholar. Maharaja Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma (1847-60 A. D.), a renowned patron of KATHAKALI, first organised a full-fledged Palace Troupe to serve as a pattern for the rest of Malabar. He had quite a passion for the theatre and he wrote a number of plays. It was under the command of this Royal Master that Easwara Pillai Vicharippu, the Chief Actor in the Palace KATHAKALI TROUPE, for the first time, brought out a collection of fifty-four ATTAKATIAMS (KATHAKALI Plays) including the works of Maharaja Uthram Thirunal. It is said that H. H. Uthram Thirunal used to wear KATHAKALI costumes and perform before a mirror for his own delectation. He effected certain changes in the costumes of the actors. Like King Harsha Verdhana who used to take part in dramatic performances, the Kings of Kerala took delight in participating in KATHAKALI. About one hundred and one KATHAKALI plays are now available in print.

Made more Popular

Thanks to the great leadership of the foremost poet of Malabar—Mahakavi Vallathol

—the KATHAKALI which was until yesterday a dying art has been revived and has come into its own. This glorious renaissance of KATHAKALI has flared a radiant path for this marvellous art and more and more of enthusiastic students from the East and West are making their cultural pilgrimage to the *Kerala Kala Mandalam*, the Academy where KATHAKALI is taught by a band of supreme artistes, to study this unique Dance-Drama. Poet Vallathol and his fine troupe of KATHAKALI Dancers have succeeded in rendering this histrionic art-form more attractive and popular to the intelligentsia by modernising to a considerable extent the costume and make-up of the actors, by cutting down the duration of the plays and by fully exploiting the artistic and aesthetic phases of the art, but at the same time taking precious care to conserve the inherent and age-old greatness and individuality of this wonderful art-form which is the greatest contribution of Kerala to the cultural heritage of Asia. The healthy, modernising influence brought to bear on this great art and the growing recognition received at the hands of competent savants who have discovered in the KATHAKALI a treasure house, have triumphantly proclaimed that this art will never die as long as culture and civilisation continue to exist on earth. The KERALA KALA MANDALAM at Cheruthuruthi, and THE VISWA KALA KENDRA at Valtiyoorkkavu, Trivandrum, are the radiant centres of a dynamic dance movement which gives vivid impressions of the ancient Hindu civilization and its creative art. Accomplished KATHAKALI Actors like Guru Gopinath, Uday Sankar, Chathunni Panikkar, Ram Gopal, Mrinalini Sarabhai, and Ananda Sivaram have carried the great art to far off places all over the world, and won of all-world fame.

KATHAKALI is also taught by well-known

exponents of the Dance at the "P. S. V. Natya Sangham Kathakali School" at Kottakkal, the "Unnayi Variar Smaraka Sangham Kathakali School" at Irinjalakkuda, the "Samastha Kerala Kathakali Vidyalaya" at Keerikkad, and the "R. L. V. Fine Arts School" at Trippunithura, in the Kerala State. At all these famous Institutions, Veteran KATHAKALI Masters impart instruction to students and participate in top ranking performances. The first two Institutions maintain full fledged KATHAKALI troupes consisting of distinguished actors, singers and drummers. Throughout the year, except on Thursdays, at the KATHAKALI Centre at Ernakulam, sponsored by the See India Foundation, under the guidance of the world famous KATHAKALI Master Ananda Shivaram and the well known journalist and publicist P. K. Devan, (who gives a concise and interesting commentary) KATHAKALI is performed between 7 and 8.30 P. M., in the traditional setting and style, for the delectation of foreign tourists. Conducted by the most accomplished and experienced KATHAKALI family of the Century, 95 year old KATHAKALI ACHARYA Guru Gopala Panikkar, still healthy and stage-worthy, and the oldest KATHAKALI exponent, and his son and pupil internationally reputed Ananda Shivaram, the KATHAKALI Centre has deservedly received recognition from the Central and State Governments. In all the principal cities and towns in Kerala there are KATHAKALI Clubs which sponsor KATHAKALI performances by the most outstanding artistes at regular intervals.

It is interesting to recall to mind that nearly seventy five years back, at a time when no one would have dared to suggest any curtailment of the duration of KATHAKALI plays, the late Oyyarath Chandu Menon, the first and foremost Novelist of Kerala, had the

vision, courage and critical acumen to insist that those masters of KATHAKALI who wanted to perform in his house should commence the play at 7 p.m. and close it at 11 p.m. Next to performing KATHAKALI in palaces and temples, the actors were keen in performing before Chandu Menon, an aristocrat, a high Judicial Officer, leading litterateur and a great lover and critic of KATHAKALI. He wanted only select and superb items such as the meeting of the KAT TALAN (Hunter) and Damayanti in NALA CHARITAM, the contest between Bheema and Hanuman in KALAYANA SOUGANDHIKAM, Lalitha in NARAKA-SURAVADIHAM, Urvasi in KALAKEYAVADHAM, to be performed straight away, without indulging in the elaborate PURAPPADU. These striking episodes give full scope to the actors to display the genius of KATHAKALI and their mastery over the art.

Guru Gopinath was the pioneer among KATHAKALI thereby making the highly complicated art enjoyable to those who were not initiated into the intricacies of the art form. With unerring discretion and consummate skill, he lifted certain select scenes from the entire KATHAKALI Epics and portrayed them as solo numbers with ease and grace as to appeal to the Indian and foreign audiences who had no thorough knowledge of the highly stylised dance form. The inspiration to attempt and achieve success in this came from Sri G. Venkatachalam, one of the front-rank critics of Art and Dance, who opines that 'KATHAKALI is certainly one of the most developed dance-arts, as it is the most perfect pantomime play in the world'. This welcome and effective departure from the age old method is now followed by the KATHAKALI masters who have taken by storm art centres in foreign lands. Hence KATHAKALI has

become more appealing to a larger section of the public all over the world.

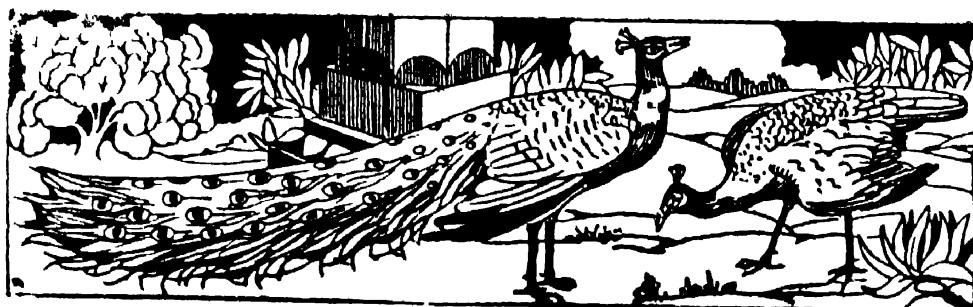
Art Perfected

The most brilliant exposition of the national genius of Kerala rising from the pit to the platform and expanding the vision to the highest altitudes of poetic imagination and into the deepest recesses of the heart, KATHAKALI is the loftiest manifestation of dance and art in which is embedded creative energy, and aesthetic joy. Resonant with movement, and vitality, full of suggestion, symbolism, melody, colour, grace and the rich subtleties of dramatic expression, KATHAKALI is the Perfect Art, which has no parallel. Verily has it been pronounced by Havelock Ellis that "Dancing is the loftiest, the most moving, the most beautiful of the arts, because it is no more a translation or abstraction from life, it is life itself."

Uday Sankar, the foremost Indian Dancer

who has earned an international reputation, says of KATHAKALI : "It is art perfected, the most marvellous manifestation of the artistic impulses in man. There is nothing like it to interpret human sentiment, thoughts and emotions. The language of the limbs, hands, muscles and eyes is more powerful than spoken words. Graceful and telling, the effect is realistic. It is a vast mine the plentiful resources of which remain yet to be tapped."

Our great poet Tagore, after witnessing a KATHAKALI performance, remarked : "Those of us belonging to Northern India who have lost the memory of the pure Indian classical dance have experienced a thrill of delight at the exhibition of this marvellous art of Kerala called KATHAKALI. I feel grateful at the assurance it has brought to us that the ancient art is still a living tradition in India with its varied grace and vigour and subtleties of dramatic expression."



AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SIKKIM

SURENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

The Himalayan Kingdom of Sikkim with its terraced uplands, winding valleys and frolicking streams is at present passing through a new type of revolution—widely known as green revolution. The revolution started early had left a clear imprint on the blueprint of the state's economy. As early as in 1954 Sikkim took steps to develop its economy in a planned manner. In that year a seven year plan was launched. The third five year plan was inaugurated in 1967. The results of the last two plans were a matter of great disappointment. During this period only 6,000 acres of land were brought under cultivation. Improvement in per acre yield and extension of cultivable land was negligible. Rigorous climate, poor soil, precipitous slope with frequent landslides cause a serious hindrance to agriculture. Not only that, crop diseases are also frequent. Furkey virus affects cardamom, greeny virus affects oranges and pest destroys cereals. But the war against nature continues at present at outposts like 200 acre "Geba Experimental farm which has yielded considerable success. The failure of the early years necessitated a vigorous step in the agricultural sector during the third plan. Out of 91% of Rs. 1,60,040 spent on the third plan, 35% are said to have been fully utilized on agriculture. This includes reclamation of wasteland, use of better seeds and implements, fertilizer and pesticides and intensive agricultural programme in selected localities. All these measures have increased the productivity of food and cash crops to a great extent.

Food Grains

Sikkim is not self sufficient in production of food grains. The Chogyal of Sikkim

Mr. Thondup Namgyal is therefore keen that the economy of his country should be complementary to that of India and not competitive. By this, he meant that Sikkim should import Rice and other Cereals from India.

Sikkim is deficient in the production of rice, the staple food to the extent of about 30%. Rice fields occupy the terraced uplands covering 29,000 acres of land. Most of the Rice are Aus (Summer Variety) and are very sweet smelling. Other important foodgrains of Sikkim include maize, millet, wheat and barley. The acreage under these crops are 110,000 acres 12,000 acres and 10,000 acres respectively. Only the area under maize during the last two plans has gone upto 140,000 acres. But the position with regard to other cereals remains more or less the same. In Sikkim wheat, maize and barley are used as a subsidiary human food while millet is used for preparing wine.

Cash Crops

Orange, Cardamom, Potato and Apple constitute the main items of Sikkim's export. Orange orchards covering 1800 acres of land produce the primary cash earning fruits of Sikkim. At present most of the oranges come down to the plains for whole sale. Some of them are processed in the Sikkim distilleries at the confluence of Rangpu and Tista rivers for making the famous Sikkim-liquor. The surplus are preserved in a fruit preserving factory at Singtam. Cardamom creeping like weeds on shaded mountain sides around Gangtok covers 14000 acres of land. The price of Cardamom is at present Rs. 500/- a maund in Gangtok as against Rs. 800/- in Calcutta. In 1963 it was Rs. 65/- per maund and had shot up to

Rs. 350/- in 1967. The high prices of cardamom together with its potential possibilities have encouraged the Government of Sikkim to set up a nursery at Mangon on experimental basis. Mr. M. M. Rasaily, the present Secretary of the Trade Industries Commerce and Food Department of Sikkim has expressed recently that his Govt. would have earned a revenue of Rs. 2½ crores from cardamom alone if he could sell it abroad directly. But, in practice it is not possible since most of the cardamom trade pass through India and through Indian Traders.

Apple orchards and potato fields covering roughly 2200 acres of land are other important cash producers. The present out-turn of potato is roughly 30,000 mounds in a year. Sikkim is famous for its potato seed. It is exported to India at Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 per maund. During

the third plan a number of important agricultural programmes were taken up by the Government of Sikkim in order to raise the agricultural output. This includes an apple orchard at Luchung, a potato farm at Ribdi and a tea estate covering 2000 acres at Kewsing.

To ensure a balanced development of the State's economy in the fourth plan, Sikkim rejects agriculture for industry. It is proposed that most of the available resources during the fourth plan will be spent on industry, tourism and on repairing the 1968 damages due to natural calamities evident in bridges, roads and stream layouts.

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VARKALA—A TOURISTS' PARADISE

M. SATHIYAP RAKASAM

Varkala, the beauty spot of Kerala is popularly known as the 'Gaya of the South'. Kerala is extravagantly blessed by Nature and it is really richer in natural prospects than Kashmir. Tourists from other parts of India as from abroad pour in here being captivated by the panorama of her nature, characterised by the undulating lie of the land with a verdant landscape irrespective of seasons. Little wonder it is therefore, tourists find their paradise in Kerala. Arts and crafts are fully developed here and it is the home of Kathakali. At present there are a few tourist centres in Kerala and Varkala is one among them. But

as ill luck would have it, this beauty spot, a special gift of Nature is sadly neglected by the authorities. Situated almost mid-way between Trivandrum and Quilon, Varkala is easily accessible to tourists by rail, road and water.

How this place derived its present name Varkala, is traceable by a dig in Hindu Mythology. The 'Nava Prajapathies' angered Bhrama. The provoked Bhrama cursed the Nava Prajapathies that they should become human beings and suffer from the misery of birth and death. For deliverance from this curse the ubiquitous Narada, the friend of all the distressed and the unhappy advised them

to do penance at a place he would select for them. Accordingly, he threw his Valkalam (back garment) and it fell at a place which subsequently assumed the name "Varkala".

Varkala is famous for its panoramic scenery and natural set up which in turn have attracted film producers from all over India. As a pilgrim centre hundreds of devotees flock to the temple of 'Janardanan' every day. It is situated very close to the Arabian seashore. Two tunnels were bored through the hills of Varkala and they were constructed as early in 1870 & 1877. These two tunnels bear eloquent testimony to a stupendous feat of engineering skill of the 19th century. Situated fairly high above sea level, the cool and salubrious breeze flowing direct from the sea makes the life of the local people enjoyable. Coupled with this advantage is the cheap availability of excellent drinking water containing medicinal properties, obtained from a perennial flow of natural fountains.

Varkala is well on its way to attain progress. It is an educational centre where Arts, Science and Training Colleges are functioning. The importance of Varkala is further enhanced by the Mutts and Ashrams established by the late Sree Narayana Guru of happy revered memory. It is from here that the Guru preached and propagated the gospel of "One Caste, One Religion, and One God for Man."

As an expounder of Advaita philosophy he was second only to Sree Sankara. To quote Swami Sivananda, 'He was a living embodiment of Advaita. He lived to serve humanity. We can repay the debt of gratitude to him only by following his precious teachings and his glorious example. His Samadhi Mandir with a super structure majestically and spectacularly towering above the spot where Swamiji's physical remains were laid at rest is an imposing sight capable of arresting the attention and igniting the imagination of all tourists.'

There is another Ashram here known as 'Gurukulam' which is under the direct control of Nataraja Guru, one of the chief disciples of Sree Narayana Guru. The proximity of Kaikara (a village near Kadakkavur) to Varkala adds no less to the importance of the latter in that Mahakavi Kumaranashan who is ranked with some of the greatest poets of India, was born here. Further, the Fort of Anjengo said to have been constructed by the English East India Company during the first half of the 17th century is hardly five miles from Varkala and it is within easy reach of the tourist. That such a beauty spot still remains obscure to many outsiders, reminds me of the following lines of Thomas Gray :

"Full many a gem of purest rays serene,
The dark unsathomed caves of ocean bear
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air."



SELF-IMMOLATION AND OUR ANGUISH OVER INDO-CHINA WAR

BUDDHADASA P. KIRI HISINGHE

Self-immolation, or burning oneself to death by fire, has been practised from ancient times. Recently a Buddhist monk and a nun self-immolated themselves by fire in south Vietnam, to bring the forceful attention of all mankind to a calamitous war that has overtaken their ancient lands in South East Asia. Self-immolations occurred before in Vietnam, and even in America, to protest against American involvement in an unjust war and to stop the persecution of Buddhists by the tyrannical Diem brothers, who were subsequently assassinated by their enemies. These acts of noble self-sacrifice shock the conscience of all humanity.

To burn oneself by fire is to prove that what one is saying is of the utmost importance. To ask for peace while experiencing this kind of pain is to express utmost courage, frankness, determination and sincerity.

During the ceremony of ordination, as practised in the Mahayana tradition, the monk candidate is required to burn one or several spots on the body, in taking the vow to observe the 250 rules of monkhood, to live the life of a monk, to give enlightenment and to devote his life for the spiritual betterment of all beings. One can say these things while sitting in an armchair, but when the vow is taken kneeling before a community of Buddhist monks and nuns, this kind of pain will express all the seriousness of one's heart and mind, and carry much greater weight.

The Rev. Thich Man Giac states: "The Vietnamese monk, by burning himself, says with all his strength and determination that he can endure the greatest of sufferings to protect Buddhism, that he is protesting *with all his being* the policy of religious oppression and destruction of his land. But why does he have to burn himself to death? The difference between *burning oneself* and *burning oneself to death* is only a difference in degree, not in nature. A man who burns himself too much must die. The importance is not to take one's life, but to burn. What he really aims at is the expression of his will and determination, not *death*. In the Buddhist belief, life is not confined to a period of 60 or 80 or 100 years: life is eternal. Life is not confined to *this* body: life is universal. To express will and protest by burning oneself, therefore, is not to commit an act of destruction but to perform an act of construction, i. e., to suffer and to die for the sake of one's religion and one's people. This is not suicide. Suicide is an act of self-destruction."

Self-destruction or suicide in Buddhism is a serious crime, as sinful as killing someone else. In self-immolation, on the contrary, one does not think of destroying oneself but considers it a noble act of self-sacrifice for the sake of others. It is a higher form of compassion.

In spite of all these self-immolations and world-wide public protests, this war goes on,

destroying the lives of men and beasts. Thousands of men, women and children have been maimed or crippled, their houses, crops and whole villages destroyed. Millions of people left homeless after aerial bombardments drift helplessly, not knowing who is their friend or foe.

Although the warring parties are on the negotiating table, a real and lasting peace has eluded them all.

Professor Chomsky states : "American participation in the Indo-China war can be opposed from three points of view - the absolute moral one that this kind of destruction of man and nature cannot be condoned on any ground ; the deterministic one that this kind of war inevitably derives from a particular economic and political system which must be changed in order to bring that war to an end and prevent new ones of a similar nature ; and the pragmatic one that this particular war happens to be indefensible on moral, political and military grounds."

U Thant - the Secretary General of the United Nations—has called this "the most barbarous war in history." He states further that Vietnamese are fighting to unify their country, and what animates them is Nationalism and Communism.

Apart from Hiroshima and Nagashaki, when millions of people died due to atom bombing of these cities, no other Buddhist land has fared worse except under Genghis Khan, in ancient Afghanistan 750 years ago. Then she was a famous Buddhist land, and in a city called Shar-i-Ghulghale (City of Cries), near the abandoned Buddhist Center Baniyan, which stood on the old silk routes to China, this terrible tyrant, in his fury over losing his favourite grandson in battle near there, ordered every living thing to be killed—man and beast alike.

Why is America fighting on lands on the

periphery of the Chinese People's Republic ? Is it fear of Communism amongst the cultured Chinese people ? If the billions of dollars spent on this war were given as economic aid to the lands from India-Ceylon to Indonesia, they would have blended the wisdom of the East and West and established themselves as strong socialistic democracies.

If Ping Pong diplomacy had been initiated twenty years ago, the Chinese Republic might have been a respected member of the United Nations. And this Mother of a great civilization would have exerted her influence to bring peaceful solutions to all Eastern problems. Mankind cannot ignore one fourth of mankind and expect the United Nations to function efficiently.

This war may go on until the American Presidential elections in 1972. Continued American military presence in South Vietnam could result in a military confrontation with China. After China's admission to the U.N. membership in the 1971 General Assembly session, peaceful solutions might be found to this calamity that has beset three ancient Buddhist lands.

Buddhists throughout the world do not shout insulting hatred at America, since thousands of American youths have shed their lives for a worthless cause, and many more millions of Americans are in anguish over the war and the helplessness to stop it.

We Buddhists express our compassion and loving kindness on the folly and savagery of men who live in fear, hate and greed. What did the Buddha do in a similar situation 2515 years back ? When Prince Vidudabhe besieged his father's Capital, Kapilavastu, the Buddha sat under a withered tree silently. When the Prince saw him and asked why he was sitting under such a tree, the Buddha answered that shade of relatives was superior

to that of non-relatives. This made the Prince desist from attacking the city, but eventually he devastated it, together with his father's kingdom. When asked, the Buddha said, "Previous deeds (Karma) are ripe and produce results." This may be true of Indo-China.

The Indo-Chinese people—Loatians,

Cambodians and the Vietnamese are very dear to every Buddhist, as was the Buddha to his own Sakyen people. We sit meditating in silence—perhaps in our armchairs, in the fervent hope that this terrible calamity and suffering that have befallen our fellow Buddhists may soon come to an end. We hope so without malice or hate.

SUPREME COURT AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

Introductory

The framers of the Indian Constitution decided to ensure "Liberty of thought, expression, belief and faith" for all citizens. They gave them the liberty of thought and discussion and a distinct right to the freedom of speech and expression.¹ This freedom includes the freedom to talk, converse, communicate, publish or propagate ideas and their publication and circulation.

The rationale of this lies in its importance for democracy, and dangers of silencing the expression of opinion, and robbing

"The human race ; posterity as well as the existing generation those who dissent from the opinion. Still more those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of opportunity of exchanging error for truth : if wrong they loose

what is almost as great a benefit, the clear preception and the lynchier impression of truth, produced by collision with error."²

However, this freedom of a citizen like his other freedoms is not absolute. His right of free speech and expression can be neither permitted to impair a similar right of other fellow members of the community, nor be allowed to injure socially accepted standards of decency, or be unrestricted in the common interests in the maintenance of communal peace and security of the state. Originally the constitutional limitation clause in Article (2) was not so comprehensive. Merely that laid down that "nothing shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the state from making any law relating to liberal, slander and defamation, sedition or any other matter which offends against decency or morality or

undermines the security of the state or tends to overthrow the state." That forbade any limitation on the right of free speech and expression, except on the grounds of inalienable minimal interest in social harmony, accepted norms of morality or state security.

In the early decision of the Cross Roads, the Chief Justice Patanjali Shastri held that a citizen's freedom of speech and expression could not be restricted for the purpose of securing public safety or the maintenance of public order. It could be restricted only to avert the aggravated forms of public disorder which are calculated to endanger the security of the state or overthrow the established order. Nothing less than an imminent danger to the foundations of the state and the legally established order could provide a justification for regulation of freedom of speech and expression.

The Cross Roads a weekly printed and published from Bombay was banned in the state of Madras under the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949. The alleged purpose of the ban was securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order.

The Supreme Court squashed the order prohibiting the entry of the weekly into, and its circulation within the state. It held that the relevant provision of the impugned state statute under which the order was made fell outside the scope of authorised legislation under clause (2).

A bit later in the case of Brij Bhusan, V. State of Delhi,⁴ the court held an order of the chief commissioner of Delhi void under "freedom of speech and expression" clause as being a denial of the right to publish unrestrictedly to the publisher and the editor of a weekly, because, the order deprived him of the freedom of the press (an aspect of the freedom of speech and expression).

The circulation of one weekly in one and publication of news concerning a foreign country in another could neither, the court held, endanger an established and constituted government, nor threaten the safety of a state of the Union, much less the security of India. Following the rule of directness of restrictive legislation laid down in the case of A. K. Gopalan V. State of Madras, it held that unless a law restricting the otherwise absolute freedom was directed solely against an attempt, or acts likely to undermine the security of the state, or its overthrow, it could not be sustained, its reasonableness notwithstanding. It was unconstitutional, although the restrictions imposed under it might be conducive to the needs of law and order.

An analysis of the above cited early decisions of the Supreme Court reveals that the phrase "matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow the state" was very restrictively interpreted to exclude the eventuality of restrictions being placed in the interests of the public safety and public order. However, the law declared by the Supreme Court was far from being clear. Thus, Justice Sarjoo Prasad of the Patna High Court expressed a hope that the Supreme Court itself would some day reconsider its majority decisions handed down in the cases of The Cross Roads and The Organiser. In the Shailesh Devi V. State of Bihar case, Justice Mahajan of the Supreme Court tried to explain the scope of the majority opinion and stated that "those decisions had been misunderstood. The learned judge held that freedom of the citizen could be restricted when the demand for such restriction was clear and threat to society not too remote.

Nevertheless, the Government decided to correct the supposed imbalance between freedom and social control caused by the decisions

of the Court on the scope of clause (2) of Article 19 by a constitutional amendment. Under the amended clause reasonable restrictions can be placed on the exercise of the right of free speech and expression in the interest of (i) the security of the state, (ii) friendly relations with foreign states (iii) Public Order, (iv) decency or morality (v) contempt of court (vi) defamation, and (vii) incitement to an offence. To these restrictions one more has recently been added under the 16th Amendment i. e., the sovereignty and integrity of the Union of India.

If the liberty of a citizen is curtailed in respect of his freedom of speech, it must be shown that the law under which this is done falls within the four corners of any of the above heads of restrictions. The Supreme Court held that where a citizen preached non-violent disobedience asking the peasants not to pay irrigation rate without in any way committing an offence, the citizen could not be prevented from exercising his right of speech, and could not be dissuaded from continuing with his campaign of disobedience. His detention could not but operate as a restriction for an ulterior purpose not recognised by clause (2).

Similarly, the utterances aimed at bringing about a change of government by lawful and constitutional means are not seditious and not forbidden. The democratic criticism of the government, its policy and disapprobation of its administrative measures have not been forbidden. The Supreme Court in *Kedar Nath Singh V. State of Bihar*, held :

"The explanations appended to the main body of the section make it clear that criticism of public measures, or comment on Governmental action however strongly marked would be within reasonable limits and would be consistent with the fundamental right."¹⁷

In another leading case, the Supreme Court held :

"Though the power of the state in respect of control of the freedom of speech and expression is limited in definite terms of the clause (2), yet its reach is long enough. In a fit case a restriction denying a citizen of all opportunity of exercising his right of freedom of speech and expression can be permitted. For instance, he may be removed from the scene of his activities under an order of preventive detention passed on allegations of inciting people to violence and for reasons connected with maintenance of public order."¹⁸

But while in detention he can not be forbidden to read, write and send outside the jail, any book on art, science or literature for publication.¹⁹ In pursuance of the policy of improving the financial condition of the small newspapers, the Government issued the newspaper (Price and Page schedule) Order, whereby it formulated a basis for page : price ratio. It gave a scheduled formulation providing for fixation of the price of a daily newspaper on the basis of a given number of pages it could carry in one week. It restricted the choice of putting extra supplements etc. without an increase in price by insisting upon the official permission.

The Supreme Court held²⁰ that the Act and Price-Page schedule Order issued thereunder were unconstitutional for the reason of abridgement of the freedom of the press, a necessary part of the freedom of speech and expression, under Art. 19 (1) (a)/(2) of the constitution. Freedom of press has thus come to mean an unregulated volume of circulation, a right to fix the number of pages printed in a newspaper or periodical, and the right to fix its price considering the cost of its production,

its advertisement revenue, and its general financial condition.

To sum up it may be said that by and large, the Supreme Court has tried to maintain a balance between freedom and social control. The court looked upon a restrictive piece of legislation from every point of view, and is obliged to scrutinise the statutory, restrictions as carefully as possible. The consideration of their purposes, the nature of the restrictions, manner in which they are imposed, their extent both territorial and temporal passed through the judicial mind. The court repeatedly held that a restriction must not amount to a complete ban on any mode of expression.

1. Art 19(1)(a)—“All citizens shall have the

right to freedom of speech and expression.”

2. Mill, J. S., “On Liberty”, p. 20.
3. Romesh Thapper V. State of Madras, AIR 1950 SC/24.
4. Brij Bhushan V. State of Delhi, AIR 1950 SC/29.
5. State of Bihar V. Shailbala Devi AIR 1952 SC/329.
6. Ram Manohar Lohia V. Superintendent, AIR 1960 SC/633.
7. Kedar Nath Singh V. State of Bihar, AIR 1962 SC/955.
8. Virendra V. State of Punjab, AIR 1957 SC/8960.
9. P. P. Sanzgiri V. State of Maharashtra AIR 1966 S 424.
10. The Sakal Papers (P.) Ltd. V. Union of India, AIR 1962 SC/305.



PROGRESSIVISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE MARXISM AMERICANIZED

K. P. SARADHI

In the year 1932 at the height of his career Dos Passos wrote :

It seems to me that Marxians who attempt to junk the American tradition, that I admit is full of dryrot as well as sap, like any tradition, are just cutting themselves off from the continent. Somebody's got to have the size to Marxianize the American tradition before you can sell the American worker on the social revolution. Or else *Americanize Marx.*¹

As though following the lead given by Dos Passos most of the progressive writers after this date began to argue that international communism was in no way different from 'true Americanism', and that it was but an extension of the *basic* American revolutionary traditions.² Literary and political agitators of the post War years drew mostly on the revolutionary traditions of the American proletariat and of the toiling agrarian masses to instruct their people in the benefits of communism.³ Clara Weatherwax in her novel *Marching!* makes Granny hear one worker tell another :

They talk about radical foreign stuff ; Americanism ; that's what ; Americanism ; Didn't we have a revolution to get founded?to get ourselves a government for the people and by the people ? And isn't the people the masses ?

.....And now that the bosses and politicians is running the country like money Kings, we got to take it away from 'em to run it for us people again.⁴

Daniel Aaron, a foremost critic of the progressives, ascribes the beginnings of the

American type of progressivism to the writings of Emerson, and calls Emerson "the real prophet of the progressive traditions," and the "protean" figure among the early progressivists.⁵ The Emersonian type of progressivism as it is expressed in Whitman which Dos Passos too realized to be the central knot of the real American tradition,⁶ is a social philosophy of the Jeffersonian sort, promising equality and freedom and happiness for all ; and it was born of the pioneer "red-mouthed abolitionists" crusade against the social ravages committed against a righteous people.⁷ Ever since, American writers, with few exceptions, have upheld the socialist ideology and fought against oppression of every kind, on economic and moral grounds.

Surprisingly, most Americans do not like to be called communists or even socialists, though, in their opinions and actions they are as socialistic as socialists can be. Bellamy once said to Howells :

Every sensible man will admit there is a big deal in a name especially in making first impressions. In the radicalness of opinions I have expressed I may seem to out-socialize the socialists, yet the word socialist is one I could never well stomach. In the place it is a foreign word itself and equally foreign in all its suggestions. It smells to the average American of petroleum, suggests the red flag with all manner of sexual novelties, and an abusive tone about God and religion, which in this country we atleast treat with decent respect.⁸

To people like Edward Bellamy nationalism in the sense of collectivism or communarianism sounded more domestic. Bellamy wrote in 1892 :

Nationalism.....(that is, the socialism of *Looking Backward*) is the doctrine of those who hold that the principle of popular government by the equal voice of all for the equal benefit of all, which in advanced nations is already recognized as the law of the political organization, should be extended to the economic organization as well.⁹

Though the writers belonging to the period between the post civil war and the first World War have generally been termed the progressive generation in America,¹⁰ the term itself may be used to describe a good number of American writers of all times, for, throughout history, American writers have been battling hard to transcend conventional attitudes and arrive at secular, scientific, relativistic outlook.¹¹ One has only to run through a list of names of popular and serious writers to know that they are all examples of revolt against everything that is conservative and socially unhealthy in the past. The progressive way is not limited to the literary artists alone. A number of political scientists and speculative thinkers like John Veblen, John Dewey, J. Allan Smith, Vernon L. Parrington, like the men of letters, made current certain basic notions relating to the American progressive thought. Besides these, a number of liberal critics from Howells and Garland to Van Wyck Brooks and Edmund Wilson with their stress on sociological interpretations paved the way from the first for a literature of protest. These writers and critics, compelled by the upsurge of the new evolutionary theories and by the confusion of values generated by rapid industrialization, grappled with the concrete problems of their age and understood the

social conditions of their day more acutely than did most of the even highly acclaimed social scientists.

The term progressive in the literary context may have two interpretations : to denote, one, a literature written by members of the working class about their struggles against the exploitative nature of capitalism, their experiences and aims ; and, two, literature produced by anyone, whatever be his class, who is conscious of the characteristics of the working class people and who works out into his writings a Marxist analysis of society. A large bulk of the progressive literature in America conforms to both the interpretations, as it was primarily a literature with its bearings on the national (as understood by the progressives) consciousness, and one produced not by a sect of people, but by people of all classes touched by the miseries of the masses.¹² In other words, progressivism in America is an effort to combine the precepts of Marxism and the native literary consciousness.

American progressivism has not been so much an organized movement ; it is like a yeast brewing at all levels of American social and political life. The American writers largely agreed with the ideology of Marx and Engels that all progress of human society was patterned according to the dialectics of the general laws of motion, and that human culture as a process reflected economic and class struggles. Thus all art is founded on materialist relations, and to that extent is social. Whereas an aggressive Marxist equates humanity with the proletariat, the proletariat with the party and the party with the top-knots till everything crystallizes into a one man affair, the American does not consider proletarianism as an extreme form of dialectical materialism and proletarian writing as the political polemics of a Lenin or a Stalin. Most of the progressive writers in America

were idealists in their outlook and ethical in their human relations. As Emerson said : "In a day of small, sour and fierce schemes, we are cheered by aims of bold and generous proportions."¹³ Most of them believed in a nonviolent revolution in the possibility changing the capitalist social structure into a working class society.¹⁴ The American proletarian writers are, unlike those belonging to the Russian Union of Soviet Writers who are a class under a centralized control, a distinctive lot in their attitude to social ethics. The American proletarian advocates and resorts to strikes and riots only under compulsions of the severest kind.

Thus American progressivism is a repository for varied influences that pressed on the American consciousness since the days of the abolitionist crusaders, and it mainly attacked the abuses of the economic system and the advantages enjoyed by a few monopolists. Marxism came into America as a counterpoise to the capitalist chaos, as the philosophy which could offer a "scientific programme of action"¹⁵ to counter the exploitation of the poor by the rich.¹⁶ "Out of the first embattled years of the new industrial epoch there developed the abiding quality of an American literature which has ever since been alien to a domineering capitalism and half-nostalgic for a pre-industrial society. The cleavage between the artist and the capitalist society that runs all through the history of modern western literature found its first expression in America in people who were themselves, as citizens, striken by industrial capitalism and frightened by it ; citizens who did not so much rebel against the new order as shrink from it."¹⁷

The period from the post civil war through the end of the first World War was America's take off point into modernity, a period of social dislocation, human misery and moral confusion. It was also a period of alarming

civil fights, rapid industrialization, urbanization and large scale immigration. There was progress, but there was also poverty, and the response to this paradox, and other paradoxes deriving from the shifts in emphasis inherent in a civilization largely agrarian growing into a commercial—industrial one, was a violent mistrust in the equalitarian traditions, and out of this mistrust was born the progressive movement.¹⁸ Thus, in the main, the progressives, either in literature or in politics were concerned with awakening the democratic conscience. They were all agitated by "the slum problem, and the farm problem, the Negro problem and the immigrant problem, the trust problem and the labor problem, and the problem of the political machine".¹⁹ So violent was the reaction and so sustained, that books touching on social problems and proposing remedies for the social evils sold in their millions. By the end of the nineteenth century over three million copies of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879) and over three million copies of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) were sold. Bellamy's was a utopian romance prophesying a new economic and social order. In his *Equality* (1897) written a year before his death, as a sequel to *Looking Backward*, Bellamy talked of a theory of state capitalism largely on the lines of Marxism which influenced the progressivists and the US economic thinking of the 1900s to a great extent. Henry George realized that the threat to community welfare lay in the insecurity resulting from class conflicts. His *Progress and Poverty* was a bold attempt to explain how poverty could be abolished by revolutionary means. Other progressive writers like Hemin Garland, William Dean Howells, were in great vogue. Bellamy and Howells were greatly influenced by Laurence Gronlund's. *The Co-operative Commonwealth* (1884) in which the author applied Marxist

doctrines to the situation obtaining in the United States of his day.²⁰ In their turn these writers inspired a line of radical writers Ellen Glasgow, Dreiser, Dos Passos, London, Upton Sinclair, who fully subscribed to socialistic theories. In the twentieth century Sherwood Anderson, John Steinbeck, Howard Fast, among the leading writers, definitely sympathized with the socialist cause and brought literature close to contemporary social problems.

Most Americans, writers, politicians as well as laymen, responded in a big way to the socio-economic challenges that came in the post-civil war period. One such man who grappled with many of the problems of an industrializing nation was William Howells. An untiring fighter for truth²¹ and an active socialist, Howells was concerned with social problems and economic inequalities. In 1888 he wrote to Henry James that "after fifty years of optimistic content with 'civilization' and its ability to come out all right in the end, I now abhor it, and feel that it is coming out all wrong in the end, unless it base itself on a real equality."²² Tolstoy was his literary ideal, "he has not influenced me in aesthetics only, but in ethics, too,"²³ and the influence of the Russian on Howells was the most profound and lasting. His sympathy for the cause of the working class people, the impact of Tolstoy, the vogue of the Populist movement and the Haymarket executions brought him directly to 'the riddle of the painful earth', and his literary career was a long effort to serve the cause of the economically oppressed.²⁴

A Hazard of New Fortunes and *Annie Kilburn* are novels with a leading social significance. They are concerned with the American proletariat, and reveal much of the author's socialist programme and outlook. In *A Hazard* Howells presents a picture of the

varied aspects of life in New York at a crucial moment in America's economic growth. In a long series of economic novels *The Quality of Mercy*, *Annie Kilburn*, *The World of Chance*, etc., and the two utopian romances *Through the Eye of the Needle* and *A Traxelier from Altruria*, Howells gave a most penetrating analysis of the American economy of the half century following the civil war.

Howells did not create either heroes or villains. His sense of realism was too sure and he was too faithful a reporter to indulge in simplifications of life. He has millionaire characters who are yet virtuous (Silas Lapham); but even such millionaires get crushed under the burdens of an economic system which they do not understand and which they cannot possibly change without grave consequences. Howells makes Basil March in *A Hazard* say :

What I object to is this economic chance-world in which we live, and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be law as inflexible in human affairs as the order of day and night in the physical world, that if a man will work he shall both rest and eat, and shall not be harassed with any question as to how his repose and his provision shall come.....but in our state of things no one is secure of this. No one is sure of finding work ; no one is sure of not losing it.....

A man of deep social conscience Howells is as sure of his grounds when he talked of his society as when he undertook to explain the economic order. Competition he hated as it stained all who engaged in it : "Competition enslaves, monopoly liberates. We must therefore have the greatest possible monopoly; one that includes the whole people economically as they are now included politically."²⁵ *Indian Summer* is an attempt to demonstrate that any slavish adherence to conventional

patterns of conduct set by the moneyed big is down-right absurd. Here, as in most of his other novels, Howells fully embodies the economics and the ethics of the progressive reformers.

Stephen Crane declared that his literary 'creed' was identical with that of Howells and Garland,²⁷ and like Howells he found in Tolstoi "the writer I like most." He was a naturalist in a sense, but he was more than a naturalist in essence. The American naturalists, like the progressivists rejected conventionalism in ethics, morals and human behaviour and embraced the cult of determinism propounded by the new science. But the naturalists had a pessimistic outlook on life, and would always end up their works with a gloomy picture of it. In contrast, the progressivists envision the universe as a brighter and a more habitable place. Whereas the naturalist explores the tragic possibilities, the progressivist endeavours to change its basic structure by a recourse to revolutionary programmes. Lars Ahnebrink describes *The Red Badge* as "a sample of naturalism because of its candor, its treatment of man as dominated by instincts, its pictures of masses and its pessimistic outlook."²⁸ The central figure of this short novel, *The Red Badge*, Henry Fleming is a dreamer, and like most dreamers he is an idealist. His quest for his dream world at first leads him into troubles and he is severely boxed in by tradition and law. But towards the end he develops an individuality consistent with his ideals, and grows into a socialist of free will :

He felt a quiet manhood, nonassertive but of sturdy and strong blood. He knew that he would no more quail before his guides wherever they should point.....He was a man.²⁹

He is at odds with his society, inexperienced, and caught in the fury of a battle, but he frees

himself from its shackles, and towards the end he is successful. In his struggles with the society he shows a deep personal involvement ; his struggle is not passive. The hope of courage that the novel ends with is, far from being pessimistic in its implications, a comment on what can be achieved by honest fight against social evils.

Stephen Crane was in active revolt against his society. He rejected the Gospel of Wealth and easy optimism to study humanity in its entirety. Of *Maggie* he said that he wrote it with no other purpose "than to show people to people as they seem to me."³⁰ He had deep affinities with the people of the slums and the underdog. Because of its social implications and the highly powerful narrative, *The Red Badge* sold out like a hot cake. Within a year of its publication it went into thirteen editions.³¹ *Maggie* was no less popular. It, too, propounds the gospel of socialism in that the author implies that Maggie's fall can be remedied by intelligent and effective social reforms.³²

Crane's short tale "The Open Boat" "was based upon an actual experience of the author,"³³ and portrays in a dramatically moving way the plight of four men from the sunk steamer "Commodore"--a cook, a captain, a correspondent, and an oiler in their fight against nature, and tells how these men shared the common danger with courage establishing a brotherhood of men on the sea.

Like Stephen Crane, Frank Norris was also a child of the Gilded Age and was as gravely concerned with the social inequalities and economic disharmonies of the day. Unlike Crane he set out with an artistic credo in which he says that the best novel "proves something, draws conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, devotes itself not to the study of men but of man,"³⁴ and wrote novels that upheld

his ideology. In the economic struggles of this day he found a most fruitful material for putting his theory of fiction into practice.

Being a man of deep social consciousness he was struck by the economic implications of the fight for land between the ranchers and the big monopolists, and conceived a plan for writing his Epic of the Wheat in three parts : first, a story of California (the Producer), *The Octopus*, second, a story of Chicago (the Distributor), *The Pit*, third, a story of Europe (the consumer), *The Wolf*. The Trilogy of the "Huge Niagara of wheat rolling from West to East,"¹⁵ would be a modern American epic involving the big business and the economic underworld. Norris' life was unfortunately cut short before he could completely realize his plan, but in *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1902) he succeeded in a large measure in writing a realistic and thoughtful account of the conflict between big enterprisers and collective ranchers.

Jack London in his socialistic treatises as well as in his novels was concerned with class discriminations and economic inequalities. His *The People of the Abyss* is a realistic description of the slum conditions and the slum dwellers. *The Iron Heel* tells of the fascist dictatorship that dying capitalism imposed upon mankind, and predicts an equalitarian golden age the time of the socialist triumph.

Besides these more pronounced progressive writers there have been a host of sympathisers and fellow-travellers. Theodore Dreiser, Winston Churchill, Ellen Glasgow, Willa Cather and others revolted against a disorderly and wasteful economic system, and against social stratifications, their revolt finds complete expression in their works. The note of protest is loudest when the writers are convulsing with anger against an economy that victimizes a large bulk of their fellow men.

Following the Second World War a series of social and economic changes have taken place in America which in a big measure filled the country with affluence. However, there persist some of the older assumptions and traditional dogmas which constitute a threat to social equality and economic parity. For that reason the American writers have continued their protests.

Not all literary critics and social historians are fair to the progressive writers in America. Edward Wagenknecht in his *Cavalcade of the American Novel* finds occasion to discredit the progressivist writers and the significance of their connections with the socialist and the populist movements. Bernard Devoto, surveying the literature of the twenties in his *The Literary Fallacy* claims that :

The repudiation of American life by American literature during the 1920's signified that the writers were isolated or insulated from the common culture. There is something intrinsically absurd in the image of a literary man informing a hundred and twenty million people that their ideals are base, their beliefs unworthy, their ideas vulgar, their institutions corrupt and, in sum, their civilization too trivial to engage that literary man's respect. That absolutely is arrogant but also it is naïve and most of all ignorant.¹⁶

De Voto charges the writers with ingratitude and ignorance ; but he doesn't stop to ask the question how it came about that all the writers from Howells to Steinbeck have been so persistently critical of the business civilization of America.

Foot notes

1. Italics mine. In answer to the questionnaire entitled "Whither the American Writer," printed in V. F. Calverton's

- Modern Quarterly*, VI (Summer, 1932), 11-12.
2. Cf. Earl Browder, *Communist Party of the U. S. A. Its History, Role and Organization* (N. Y : Harcourt, Brace and company, 1952), P-16. "Beginning with the Party's Eighth National Convention in 1934, was launched our systematic campaign to revive American revolutionary traditions, for rediscovery and revaluation of American History in general."
 3. See Edward Newhouse, *This is your Day* (N. Y : Lee Furman, Inc., 1937) P. 151.
 4. (N. Y : The John Day Company, 1935), p. 208.
 5. *Men of Good Hope : A Story of American Progressives* (N. Y : Oxford University Press, 1961), P-21.
 6. See "Whither the American Writer," *Op. Cit.*
 7. See Russel B. Nye's "Far-sighted Reformers" in *The Abolitionists : Reformers or Fanatics*, ed : Richard O. Curry (N. Y : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 107-112. As early as 1849, leaders of the American democracy warned their fellowmen against overlooking the ills of the "despotic attitude of the Slave Power at the South, and the domineering ascendancy of the Monied Oligarchy in the North as equally hostile to the interests of labor, and incompatible with the preservation of popular rights." Cited in George E. Mc Neill, *The Labor Movement* (Boston and New York, 1887), P-115.
 8. Quoted in Daniel Aaron, *op. cit.*, P-112. Also, *Ibid*, P-182.
 9. Quoted in Walter Fuller Taylor, *The Economic Novel in America* (N. Y : Octagon Books, Inc., 1964), P-194.
 10. Robert W. Schneider is one of the latest to term the period the progressive age.
 - See *Five Novelists of the Progressive Era* (N. Y : Columbia Univ. Press, 1965). Also, *Evolutionary Thought in America*, ed., Stow Persons (New Haven : Yale Univ. Press, 1950).
 11. See Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven : Yale Univ. Press, 1950), and Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1958).
 12. Cf. W. F. Taylor, *op. cit.*
 13. Quoted in Aaron, *op. cit.*, P. XIV.
 14. There are, of course, a few exceptions. Jack London in *The Iron Heel* and C. A. Steere in *When Things were Doing* advocated the need for a fierce and bloody revolution to change the social order.
 15. See Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds* (N. Y : Reynal & Hitchcock).
 16. Americans did not take the news of the formation of the steel corporation in 1900 lightly. Said President Hadley of Yale "that unless some way could be found to regulate such trusts, there will be an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years." Quoted in F. L. Allen, *The Big Change : America Transforms Itself : 1900-1950* (N. Y : Harper & Brothers, 1952).
 17. Kazin, *op. cit.*, P-80.
 18. See George E. Mowry, *The Progressive Movement : 1900-1920. Recent Ideas and New Literature* (Service Centre for Teachers of History, 400A Street, Washington, 1958).
 19. See "Introduction," *The Progressive Era : Liberal Renaissance or Liberal Failure*, ed., Arthur Mann (N. Y : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), PP. 1-5.
 20. See Walter B. Rideout, *The Radical Novel in the United States : 1900-1954* (Harvard University Press, 1956), P. 7.
 21. Cf. Herbert Edwards, "Howells and the

- controversy over Realism in American Fiction," *American Literature* III (1931), 237-248.
22. QUOTED in Edward Wagenknecht, *Cavalcade of the American Novel* (N. Y.: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), P. 136.
23. See L. J. Budd, "William Dean Howells' Debt to Tolstoy", *American Slavic and East European Review* IX (1950), 292-301.
24. "He made an outspoken protest against the judicial murder of the Chicago anarchists, following the Hay-market Square riots of 1887." See Wagenknecht, *op. cit.*, P. 137.
25. See Gtzel's "William Dean Howells and Socialism, *Science and Society*, II (1938), (376 -386)
26. David Hughes in *The World of Chance*, PP. 118-19.
27. *Stephen Crane*, *An Omnibus*, ed., Robert W. Stallman (N. Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), P-693.
28. *The Beginnings of Nationalism in American Fiction* (Cambridge : Harvard Univ. Press, 1950), P. 229.
29. *The Red Badge of Courage and Other Writings*, ed., Richard Chase (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), P. 230.
30. *An Omnibus*, P. 656.
31. John Berryman, *Stephen Crane* (N. Y.: William Sloan Associates, 1950), P. 125.
32. See Russel Nye, "Stephen Crane as a Social Critic," *Modern Quarterly*, XI (1940) 48-54.
33. See Ray B. West's analysis of the tale in *The Art of Modern Fiction* (N. Y.: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1958).
34. *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (N. Y.: 1903), P. 21-2.
35. Quoted in W. F. Taylor, *op. cit.*, P. 293.
36. P. 150.



PRESIDENT'S POWER TO ASSENT THE BILLS IN INDIA

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The power to assent to the Bills, which is given generally to the Constitutional Head in a democratic set-up, has become a matter of utmost importance in the Indian political system for the simple reason that the Congress Party has lost its monolithic character. The problem is bound to arise because the language of the Constitution gives a large amount of discretion to the President to be used in this connection. Article 111, which is concerned with the President's power to assent the Bills runs as follows :

When a Bill has been passed by the House of Parliament, the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom :

Provided that the President may, as soon as possible after the presentation to him of a Bill for assent, return the Bill if it is not a Money Bill to the Houses with a message requesting that they will consider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof and, in particular will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message, and when a Bill is so returned, the Houses shall reconsider the Bill accordingly, and if the Bill is passed again by the Houses with or without amendment and presented to the President for assent, the President shall not withhold assent therefrom.

After a careful reading of this provision it appears that the President has three options before him. He shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or he withholds assent therefrom or he may return the Bill for reconsideration if it is not a Money Bill.

Now the question is : Is the President's power to withhold his assent absolute ? D. D. Basu says that if any Bill is brought in the direct contravention of any of the Directive Principles, the President or the Governor may refuse his assent to such Bill on that ground, though the Courts may not declare the Act is valid, if it is enacted.¹ K. M. Munshi observed :²

If a Bill submitted to him for instance, violates a fundamental right or the prescribed ambit of State powers, he is bound, consistently with his Oath, to exercise one of the two vetoes ; otherwise he would be guilty of a failure to protect the Constitution.

The view that the President can withhold his assent, is supported by the following facts.

Firstly, there are cases wherin the President and the Governors withheld their assent to the Bills passed by the Parliament and the State Legislature. The Pepsu Appropriation Bill was vetoed by the President which was presented to him on March 8, 1954. The Bill was passed by Parliament while the State

was under President's Rule under Article 356 of the Constitution and the Parliament had the power to make laws in this respect. By the time, however, the Bill came for President's assent the Proclamation under Article 356 had been revoked. The President withheld his assent on the ground that on the date in question the power of Parliament to legislate in respect of Pepsu had already lapsed.³ The Governor of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. H. M. Patasker, withheld his assent from the Land Revenue Rationalization Bill on the ground that there was every possibility that the Bill might generate harm for the smooth working of the administration.⁴

Secondly, the Patna High Court has decided that the Courts cannot question the constitutionality or propriety of either assent or refusal by the President to reserved Bills under Article 201.⁵ If the President can veto a Bill under Article 201 there is nothing to prevent him from withholding his assent under Article 111 because the only difference between the two is that under Article 111 the President cannot withhold his assent to a Bill which has been reconsidered by the Parliament. Under Article 201 there is no such condition.

Thirdly, the view that the returning of a Bill by the President amounts to withholding of assent does not find favour that is why under Article 111 the President cannot return the Money Bills for reconsideration. He is required to declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds his assent therefrom.

Fourthly, the language of Article 111 is clear on this issue and the problem is that the Court attaches importance to the language of the Constitution rather than the intention of the framers.⁶

Fifthly, R. N. Mishra observes that the revival of an obsolete power of the King in

England indicates that this power may be used by the President.⁷

Keeping in view the said arguments, it appears that the President has the absolute and exclusive power to veto a particular legislation. But it does not fall in line with the accepted principles of parliamentary democracy prevailing in the country both in the States and the Centre. The parliamentary democracy is not made of words only but the conventions also. We have modelled our democratic set-up on the basis of the British pattern and the King's veto power is considered as a closed chapter since Queen Anne refused her assent to the Scottish Militia Bill in 1707.⁸ Hence it is not desirable to arm the President with such a kind of power. In 1913, it was argued in some quarters that the Monarch could and should refuse to accept the highly controversial Irish Home Rule Bill but this would hardly seem to be practical politics today.⁹ Even in Canada, for the last sixty years the Governor General has not refused to give the royal assent to a legislation. It may be recorded that the very first occasion on which a Governor-General came into conflict with his ministers and with Parliament over his own Reduced Salary Bill, 1868, which he reserved for the King's pleasure. It was one of the three reserved Bills which failed to secure royal assent.¹⁰ When Lieutenant-Governor Bastedo reserved a Bill passed by the Saskatchewan Legislature, that action was in effect repudiated by the Conservative (Diefenbaker) Government in Ottawa.¹¹

The supporters of the President's power to veto the Bill compare section 32 of the Government of India Act, 1935 with Article 111 of the Indian Constitution but as C. L. Anand says that this is out of place in the present Constitution which rests wholly on the principles of parliamentary government. In the scheme of federation contemplated in the

Act of 1935 the Governor-General was to administer certain departments of federal government "acting in his discretion" and as regards those which were to be transferred to control of Ministers he was to be vested with a wide range of "special responsibilities" and "individual judgement powers". Consequently his power to assent to or veto Bills passed by the Legislature was unfettered..... In the present Constitution of India the President has no "discretionary" or "individual judgement powers" and he can only act, therefore, as advised by his Council of Ministers.¹²

The President being a component part of the Parliament would have the power of clipping its wings if he is armed with such a weapon. It would lead to the conclusion that he is the "Supreme Limb" of Parliament which is fundamentally wrong and basically absurd.

According to Article 117, a Money Bill cannot be introduced without the prior consent of the President ; therefore the question of withholding assent to such a kind of Bill does not arise. It would be absurd on the part of the President to veto a Bill which has been introduced in the House of People on his own recommendation. Moreover, the political power in a democratic set-up hinges upon the power of purse which is considered the right of the popular chamber ; and if an indirectly elected President pokes his nose, that would be antithetical to the real concept of democracy.

If it is accepted that the President is free to resort to such a kind of mechanism, it would open floodgates of vetoes like that of the United States. The use of veto by the Presidents in United States, since 1789 to 1963, is being shown in the table :¹³

President	Total vetoes	Regular	Pocket	Overridden
Washington	2	2	0	0
Madison	7	5	2	0
Monroe	1	1	0	0
Jackson	12	5	7	0
Tyler	10	6	4	1
Polk	3	2	1	—
Pierce	9	9	0	5
Buckaman	7	4	3	0
Lincoln	6	2	2	0
Johnson	28	21	7	15
Grant	92	44	48	4
Hayls	13	12	1	1
Arthur	12	4	8	1
Cleveland	414	304	110	2
Harrison, B.	44	19	25	1
Cleveland	170	42	128	5
McKinley	42	6	36	0
Roosevelt, T.	82	42	40	1
Taft	39	30	9	1
Wilson	44	33	11	6
Harding	6	6	1	0
Coolidge	50	20	30	4
Hoover	37	21	16	3
Roosevelt, F.	631	371	260	9
Truman	250	180	70	12
Eisenhower	181	79	102	2
Kennedy	25	14	11	0
Johnson	0	0	0	0

M. V. Pylee says that the experience also clearly indicates, though it is too short a period, that the President is, in reality, only the constitutional Head of the State. On the eve of the 1951-52 General Elections in India President Dr. Rajendra Prasad sent a message to Parliament expressing his views on the Hindu Code Bill which was under his consideration. In that message he said that personally he was opposed to the passing of the Bill but if adopted by Parliament, he would give his assent to it however reluctant that might be.¹⁴ Moreover, Dr. Prasad had to assent the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act,

which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Dr. Prasad was personally against it and raised some objections but consequently he had to approve the Bill.¹⁵ Austine rightly says that parliamentary government in India would have disappeared before it was two years old, had the first attempt of Prasad to ignore Conventional restrictions not been foiled.¹⁶ Mr. Vishnu Sahay, an ex-Governor, says -¹⁷

In the winter of 1960, when I was appointed acting Governor of Assam in a short vacancy caused by the illness of the permanent incumbent. The Assamese of the Brahmaputra valley wanted Assamese to be the official language of the State. The considerable Bengali and Tribal minorities were opposed to this and the controversy had led to serious "language riots". The Assembly had passed a Bill which made Assamese the Official language and it was awaiting the Governor's formal approval... In the end, I found that there was no possibility of a compromise till time had brought a cooling off of tempers, and after having the controversial Bill on my table for a few weeks, I had' no choice but to approve it.

Article 200, which is concerned with the Governor's power Bill, is a duplicate copy of Article 111; hence their position is similar in their respective spheres.

Constitutional Amendment and the President's Veto Power

According to Article 368, when the Bill is passed in each House by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for his assent and upon such assent being given

to the Bill, the Constitution shall stand amended in accordance with the terms of the Bill.^{18A} The question arises : Can the President veto such a kind of Bill ? The answer seems to be in the negative. There is a lot of difference between the phraseology used in Articles 368 and 111. Article 111 is infested with negative phraseology whereas the phraseology used in Article 368 is positive. Had there not been any difference between the two ; where was the necessity of putting them under different heads ? The framers could have adopted only one article for this purpose. As a matter of fact, under Article 368 the President's assent is simply a formality. Arguing in the Golakhnath case, Mr. Niren De, Additional Solicitor General of India, who is, at present the Attorney-General, pointed out that under Article 368 the President has no other recourse open to him but to assent to the Bill. For this purpose, the arguments between the Supreme Court and Mr. De are being reproduced below :¹⁸

Mr. Justice Shah :- He may return the Bill.

Mr. De :- No, it is not open to him to do so. Article 111 does not apply to Article 368, which is a complete code by itself.

Chief Justice :- If the President has no option but to assent, do you mean it is an empty formality ?

Mr. De :- Yes, he is guided by ministerial advice.

In this connection it is also important to mention the modes of amending the Constitution. According to the traditionalists, there are three modes- amendment by simple majority, by two thirds majority and by two thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. But this is not so. Those who think along these lines, appears, they did not read the Constitution carefully. Constitutionally speaking, there

are only two modes—amendment by two-thirds majority and two-thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. The case of simple majority cannot be considered as an amendment in the technical sense. If it is accepted an amendment; then, under Article 210(2) there would be the fourth mode of amendment, which the traditionalists are not prepared to accept.¹⁹

The another problem to be tackled is : Is the assent of the Governor essential for the amendments wherein the States are co-partners? Article 368 requires only the ratification by the Legislatures of not less than one-half of the States. Here, the Governor does not come in the light. The Calcutta High Court has decided that a resolution of a State Legislature ratifying a Bill for amendment of the Constitution does not require the assent of the Governor. The first part of Article 368 relates to Bill which has to be passed in particular manner, and there is specific provision for the assent of the President. So far as the State Legislatures are concerned, it requires that a "resolution" should be passed ratifying the amendment. While it expressly provides for the assent of the President, it does not provide for the assent of the Governor.²⁰

The President and the Qualified Assent

It may, however, be asked, can the President have some reservation while giving assent to a Bill? The answer seems in the positive. S. N. Jain and Alice Jacob cite the cases wherein the President did so.²¹ Assent to Mysore Municipalities Bill, 1959, and Kerala Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill, 1963, was given on the condition of exempting the property of Central Government from tax. Assent to Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill, 1962 was given on the condition that assurance be received from the State Government that exemption from levy of tax on carriage and

sale of goods which were proved to be exported out of India would be given. Again, assent to Assam Tax (on goods carried by Road or Inland Waterways) Act, 1961, was given on the condition that mineral ores, petroleum products, tea and other exportable goods be exempted from tax. Similar condition was imposed while giving sanction to the Maharashtra Tax on Goods (Carriage by Road) Bill, 1962.

The Assent of the President and Tenure of the House of People

Since the dissolution of the House of People does not affect the Bill pending before the President, there is nothing to prevent him from giving his assent during the second tenure of the House of People. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill may be cited as an instance. The Supreme Court declared that the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bills had not lapsed before the President gave his assent to it after the dissolution of the Assembly.²²

Declaration of the Assent

In K. C. Gajapati Narayana Deo and others Vs. State of Orissa, it was decided by the Orissa High Court that what is indicated by the word 'declaration' it is anything by way of a public notification. To declare an assent is nothing more than an assertion by the President or the Governor as the case may be, that in fact he has so assented. It does not involve any idea that assertion must be made with any publicity or in any particular form.²³ Where certain Acts as published in the State Gazette show that the assent to them was given on a particular date by the Head of the State and an affidavit to that effect is also filed on behalf of the State, it cannot be held that the Acts did not receive the assent on that date. The burden under these circumstances lies heavily on the party disputing the fact. The mere fact that the Head of the State was

not present in the Capital is in itself not enough to prove that his assent could not be obtained as there are other methods of obtaining his assent viz., by telephone, or by telegram or by sending a special messenger.²⁴

Returning of Bills

Article 111 does not prescribe any time-limit for the President to return a Bill for reconsideration. He may do so "as soon as possible". In Article 91 of the Draft Constitution, it was stated that "the President may, not later than six weeks after the presentation to him of a Bill for assent, return the Bill if it is not a Money Bill....." But Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, moved an amendment in the Constituent Assembly to substitute the words "as soon as possible" for the words "not later than six weeks". The amendment was carried.²⁵ H. V. Kamath was very critical of this move.²⁶ The Constitution uses the word "May" instead of "Shall", which means that it is not obligatory on the part of the President to send the Bill for reconsideration. Moreover, there is nothing in the Constitution which binds the President to return a Bill vetoed by him. When a particular Bill is returned by the President, the Houses are required to consider it "accordingly", which means in the light of the amendments suggested by him. They cannot incorporate any fresh amendment. If the Houses, in addition to the amendments suggested by the President, introduce any new amendment, he is not bound to assent the Bill. This is obligatory on his part only in case the Bill is passed in the same form or in the light of his own amendments.

Another ticklish problem is whether the President is bound to assent the Bill which was returned by him on the ground that it was unconstitutional?²⁷ The answer seems to be in the positive. There are cases wherein

the President had to give his assent even in the first instance. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President of the Indian Republic, had to give his assent to the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act, which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional.²⁸ Even in the United States, in 1955, President Eisenhower gave his assent to an Appropriation Bill by ignoring certain provisions which he held to be unconstitutional.²⁹

It may, however, be asked : Can the President send a Bill for reconsideration to the successor House ? Since the dissolution of the House of People does not affect the powers of the President and the position of the Bill pending for his assent, there is nothing to prevent the President from sending it back to the successor House. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was passed by the Kerala Assembly on June 10, 1959. It was then reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President under Article 200 of the Constitution. Meanwhile, on July 31, 1959, the President issued a proclamation under Article 356 and the Assembly was dissolved. In February 1960, mid-term elections took place. On July 27, 1960 the President for whose assent the Bill was pending sent it back with his message requesting the Legislative Assembly to consider the Bill in the light of the specific amendments suggested by him. When this case came before the Supreme Court, it decided that when it is said that if the Bill is passed again the Governor shall not withhold his assent therefrom it does not postulate the existence of the same House because even if it is the successor House which passes it, it is true to say that the Bill has been passed again because in fact it had been passed on an earlier occasion. Therefore, the validity of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act cannot be attacked on the ground that it was passed by the successor House.³⁰ It seems

right to observe that the same can be applied in case of the dissolution of the House of People.

Now question is as to what is the procedure to reconsider a Bill which is passed by the Parliament in a joint sitting under Article 108? It seems that the President will send the Bill to the House in which it originated. Thereafter, the Houses shall take up the Bill in a joint sitting and not separately. This is so because even in the first instance the Bill was passed in a joint session; hence the question of its reconsideration separately does not arise. Here, it is also important to mention that near about 95% Bills are initiated by the government and if a particular Bill passed by the Council of States is lost in the House of People, the government is bound to resign for the simple reason that it is responsible to the House of People.³¹ But if the Bill is passed by the House of People and is lost in the Council of States, the Ministry is not supposed to resign. Here the problem is: Who is to advise the President to convene a joint sitting? Can the President do so on his own accord? Since a normal session is convened by the President on the advice of the Ministry, it leads to the conclusion that under such circumstances also, the President is required to act upon its advice because the President has nothing to do with the business to be transacted in the Parliament. Moreover, the general philosophy of Parliamentary Democracy and the principles of Cabinet Government demand so. But the problem is, where is the Council of Ministers if the Bill is lost in the House of People? The defeat of the government on an issue in the popular chamber would result in its resignation; hence the question of a joint sitting does not arise because there is no government to advise the President for a joint sitting. The successor government need not to do so because its

supporters have already voted against the Bill. Therefore, there is no possibility of a joint sitting in case the Bill is lost in the House of People. If the Bill is lost in the Council of States, the Council of Ministers will advise the President for such a kind of sitting if it has a following in the House of People, If there is a majority of two with the government in the House of People and its Bill is defeated in the Council of States by 20 voters; where is the necessity of advising the President to convene a joint sitting when there is no chance of getting the Bill carried? This provision was incorporated in the Constitution simply to establish the supremacy of the popular Chamber over the Council and for nothing else.

Article III and the Advice of the Council of Ministers

The most controversial problem relating to Article III is whether the President is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers? When the controversy arose over the Hindu Code Bill 1951, in response to the letter of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Attorney-General of India, Mr. M. C. Setalvad and Mr. A. K. Ayyer are believed to have communicated to him that 'by Article 74(1) the President was required to act in all matters with the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers' and innumerable Constitutional authorities were cited to prove this point. The note was sent to Nehru by the Attorney-General on September 24, 1951 and among his authorities were Anson and Dicey.³² Justice P. N. Sapru supports this view and says that the Constitution left no room for doubt that the President is expected to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers.³³ In 1955 in Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapoor Vs. The State of Punjab, the Supreme Court has decided that the parliamentary democra-

in our country reduces the President to a Constitutional Head. His position is similar to that of the King in England.³¹

The practice prevailing in India for the last 20 years shows that inspite of the major changes in the political and economic system followed by four General Elections, none of the Presidents dared to ignore the advice of the Council of Ministers. Even the assent to the Pepsu Appropriation Bill was withheld by the President on the advice of the Council of Ministers and not in his discretion.³² Had President Prasad withheld his assent to the Hindu Code Bill, 1951 against the wishes of the Prime Minister, he would have had to face the Hobson's Choice in the sense that in 1952, in the General Elections, Nehru thundered in the Parliament with a thumping and very big majority. Under such circumstances the position of the President was bound to be undermined.

Moreover, when this provision was being considered in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh assumed that that the President would be bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers.³³ On August 18, 1948, Dr. Prasad wrote a letter to B. N. Rau, the constitutional adviser, and asked : Could the President use his discretion in giving assent to a Bill ? The answer was in the negative.³⁴ It is also important to mention here that the Instrument of Instructions was dropped by the framers in favour of the Conventions of the parliamentary democracy, according to which the real powers are vested in the Council of Ministers responsible to the electorates through the Parliament.³⁵

In the light of the aforesaid arguments, it appears sound to observe that the Indian President is normally bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. The President is neither the real head nor the figure head but he is the Constitutional Head, which means that if the Council of Ministers is inclined to

disrupt the democratic set-up and is not acting in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution and the principles of cabinet government, the President may reject its advice for the welfare and betterment of the electorates.

The President and his Power to Assent the States' Bills

Article 200 empowers the Governor, in his discretion to reserve a Bill for the consideration of the President. But in some cases the reservation is compulsory.³⁶ The Governor cannot give assent to a Bill which, if it became law, would derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position which that Court is by this Constitution designed to fill. If an Act is passed during the pendency of a case which affects the rights of the parties, it cannot be said that there has been any derogation from the powers of the High Court.

The Governor is free to reserve any Bill but normally he reserves a Bill which is either unconstitutional³⁷ or contrary to the Directive Principles³⁸ or the matter falls within the jurisdiction of the centre³⁹ or there is already a Central legislation⁴⁰ or it does not comply with the central Statutory Requirements.⁴¹

The difference between Articles 111 and 201 is that if the President sends the Bill for reconsideration, it should be considered within six months and the President is not under any obligation to give assent to it. Like Article 111, Article 201 does not say that the President shall not withhold his assent but it speaks that "if it is again passed by the House or Houses with or without amendment, it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration".

The application and nature of Article 201 shows that the Union Government can freely disturb the autonomy of the States. It is likely to be done when the party in power in the Centre is opposed to that of the State.

Since the Governors are appointed by the Central Government, there is every possibility that through the instrumentality of Governors this power may be used to protect the interests of the party in control of the Central Government.¹⁷ If the men like Mr. Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil with conservative thinking happen to be in control of the Central Government, there is no possibility of the implementation of the radical changes oriented programmes of Mr. Joyti Basu and Namboodripad in their States. Mr. Namboodripad had to face such a kind of fate when he became Chief Minister of Kerala. He could not implement those policies on which he secured the verdict of the electorates in 1957. If the Central Government, however, becomes an impediment in the way of the application of a programme adopted by a party in control of a State Government, it may be characterised as the violation of the mandate given by the electorates and the party government, which is the cornerstone of parliamentary democracy.

In this connection, it is also important to mention that in a country like India where the centrifugal tendencies are gaining ground, some sort of check is essential over the States otherwise the Fifth Columnists would destroy the unity of the country as purported by the framers of the Constitution.¹⁸ But this power should be used in the interests of the nation and not to enhance the objectives of a particular party. The President should use this power on the basis of provincial autonomy and the principles of federation.

1. D. D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India* (Calcutta), vol. II, 5th Ed., 1967, p. 667
2. K. M. Munshi, *The President Under the Indian Constitution* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1963), p. 42.
3. H. M. Jain, *The Union Executive* (Allahabad, 1969), pp. 63-64.
- The Bill was passed by the State Legislature amidst walk outs and divisions. Even the Congress members widely criticised it. M. G. Gupta, *Aspects of the Indian Constitution*, Edited, 1964, p. 387.
- Kameshwari Vs. State of Bihar, A. I. R., 1951 Patna 91 (101).
- In 1955, in Bengal Immunity Company Ltd., Vs. The State of Bihar, the Supreme Court had the distinction of hearing Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly argue before it what certain constitutional provisions were intended to mean. It refused to seek help from such sources where the provisions were plain and clear. Occasionally some of the justices tried to gather what evil a particular provision of the law or the Constitution was intended to cure.
- Sri Ram Sharma, *The Supreme Court in the Indian Constitution* (Delhi), First Published, 1959, p. 64.
- R. N. Mishra, *The President of Indian Republic* (Bombay), First Ed., 1965, p. 100.
- Andre Mathio, *The British Political System* (London, 1958), p. 268. See also H. J. Laski, *Parliamentary Government in England* (London), Fourth Impression, 1952, p. 408.
- G. C. Moodie, "The Crown and Parliament", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 1956-57, pp. 256-64. See also M. R. Curtis, *Central Government—An Introduction to the British System* (London, 1958), p. 89
- O. Hood Phillips, *The Constitutional Law of Great Britain and the Commonwealth* (London, 1952,) p. 75.
- H. Mc D. Clokie, *Canadian Government and Politics* (Longmans, Green & Co., Toronto, London, New York, 1950), p. 118.

11. E. Rnssell Hopins, **Confederation at the Crossroads—The Canadian Constitution** (Toronto, 1968), p. 335.
12. C. L. Anand, **Constitution of India** (Law Book Company' Allahabad), Second Edition, 1966, p. 265.
13. William H. Young, Ogg and Ray's **Essentials of American Government**, 9th Ed., 1967, p. 240.
14. M. V. Pylee, **Constitutional Government in India** (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960), p. 340.
15. Dr. Prasad is said to have argued that such a sweeping Bill, which gave illusory compensation, was unjust and should not be approved by the Centre. His opinion was overruled and the Bill was passed.
K. M. Munshi, **Indian Constitutional Documents** (Bhartiya, Vidya Bhawan, Bombay), Vol. II, First Ed., 1967, p. 289.
16. Granville Austin, **The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a Nation** (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966).
17. Vishnoo Sahay, "Governor's Role in Administration", **The Indian Journal of Public Administration**, Vol. XVI, No 3, July-September, 1970, pp. 280-81.
- 17A. The Amendment in Arts. 54, 55, 73, 162, 241, Chapter IV of Part V, Chapter 5 of Part VI, Chapter I of Part XI, any of the Lists in Seventh Schedule, the representation of States in Parliament and the provisions of Article 368 require two-thirds majority plus ratification by 50% States' Legislatures.
18. Cited in H. M. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
19. Article 210 (2) says : "Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides, this Article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words "or in English" were omitted therefrom."
- Dr. K. C. Markandan also thinks along the lines that there are only two modes of amending the Constitution.
20. Jatin Chakravarty Vs. Justice Himansu Kumar Bose, A. I. R., 1964, Calcutta 500 (502).
21. Report of the National Convention on Centre-State Relations, Convention Secretariat, The Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, 19 Vithalbhai Patel House, Rafi Marg, New Delhi, pp. 345-46.
22. Karimul Kunhikoman and K. Ganapathy Bhat Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R. 1962, S. C. 723 (727).
23. Gajapati Naraina Deo and others Vs. State of Orissa, A. I. R., 1953, Orissa 185, (194).
24. Raja Hari Singh and others Vs. state of Rajasthan and others, A. I. R., 1954, Rajasthan 117 (120).
25. **Constituent Assembly Debates**, Vol VIII, pp. 192-6.
26. He stated : "No body knows what they mean, what 'as soon as' means. We know in the Legislative Assembly Ministers are in the habit of answering questions by saying "as soon as possible". When we ask "When this thing be done"? The answer is "as soon as possible or very soon." But six months later, the same question is put, and the answer is again, "as soon as possible" or "very soon". This phrase is vague, purposeless and meaningless and it should not find a place in the Constitution, especially in an Article of this nature where we specify that the President must do a thing within a certain period of time." **Constituent Assembly Debates**, Vol. VIII, p. 195
27. The Kerala Education Bill was returned by the President for reconsideration to

the State Legislative Assembly after seeking the opinion of the Supreme Court. Giving its opinion on the Constitutional validity of some of the Clauses, on May 22, 1958, the Supreme Court held that Clause 3(5) of the Bill relating to establishment and recognition of schools violated Article 30 (1) of the Constitution. The amendments were accepted by the Assembly.

Indian Affairs Record, Vol. IV, No. 5, June 1958, p. 112. See also H. M. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was also returned by the President to the Assembly for reconsideration. On October 15, 1960 the Bill as amended in the light of the President's recommendations was passed by the Assembly. It then received the Assent of the President on January 21, 1961.

A.I.R., 1962, S. C. 694 (697).

These two Bills were passed by the State Legislature. Though the President gave his assent to both the Bills yet he was not bound to do so under Article 201. But under such circumstances, if the Parliament passes the Bill in the same form, the President cannot withhold his assent

28. *Supra*, n. 15.

29. William H. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

30. Purushothaman Nambudiri Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R., 1962, S. C. 694 (702).

31. Article 75 (3).

32. Austine, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

33. Henry W. Holms, Jr., "Powers of the Indian President" *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, vol. 12, No. 3, July-September 1970, p. 370, n. 12.

34. A. I. R. 1955 S. C. 549 (556).

35. D. D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India* (Calcutta), vol 2, 5th Ed. 1967, p. 687.

36. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII p. 194.
37. Austine, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.
38. A. V. Dicey says that with the Instrument of Instructions gone the protection, of parliamentary government in India was left to convention, to the vigilance of Parliament, and ultimately 'to the will of that power which.....is' the true political sovereign of the State—the majority of electors or.....the nation. *Law of the Constitution*, 429, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 139.
39. Articles 30, 31-A, and 288 fall under this category.
40. Purushothaman Nambudiri Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R., 1962, S. C. 694 (703).
41. Prem Narain Tandon Vs. State of Uttar Pradesh, A. I. R., 1960 Allahabad 205 (207).
42. The Kerala Education Bill, 1957, The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill 1961. *Supra*, n. 27.

The Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill, 1962, was reserved and examined to see whether its provisions were discriminatory and violative of Article 14. On scrutiny, it was found that the Bill could not be held to be violative of Article 14. S. N. Jain and Alice Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

43. The Madhya Pradesh Panchayati Raj Bill, 1960.

The disputed article in the M. P. Panchayat Raj Bill was Article 106 providing for the nomination of the first janpad panchayats to be established under the Bill. The M. P. Government is understood to have argued that the procedure of nomination as provided for in the Bill was only due to the fact that M. P. was a backward State with a very high ratio of illiteracy. The Constitu-

ion of the Panchayats for the purpose of village administration is a State subject under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State Governments. However the Central Government had been of the strong opinion that whatever the condition prevailing in M. P., the system of nomination to the panchayats was a negation of the concept of Panchayat Raj ; thereby suggesting that the body should be elective one from the very beginning. R. P. Pandey, "The Presidential veto Over State Legislation", *Union-State Relations in India*, Edited by S. A. H. Haqqi (Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut), First published, 1967, pp. 99-100.

44. Punjab Sale Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1965 which had a provision for research and seizure affecting the working of the post office a matter over which the States had no power.
45. M. P. Oil Seeds Milling Industry (Regulation) Bill 1960.

46. The Mysore Village Officers Abolition Bill, 1961.
47. From 1950 to 1964, out of the 45 Governors 24 belonged to the Congress Party. In most of the cases, the burnt out politicians, defeated candidates of the Congress and the favourite boys and crack pots of the Central Government are appointed as Governors. Under such circumstances, it is wild to imagine that they can go against the policies of the Centre. For detail study see Mahinder Singh Dahiya, "The Appointment of the Governor and its Implications", *The Modern Review*, June 1971, pp. 37-18.
48. Mr. Prokash Singh Badal the former Chief Minister of Punjab, is reported to have threatened to secede from the Indian Union. It is regarded as highly improper and unpatriotic on his part. See the letter of Bharpur Singh published recently in *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, August 30, 1971.



DE GAULLE AND THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY

Mrs. ALEY T. PHILIP

Many discerning political commentators in France and elsewhere hold that General De Gaulle has virtually destroyed and violated the Fifth Republican Constitution, by making it a presidential system. "After De Gaulle's departure, we hope that the President will become more of an 'arbiter and less of a power'" said a few Frenchmen.¹ De Gaulle had become both an arbiter and a power. Yet to some of the others the great merit of De Gaulle's system was that it was truly parliamentary, with a President who made the decisions and a Prime Minister who carried them out. Strangely enough De Gaulle regarded himself more as a "Republican Monarch" than a President, because he felt that the French people were at heart like himself essentially monarchists. His opponents called him a 'megalomaniac' and rephrased Lord Acton's aphorism as "power attracts neurotics and absolute power attracts absolute neurotics."²

Thus opinion is divided as to how the French Constitution evolved under General De Gaulle. The political commentators agree on the fact that the Fifth Republican Constitution was not sufficiently institutionalised. The phrases and articles of the Constitution were such that they could permit an evolution either towards classic parliamentary system or a true presidential system, and by the time De Gaulle retired, it was evident, how it had evolved.

This article is intended to discuss how De Gaulle effected the evolution towards a presidential system in France. Three factors helped him in this:

- (1) The provisions of the Constitution dealing with the powers of the President were vague

and ambiguous—and it was possible for De Gaulle to give the most liberal interpretations to them. In fact as the 'true father' of the Constitution he interpreted the provisions, as he liked.

(2) De Gaulle was trusted—perhaps the only politician to be trusted at that time—by both the leftists and the rightists and this helped De Gaulle to make use of the presidential powers as he wanted. President De Gaulle has imprinted his qualities so deeply on the office, that it is difficult to imagine the office without him or how it would have evolved had it been some one else.

(3) Lastly, the atmosphere of crisis that existed in France as a result of the Algerian question also helped De Gaulle to dominate over the government. Nicholas Wahl terms De Gaulle's Presidency as a "crisis executive".

In modern times there is no one individual who has become such an integral part of France as De Gaulle. De Gaulle could truthfully have said "I am the state". Gaullism has become part of French tradition though De Gaulle himself refused to recognise a political opinion called "Gaullism". He spoke for France, since he was the unrivalled hero of the Liberation and the tried and proven saviour. He declared that he had incarnated "legitimacy" of France in his person for the last 20 years. He declared that he loved France and on being asked by a reporter whether it was true that he regarded France as his mother, he replied, "of course she is". His enemies assert that "De Gaulle loved not France, not history but his own personal power".³

Fifth Republican Constitution :

De Gaulle believed that the Fifth Republican Constitution, which was drafted under his supervision was the beginning of a new era of political stability. He had advocated from 1946 an effective executive to rule over France, because he believed that it had been only countries with strong executives that played a vital role in international affairs. He was against governmental systems in France, that consecrated "instability" in governments as a virtue and had through all the period of his retirement in his country residence at Colombey, fought a battle in French politics against the debilitating executive in France. Michel Debre when he declared that governments must combine "authority with stability" was echoing the words of De Gaulle. Despite long years of waiting when De Gaulle came back to power in France, under the most dramatic developments in Algeria, he did not come with a ready made constitution in his pocket. Yet the constitution was drafted by Gaullists like Michel Debre.

De Gaulle agreed to respect five basic conditions, while framing the constitution and one of them was to make the executive responsible to the legislature, and this was in deference to French tradition. This promise ruled out the presidential system. So De Gaulle and Debre had the difficult task of creating an effective and strong executive while at the same time making it responsible to the legislature. De Gaulle reversed the traditional relationship between the legislature and the government, by creating a "bicephalic" executive, where power was divided between the President and the Cabinet, giving the cabinet better defences against the legislature.

President in Theory :

De Gaulle and Debre insisted that the President of the Fifth Republican Constitution would be above parties and political factions,

speaking for the nation. Debre's president was not intended to make personal policies or to interfere in day to day administration. The office was to be one of 'moral magistracy'—He was to be a 'Republican monarch' acting as a symbol of unity, a supreme arbitrator, above parties and interests. In 1958 the idea was to have a President who does not actively govern but does more than reign. A perusal of the Constitution shows that the Fifth Republic gives to the chief executive most of the normal powers belonging to any executive, intended merely as the head of the State. The right to appoint the Prime Minister, and other civil and military officials, to preside over a number of bodies, to summon, and dissolve the legislature to hold up a bill by a suspensive veto, to be the Commander in Chief of the armed forces, are rights that belong almost to all executives of the parliamentary form of government including Presidents of the Fourth and Third Republics. One can find nothing drastic in any of these powers vested in the President of the Fifth Republic. The President has a few special powers, namely the right to hold referendum on legislative and constitutional bills, to declare emergency, to negotiate and ratify treaties. Thus the constitutional position is not greatly changed though it is true, that the President of the Fifth Republic has been given greater elbow-room than his predecessors in the IV and III Republics.

All constitutions are necessarily modified in practice, and it is unrealistic to base deductions, only on the written part of the constitution. This is never more true than in the case of De Gaulle's presidency.

De Gaulle interpreted these provisions very drastically, and very differently from the way his predecessors had done, and converted an office of "arbitral authority" in to one of real authority. Instead of being in the back seat De Gaulle insisted on taking the 'wheel'

himself. In other words, he so interpreted the constitution and presidential stage.

Status and Position : Article 5.

"The President of the Republic shall see that the Constitution is respected. He shall ensure, by his arbitration, the regular functioning of the governmental authorities, as well as the continuance of the power that he made the Presidents the centre of the political State

He shall be the guarantor of national independence, of the integrity of the territory and of respect for community agreements and treaties". These phrases and words are vague and are capable of being pressed to mean much. This article may have been meant only to indicate a general improvement in the status of the President. Thus it would seem that the President could intervene when governmental organs were deadlocked. De Gaulle felt, that this article subordinated all other governmental organs to the President. Thus General De Gaulle took a personal responsibility for all that happened to France, both internally and externally.

President and the Council of Ministers :

Article 9—"The President of the Republic shall preside over the Council of Ministers"—General De Gaulle presided over the Council of Ministers as his predecessors did and under him the Council became no longer merely the decision ratifying body but the real decision making body. In fact the decisions of the cabinet were not reached together in the Council of Ministers at all. De Gaulle merely listened to the opinions of his Prime Minister, and other Ministers and finally made his own decisions which he imposed on the Cabinet. The communiqué issued to the press at the end of the cabinet meeting, was issued in the name of the President. The decisions of the Cabinet were the decisions of De Gaulle. Cabinet meetings were held regularly but every minister knew that on most matters De Gaulle

had already made up his mind and that discussions were perfunctory. He would call press conferences to outline policies, and clarify decisions. He felt he was personally responsible for determining all policies. For carrying out the decisions, De Gaulle looked to the Cabinet. "Thus under De Gaulle the process of execution began where once the policy decisions were debated—in the Council of Ministers."⁴ De Gaulle took care to see that he was in the centre of the news. Public interest was focussed on him and not on the Prime Minister.

This reminds one of the President of U.S.A. who makes all the important decisions—and the communiqué is given out to the press in the name of the President. When all France is at dinner at 8 p. m. President De Gaulle used to appear over the T. V. to talk to them on important decisions very much like President Roosevelt's 'fire-side' chats. This, according to De Gaulle was the best way to reach all Frenchmen. Once De Gaulle said "The newspapers are against me. I have the T. V. and I shall keep it"—and keep it, he did till the end.

Article 8—The President of the Republic shall appoint the Premier. He shall terminate the functions of the premier when the latter presents the resignation of the Government.

The choice of the Prime Minister was completely in the hands of the President, and therefore it was often likely that the Prime Minister and other ministers were all creatures of the President. Like the American President, it is certain, that the French President would choose a Prime Minister and a cabinet that would work amiably with him. This was just what De Gaulle proceeded to do. He appointed, with few exceptions, Gaullists like Michel Debre, Georges Pompidou, Andre Malraux, Jacques Soustelle, M. Joxe etc. and found little difficulty in controlling them. He exacted total and abject subservience. The

cabinet, under De Gaulle's Presidency, was merely an executing agency of the President. The Ministers in many cases were responsible personally to the President rather than to the Prime Minister as was required by the Constitution. De Gaulle shifted about ministers as he liked, dismissing those he did not like or those with whom he disagreed as in the case of Antoine Pinay (Jan. 14, 1960), M. Bouloche Jacques Soustelle, all within a period of two months, January to February 1960. Many political thinkers predicted that all these were the prelude to a dictatorship. He moved about ministers as no American President would ever have done. The first draft of the Fifth Republican Constitution had given the President, the right to dismiss the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, though, when the draft was revised, this article was changed. The French cabinet worked in the shadow of the President and he protected and shielded it from attacks by the National Assembly. This accounted for the fact that the cabinets were not overthrown by the Assembly.

The Constitution provided that the cabinet should be supported by the majority in the National Assembly but even this majority was provided because, of the popularity, not of the cabinet but of the President. When in 1959, the first Parliament tried to overthrow the cabinet, De Gaulle warned the deputies, that if they continued their factional quarrels, he would dissolve the legislature. He said 'Gentlemen, you will have only this government and you won't have any other'. It was a veiled threat to the National Assembly, and the threat worked.

Right of Appointment :

President De Gaulle made extensive use of the appointing power to "civil and military" posts of the State, as per article 13. In a government where the day to day administration was in the hands of the Prime Minister,

this was an unusual right. De Gaulle effectively used this, to appoint in Algeria, military officers in whom he had the trust. One such was the appointment of M. Joxe as minister of State for Algerian affairs and he was made directly responsible to the President and not to the Prime Minister.

Foreign Policy :

The Fifth Republican Constitution gave the President a great deal of initiative in foreign policy. Article 52 was written into the Constitution at the insistence of De Gaulle giving him the right to negotiate and ratify treaties. No doubt, De Gaulle thought he was qualified to play an important role in international politics as one who had watched at close quarters, European politics for fifty years. As a statesman said, in foreign policies, General De Gaulle seldom consulted experts. He would without informing his ministers announce his decisions. A constant phrase that he used while announcing his decision was "things being what they are". Under De Gaulle the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the ministry became merely administrative agents called upon to execute and apply the decisions. "He explodes his bombshell all by himself."¹⁵ The legislature would meet to discuss foreign policy but usually the debates took place long after a decision had already been made. In 1959, regarding the question of Algerian self-government, De Gaulle declared "I consider it necessary to proclaim here and now that there will be self-determination". He did not make any mention of the Prime Minister or the Government and it seemed as if it was his own decision. In his second term of office, that began in January 1966, without any consultation with the legislative organ, and perhaps without even the knowledge of the cabinet, De Gaulle decided to ask for the withdrawal of NATO forces from France. When he went abroad he forcefully advocated his own foreign

policy invariably catching his own ministers unawares—and when he advocated "the liberation" of Quebec and its independence, even his own ministers expressed surprise. De Gaulle was personally responsible for determining France's attitude towards, Berlin, European Economic Community, Peking, French Community etc. Strictly and constitutionally speaking, this right to actively participate in foreign affairs conflicts with the intended position of the President as the 'arbiter' in politics. President De Gaulle felt most at home in European politics.

Thus De Gaulle far exceeded his powers in theory and practice. Political parties protested against this compelling role of De Gaulle in foreign politics. Yet very strangely they felt safer with him than with any one else, and therefore generally gave into his political gimmicks.

The Presidential Sector :

As early as November 1959, Chaban Delmas, the President of the National Assembly attributed to the President instead of to the Prime Minister, constitutional responsibility for policy within the "Presidential Sector" including foreign affairs, national defence, French Community and Algeria. President De Gaulle regarded these as his special responsibilities and to deal with them he created a special policy making process centering in his office. The political parties registered mild protests at the growth of the "Presidential Sector" but "by now it corresponded to the defacto situation so that no one questioned it seriously". Those involved in the Presidential Sector were the minister of foreign affairs, of armies, of Algerian affairs, of overseas departments and minister for co-operation who administered aid programmes to former French colonies. To carry out all the decisions, the staff at the Elysee palace was vastly expanded and De Gaulle depended to a very great extent on the support and advice of his friends like

Geoffroy de Courcel, Jacques Foccart etc. rather than on the ministers. Many held that the French executive was no longer 'bicephalous' but was headed in effect by the President of the Republic.

Legislative Powers :

It seems as if in France as in the U. S. A. there can be hostility between the executive and the legislature. They were placed in opposition rather than in apposition. Inspite of bickerings and discord between the President and the Parliament, De Gaulle managed to sweep away all opposition and generally to get his way. He had contempt for the legislature, and as early as March 1960, the relations between the President and the National Assembly deteriorated, on his turning down a request made by the majority of deputies, for a special session of the Assembly, to consider a bill on agriculture.

A novel right that the constitution gave President De Gaulle was the right to hold referendum on bills. This clause was included, particularly because, De Gaulle thought, that it would give him the right to communicate directly with the French people. De Gaulle knew that his charismatic appeal would swing any referendum, in his favour. In fact referendum was regarded by De Gaulle as a Presidential and not a governmental instrument, and he decided to take it in to his own hands. Even though the Constitution did not give the president the initiative in holding referendum. De Gaulle announced in 1961, that referendum, was going to become a normal feature of the government under the Fifth Republic. During the first referendum in January 1961, his plans for Algeria were accepted by 75% of the people. In April 1962, 90% of the voters accepted his cease-fire agreement with the Muslim rebels in Algeria—and on that occasion he said "I am appealing to you over the head of all intermediaries" meaning the legislature. on all

occasions, De Gaulle made referendum not merely a vote on a particular bill but also a vote of confidence on himself. When the second referendum was held even his friends felt that he need not have resorted to referendum, and that he showed scant respect for the constitution. At any rate it is evident that he regarded the legislature at best as a nuisance, a "Step-child".⁷

The Power of Dissolution :

Article 12—The President of the Republic may after consultation with the premier, and the Presidents of the assemblies, declare the dissolution of the National Assembly.

"The biggest stick in the President's arsenal is the right to dissolve the Parliament. He holds the power of life and death over Parliament", with the limitation that he could dissolve the national Assembly only once in twelve months, and could not dissolve it during an emergency. The motives in giving the president the power to dissolve the legislature were two fold—(1) To strengthen the hands of the government against the legislature (2) To prevent dead lock between the government and the National Assembly. De Gaulle lost no time, in making it clear that he would use it against the National Assembly to save the cabinet. The cabinets of both Michel Debre and Georges Pompidou were saved by the threats, and warnings of De Gaulle that the National Assembly would be dissolved.

Emergency Powers

No provision aroused more sustained criticism than article 16 governing the emergency powers of the President. Emergency could be declared when

- a) institutions of the Republic
- b) independence of the nation
- c) integrity of its territory
- d) or the fulfilment of its international

commitments are threatened and the constitution could not function regularly. While

drafting the Constitution, the idea was to give the final decision, on emergency to the Constitutional Council but it was changed in view of De Gaulle's preference. It was pointed out that a President seeking personal power could use the power to declare emergency, for a coup d'état, while the supporters argued that it was to be used only in exceptional and abnormal situation. Only once was emergency declared by De Gaulle, on 22nd April 1961 following the military insurrection in Algeria. Most people agreed that the Algerian coup constituted a threat to the institutions of the Republic. The emergency lasted five months and contrary to expectation, the first experience of article 16 set at rest many doubts regarding its operation. Paradoxically that provision that aroused the greatest apprehension, proved to be the least dangerous under De Gaulle.

During the period of emergency, several constitutional issues were raised, for example, the nature of the functions of the Parliament during emergency, whether a vote of censure against the cabinet could be moved during emergency etc. In fact Chaban Delmas even went to the extent of asserting that the President had the right of interpreting the Constitution. Thus he upheld what De Gaulle had decided the Parliament could not do, during an emergency. The Parliament acquiesced in such decisions because they were made by none other than De Gaulle. The Parliament would have protested had the decisions been made by someone else.

That a large number of the powers of the President was to be countersigned by the Premier did not act as a deterrent as far as De Gaulle was concerned. It was reduced to a formality. Instead of the Prime Minister assuming political responsibility for the actions of the President, the relationship was reversed and the President assumed responsibility for all the actions of the government. In fact the government's actions were De Gaulle's.

Conclusion :

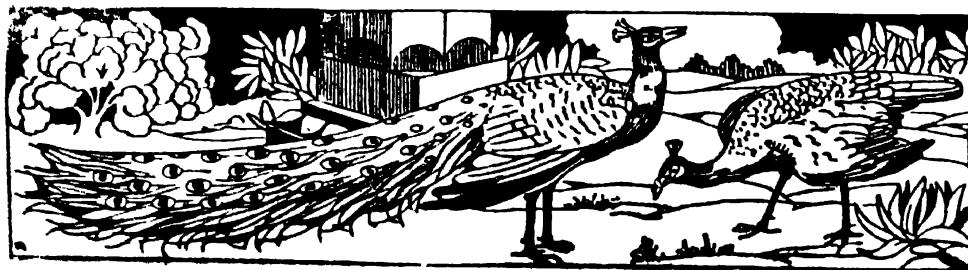
Thus De Gaulle intended to be not only the guide and head of France but also to exercise his supreme powers to the full. In the day to day administration of France, in making important civil and military appointments, in foreign policy, in holding referendum, in declaring emergency etc., President De Gaulle made personal decisions. He ruled as well as reigned and turned a Parliamentary system into a presidential system. De Gaulle became President in the true sense of the term. He became the Head of the State and the Head of the Government. The Constitution under him, instead of evolving towards a parliamentary system evolved towards a presidential system.

The majority of the French today want a true representative government rather than a presidential system and they hope that under Georges Pompidou, the President will become more an 'arbiter' and less a 'power'. Recently Pompidou declared, that the Parliament of France would be restored to its 'rightful' place. Perhaps it is an indication, that in the seventies the trend of the Fifth Republican Constitution may change and go back towards a true parliamentary system.

De Gaulle believed that there was a little

bit of Napoleon in the heart of every French man—and he tried to be a little Napoleon. He spoke of bearing on his shoulders the destiny of the country. He embodied the 'grandeur' of France. He said "Without me this country would not be anything. Without me it would all have collapsed". He believed that he knew the French people very well and yet when they let him down, and voted Georges Pompidou as President, De Gaulle retired as a "prophet doomed to failure", leaving to his successor, the traditions of a strong Presidency which the successor can either build up and strengthen or dilute and weaken.

1. Bernard E Brown—Elite attitudes in France.
2. Edward Whiting Fox—Megalocracy in France (Current History, March 1968)
3. Megalocracy in France—Edward Whiting Fox.
4. Nicholas Wahl in The French Political System (Patterns of power ed. Samuel Beer)
5. Michael Godfrey—French People and De Gaulle—(Foreign Affairs, July 1964)
6. Dorothy Pickles—The Fifth Republic 1959.
7. E. Drexel Godfrey Jr.—The Government of France (1959)
8. E. Drexel Godfrey Jr. —The Government of France (1959)



AUROBINDO AS A JOURNALIST

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Aurobindo's father, Dr. K. D. Ghosh had desired that his sons Benoybhushan, Manmohan and Aurobindo should grow up strictly as Englishmen and as unlike Indians as possible. A fourth son Barindra Kumar Ghosh was born in England but escaped being put in a school in England by the father's financial crisis and he became famous as a revolutionary leader. Aurobindo was sent to England in 1879, when he was barely seven years of age, with instructions that the brothers should be kept away from any contact with any Indians. "He (Aurobindo) returned entirely anglicized in habits, ideas and ideals,—so strongly that Aurobindo as a child spoke English and Hindustani only and learned his mother-tongue only after his return from England. He (the father) was determined that his children should receive an entirely European upbringing. While in India they were sent for the beginning of their education to an Irish nun's school in Darjeeling and in 1879 he took his three sons to England and placed them with an English Clergyman and his wife with strict instructions that they should not be allowed to make the acquaintance of any Indians or undergo any Indian influence. These instructions were carried out to the letter and Aurobindo grew up in entire ignorance of India, her people, her religion and her culture."

Aurobindo did not return to his mother-

land until fourteen years later in 1893. He knew no Indian language. At the age of 23 Aurobindo started learning Bengali, his mother tongue, Sanskrit, Marathi and Gujarati. It was not until six years later that he learnt to converse in Bengali from Dinendra Kumar Roy (a good Bengali writer, more known for his hackwork detective novels in Bengal). Although Aurobindo succeeded in mastering Bengali well enough to be able to write in that language for publication, the only language in which he could, or chose to, express himself was English. The vast bulk of Aurobindo's English writing bears testimony to that fact. He began writing poetry in the English language as early as 1886 while at school in London. And his epic volume *Savitri* in English was published sixtyfour years later in 1950, the year of his death. After leaving Calcutta in 1909 he virtually did not write anything in Bengali in which his only extant work is *Karakahini* (Story of Jail Life) on his experiences in Alipore Central Jail where he was detained in 1908-1909. During the last forty years of his life Aurobindo wrote only in English as he had done during the first thirtyfive years of his life. Thus except during a brief period of three years 1906-1909, when he casually wrote a few articles in Bengali—and, of course, letters to his wife,—Aurobindo used to write in English during his life of seventyeight years.

A Transformation

Aurobindo, who came back to India a confirmed nationalist believing in the necessity of the use of force to achieve national freedom from the British, must have caused the greatest shock to his father who wanted him to be totally unIndian. There is yet to be a proper reconstruction of Aurobindo's life during the first twentyone years of his life, fourteen of which were spent in England. What had made Aurobindo who was sent by his father to imbibe an unIndian outlook on life, become so much committed to the Indian way of life as he did in fact? We do not know. It is nowhere satisfactorily explained how the person who was intended to be unIndian became the staunchest supporter of Indian culture. We can only recall that the maternal grand-father of Aurobindo was no other than the pioneer revolutionary and Hindu nationalist Raj Narayan Bose ; and Aurobindo, on his return to India, had rushed to see him first at Deoghar. Raj Narayan was the fountainhead of inspiration at Deoghar and a first-rate Bengali writer and interpreter of national culture. Indeed, the entire significance of Aurobindo's life and work came to be identified with his defence and interpretation of Indian culture.

From the very first year of his arrival in India Aurobindo became actively engaged in contributing articles to periodicals. As he was then in the Baroda State Service he could not write under his own name but had to take the cover of anonymity. During 1893-94 he contributed a number of articles under the general title "New Lamps for Old" to the *Indu-Prakash*, a bilingual Anglo-Marathi journal of Bombay. I must confess that I have not seen the magazine *Indu-Prakash* and, therefore, cannot offer any comments on the

character of the periodical. However if Aurobindo's articles represented the general standard of the contributions the periodical was of a very high standard, indeed. In Aurobindo's own words, "This title (*New Lamps for Old*) did not refer to Indian civilization but to Congress politics. It is not used in the sense of the Aladdin story, but was intended to imply the offering of new lights to replace the old and saint reformist lights of the Congress." The articles were true to the name. The first articles represented a forth-right attack on the politics then pursued by the Indian National Congress and gave a clarion call to the people to liberate the country. The great liberal leader Mahadev Govind Ranade is reported to have warned the proprietor of the *Indu Prakash* that if the series were continued in the same tone he would run a grave risk of prosecution for sedition. The original plan of 'New Lamps for Old' had thus to be modified at the instance of the proprietor. Aurobindo reluctantly agreed to continue the series in a modified tone. Out of the eleven artides written by Aurobindo on the Indian National Congress in the *Indu Prakash* only nine could be traced and published under the title *Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought* by Professors Haridas and Uma Mukherjee. The last of the articles on the Congress in the *Indu Prakash* appeared in the issue of 6 March 1894. Subsequently he contributed nine articles on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in the *Indu Prakash* from 16 July to 27 August 1894, but could he have read Bankimchandra, at least the *Ananda Math* before that in original Bengali ?

What do we find from these articles written by a twenty two year old young Indian who had never learnt any Indian language and was utterly ignorant of the Indian tradition and culture ? He was in fact deriding the

Anglicized Indians to become which he had been groomed for long eighteen years by his father. Aurobindo wrote that the Anglicized Babu "is a man of the present but he is not the man of the future." We are struck by the vehemence of his anti-British stand. "We in India, or at any rate those races among us which are in the van of every forward movement", Aurobindo wrote seventy-eight years ago, "are far more nearly allied to the French and Athenian than to the Anglo-Saxon, but owing to the accident of British domination our intellects have been carefully nurtured on a purely English diet. Hence we do not care to purchase an outfit of political ideas properly adjusted to our natural temper and urgent requirements, but must eke out our scanty wardrobe with the cast off rags and threadbare leavings of our English masters." One can readily see from this outpouring of a young heart how hard it felt about the subjugation of India to the British. Aurobindo was at pains to distinguish the Indian culture from the British culture and further to underline the need to have an Indian ideology independent of other cultures, ideas that are "properly adjusted to our natural temper and urgent requirements." Herein is summed up Aurobindo's future course of action, to make India free so that she can come out of the cultural thraldom of the alien British and to evolve a truly Indian political philosophy which would reflect, and respond to the Indians' aspirations. Once Aurobindo had reached this conclusion it was but natural for him to criticize the utterly confused policies of the Congress and the nefarious activities of the British bureaucracy. He had no difficulty in being openly contemptuous of the British bureaucrats ("I grant that they are rude and arrogant, that they govern badly, that they are devoid of any great or generous emotion.....", he wrote of them) because he had received

the same training as they had and was their social equal but intellectual superior. And his anti-British conviction made him see the weaknesses of the policies which had been confined to securing concessions from the British for the English-educated Indian middle class which constituted an infinitesimally small proportion of the Indian population. Aurobindo in these distant days saw the force of the proletariat. "Theorist and trumper though I may be called", Aurobindo wrote in 1893, "I again assert as our first and holiest duty the elevation and enlightenment of the proletariat." Elucidating further he wrote four months later in March 1894 that "the proletariat is.....the real key of the situation. Torpid he is and immobile; he is nothing of an actual force, but he is a very great potential force, and whoever succeeds in understanding and eliciting his strength, becomes by the very fact the master of the future....." In those first articles he was exhorting the Indians to develop a sense of self-respect independent of what the British might say or do. "Our appeal, the appeal of every high souled and self-respecting nation, ought not to lie to the opinion of the Anglo-Indians, no, nor yet to the British sense of justice, but to our own reviving sense of manhood, to our own sincere fellow-feeling--so far as it can be called sincere--with the silent and suffering people of India"

Authentic Voice

Aurobindo—who did not know a word of any Indian language and had not read any of the great Indian classics—was voicing the authentic sentiment of India. He was also announcing his future course of action. The three aspects of the programme enunciated by him—driving the British away, giving up the selfish middle class moderation of the Congress and the building up of a positive Indian outlook—were interrelated. Without the one

the others were not possible of being achieved. Whatever he did or said during the following years of his life was by way of elucidation of this central ideology of Indian emancipation—physical and spiritual.

Aurobindo's debut in journalism occurred with a long and with a stated purpose of reasserting the individuality of India. The intensity of his feelings was expressed in one of his letters to his wife in October 1905, "If a demon sits on the breasts of my mother and is about to drink her blood, shall I sit idle and coldly calculate whether I have the strength enough to fight it? My only duty is to rush to the rescue of my mother." "In a similar spirit", he said, "the Indians should approach the political question—their prime duty was to save the Motherland. It was for them to rush headlong to achieve this goal without pausing to think of its probable success or failure." In this is evident another latent trend in Aurobindo's thought pattern—the spiritual approach to politics which found fuller expression in later writings. After the publication of his articles in the *Indu Prakash* in 1903-94 Aurobindo's attention was engaged in promoting revolutionary secret societies and, although he kept on writing articles and poems, for the following twelve years he was not very active in journalism. He became an active journalist in the wake of the movement against the Partition of Bengal after he had come to Calcutta in March 1906 where he stayed till his departure for Chandernagore in 1910 enroute to Pondicherry where he remained from 4 April 1910 till his death on 5 December 1950.

Aurobindo gained fame as a journalist for his writings in the *Bande Mataram*, started by another great leader of the struggle for Indian freedom, Bepin Chandra Pal in August 1906. About Aurobindo's role in the running of the *Bande Mataram*, Bepin Chandra Pal has written the following in his book, *Indian*

Nationalism : Its Personalities and Principles

"The Nationalist school was without a daily English organ. A newspaper was started. Aurobindo was invited to join its staff. A joint stock company was floated to run it, and Aurobindo became one of the directors. This paper—*Bande Mataram*—at once secured for itself a recognized position in Indian journalism. The hand of the master was in it from the very beginning. Its bold attitude, its vigorous thinking, its clear ideas, its chaste and powerful diction, its scorching sarcasm and refined witticism were unsurpassed by any journal in the country, either Indian or Anglo-Indian. It at once raised the tone of every Bengalee paper, and compelled the admiration of even hostile Anglo-Indian editors. Morning after morning not only Calcutta, but the educated community almost in every part of the country eagerly awaited its vigorous pronouncements on the stirring questions of the day.....It was a force in the country which none dared to ignore, however much they might fear or hate it, and Aurobindo was the leading spirit, the central figure, in the new journal."

About the role of *Bande Mataram*, another writer J. L. Banerji, had the following to say, "The *Bande Mataram*, leaped into popular favour almost in a day; and soon achieved for itself a remarkable position in the field of Indian journalism. The vigour and energy of its style, the trenchant directness of its tone; the fearless independence of its attitude, the high and inspiring ideal which it held up before the people, its passionate faith in the genius of the country—all combined to root the new paper in the hearts and affections of its ever-widening circle of readers. Moreover, the people knew that the *Bande Mataram* was their very own—no organ of any clique, set or faction, but wide as Indian nationality itself. No newspaper that we know of has ever evoked such passionate personal enthusiasm as

the **Bande Mataram** did during its short tenure of life.

"Whoever the actual contributor to the **Bande Mataram** might be—the soul, the genius of the paper was Aurobindo. The pen might be that of Shyam Sundar or who not—the world did not care about it ; but the voice was the voice of Aurobindo Ghose : his the clear clarion notes calling men to heroic and strenuous self—sacrifice ; his the unswerving, unfaltering faith in the high destinies of his race ; his the passionate resolve to devote life, fame, fortune, all to the service of the mother"

New Realisation

Aurobindo was arrested for the first time on 16 August 1907 for reproducing some articles from the Bengali daily **Yugantar**, which was the mouthpiece of the revolutionaries, in the English daily **Bande Mataram**. But the charge failed as Bepin Chandra Pal refused to give evidence choosing to court six months' imprisonment for contempt of court. From December 1907 Aurobindo was away from Calcutta until February 1908. In a speech in Bombay on 19 January 1908 Aurobindo said, "What is the situation in the country today ? Just as I was coming in, this paper (showing the copy of the 'Bande Mataram' newspaper) was put into my hands, and looking at the first page of it, I saw two items of news, 'The **Yugantar**' Trial, Judgment delivered, the printer convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.' The other is 'Another Newspaper Prosecution, The 'Navasakti' Office sacked and searched, printer let out on a bail of Rs. 10,000'. This is the situation of the country today. Do you realise what I mean ? There is a creed in India today which calls itself Nationalism....."

On 2 May 1908 Aurobindo was arrested in connection with the Manicktala Bomb Conspiracy but through the clever advocacy of the late C. R. Das who subsequently became

another great leader of Indian nationalism in the twenties of this century, Aurobindo was acquitted and released on 5 May 1909. In his arguments on behalf of Aurobindo, C. R. Das made a prophetic statement. Addressing the court, Das said, "He (Aurobindo) stands not only before the bar in this court but stands before the bar of the High Court of History... Long after this controversy is hushed in silence, long after this turmoil, this agitation ceases, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity. Long after he is dead and gone his words will be echoed and reechoed not only in India but across distant seas and lands."

Almost immediately after his release from jail, Aurobindo started a new English weekly the **Karmoyogin** on 19 June 1909. As the name of the new periodical indicated, Aurobindo had undergone a great transformation during his stay in jail for little over a year. Three weeks before starting the new periodical Aurobindo spoke out of his new realization in a speech delivered at a meeting held at Uttarpara near Calcutta on 30 May 1909. The speech was heavy with occult vision and Hindu spiritualism. In Aurobindo's own words, "I spoke once before.....that nationalism is not politics but religion, a creed, a faith. I say it again today, but I put it in another way I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, a faith ; I say that it is the Sanatan Dharma which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatan Dharma, with it moves and with it grows. When the Sanatan Dharma declines, then the nation declines, and if the Sanatan Dharma were capable of perishing with the Sanatan Dharma it would perish. The Sanatan Dharma, that is nationalism. This the message that I have to speak to you."

The **Karmoyogin** was the vehicle for the expression of this new found spiritual realiza-

tion of Aurobindo who also started a Bengali weekly *Dharma* in August 1909 for the same purpose. According to Sisir Kumar Mitra Aurobindo himself used to write most of the articles in the Bengali weekly *Dharma*. However there is a doubt if Aurobindo himself was capable of writing fluently and well in Bengali. Saumyendra Ganguli in his book *Swadeshi Andolan O Bangla Sahitya* (Swadeshi Movement and Bengali Literature) doubts whether all the writings in Bengali attributed to Aurobindo were really written by him in Bengali. But the collection of his reminiscences of jail life published in August 1909 in the Bengali monthly *Suprabhat*, which was subsequently brought out by Sri Aurobindo Society of Pondicherry during Aurobindo's life time, showed Aurobindo as the author of the book and nowhere was there any hint of its being a translation from English.

Although during this period Aurobindo was writing mainly on religious subjects, he contributed an article entitled, "An open letter to my countrymen" in the sixth issue of *The Karmayogin* of 31 July 1909 which was a purely political statement and caused a great stir in official circles. Aurobindo said, "In case of my deportation it may help to guide some who would be uncertain of their course of action, and, if I do not return from it it may stand as my last political will and testament to my countrymen." This he wrote barely six months before his self-imposed exile to Pondicherry from where he never returned to Calcutta or what might be legally considered to be Indian territory. In that article he appeared to be advising the people to be guarded in the steps they took for the cause of freedom. Aurobindo wrote, "The men who have led hitherto (the nationalist movement) have been strong men of high gifts and commanding genius, great enough to be the protagonists of any other movement, but even

they were not sufficient to fulfil one which is the chief current of a world-wide revolution. Therefore the Nationalist Party, custodians of the future, must wait for the man who is to come, calm in the midst of calamity, hopeful under defeat, sure of eventual emergence and triumph and always mindful of the responsibility which they owe not only to their Indian posterity but to the world.

"Meanwhile the difficulties of our situation ask for bold yet wary walking. The strength of our position is moral, not material. The whole of the physical strength in the country belongs to the established authority which our success would, so far as its present form is concerned, abolish by transforming it out of all possibility of recognition. It is natural that it should use all its physical strength to prevent, so long as it can, that transformation. The whole of the moral strength of the country is with us, justice is with us, nature is with us. The law of God, which is higher than any human, justifies our action; youth is for us, the future is ours. On that moral strength we must rely for our survival and eventual success. We must not be tempted by any rash impatience into abandoning the ground on which we are strong and venturing on the ground on which we are weak." Summing up Aurobindo wrote, "The policy I suggest to the Nationalist Party may briefly be summed up as follows : 1. Persistence with a strict regard to law in a peaceful policy of self-help and passive resistance. 2. The regulation of our attitude towards the Government by the principle of 'No control, no co-operation'. 3. A rapprochement with the Moderate party wherever possible and the reconstitution of a united Congress. 4. The regulation of the Boycott Movement so as to make both the political and the economic boycott effective. 5. The organisation of the Provinces, if not of the whole country, according to our original programme. 6. A

system of cooperation which will not contravene the law and will yet enable workers to proceed with the work of self-help and national efficiency, if not quite so effectively as before, yet with energy and success."

From Politics to Spiritualism

By then, however, Aurobindo had ceased to be much of an active political leader. He left Calcutta in February 1910 for the nearby French territory of Chandernagore from where he arrived at Pondicherry on 4 April, 1910. Four years after his arrival at the French territory of Pondicherry Aurobindo started the journal *Arya* on 15 August 1914 in joint editorship with Mother and Paul Richard. From this time onward Aurobindo's writing assumed an entirely philosophical character devoid of all touch of politics. It was in this periodical *Arya* that the greatest philosophical works of Aurobindo, including *The Life Divine*, *On the Veda*, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, were published. The *Arya* had run for seven years from August 1914 to July 1921. Subsequently a few journals appeared from the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, viz *The Advent* under the editorship of Nolini Kanta Gupta in 1944 and the *Bulletin of Physical Education* in 1969. The eight articles that Aurobindo contributed to the *Bulletin* elucidate the ideas in *The Life Divine* and have been published in the form of a book under the title, *The Supramental Manifestation upon Earth*.

In the first article in the *Arya*, Aurobindo lamented over the unreal divorce "that has been pronounced between reason and faith" and urged for the "synthesis.....of religious aspiration and scientific faculty, as a beginning ; and in the resultant progress and integrality also of the inner existence." Aurobindo's chief concern became the interpretation of Indian

philosophy and culture. In one of his articles in *Arya* in 1918 Aurobindo wrote, "Philosophy and religion are the soul of Indian culture, inseparable from each other and interpenetrative. The whole objective of Indian philosophy, its entire *raison d'être*, is knowledge of the spirit, the experience of it and the right way to a spiritual existence ; its single aim coincides with the highest significance of religion. Indian religion draws all its characteristic value from the spiritual philosophy which illuminates its supreme aspiration and colours even most of what is drawn from an inferior range of religious experience." Aurobindo visualizes a life which is more conscious and fuller for man. He concludes his *magnum opus*, *The Life Divine* with a very optimistic note. "If there is an evolution in material nature and if it is an evolution of being with consciousness and life as its two key-terms and powers", Aurobindo writes, "this fullness of being, fullness of consciousness, fullness of life must be the goal of development towards which we are tending and which will manifest at an early or later stage of our destiny. The self, the spirit, the reality that is disclosing itself out of the first unconsciousness of life and matter, would evolve its complete truth of being and consciousness in that life and matter. It would return to itself -or, if its end as an individual is to return into its absolute, it could make that return also,—not through a frustration of life but through a spiritual completeness of itself in life. Our evolution in the Ignorance with its chequered joy and pain of self-discovery and world discovery, its half fulfilments, its constant finding and missing, is only our first state. It must lead inevitably towards an evolution in the Knowledge, a self-finding and self-unfolding of the spirit, a self-revolution of the Divinity in things in that true power of itself in nature which is to us still a Supernature."

Aurobindo had withdrawn from social life. After he had gone to Pondicherry several attempts were made by the most eminent among the Indian leaders to persuade him to come back to social life. Although occasionally Aurobindo had even on his own given his views on contemporary political developments—in 1919 he had written to Annie Besant's New India on the Morley-Minto Reforms, in 1923 he supported C. R. Das's Swarajya Party programme, and in 1942 he supported the Cripps' Proposals and had even sent his personal emissary to the Congress Working Committee requesting its acceptance—Aurobindo spurned repeated offers (including an invitation to preside over the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1920) to come back to active political and social life. Nevertheless Aurobindo retained an active interest in Indian developments and imbibed a faith in the future and progress.

From this very brief review of Aurobindo's life it is seen that from the very first year of his active life in India in 1893 to the very last year of his life (1950) Aurobindo had contributed to the periodical press of course, with intermittent breaks. Viewed thus Aurobindo's active life can be termed the life of a journalist. But the content of his journalism had changed over the years. From being an ardent spokesman of rising Indian nationalism in the nineties of the nineteenth century Aurobindo had become a mystic recluse by the middle of the twentieth century. It was on 24 April 1949 that Aurobindo allowed himself to be photographed for the first time in forty years since he left Calcutta in 1909. The photographer was the world renowned Henri Cartier Bresson. On many occasions even his messages came—not from him direct—through the Mother. It is thus somewhat remarkable that, although Aurobindo lived

the last years of life away from the company of men, he retained a faith in the future. Nevertheless the message is couched in such terms as to be virtually unintelligible to the general people. Unless someone comes forward to relate the essentially constructive ideas of this Indian turned Indian through being un-Indian, Aurobindo is likely to remain outside the mainstream of Indian life as he was during the last forty years of his life and has been during the period of over two decades since his death. But his message being innately sound that isolation has been unfortunate both for Aurobindo and for the world at large.

Aurobindo has drawn attention to the freedom of the unit while commanding the whole. In his book *The Ideal of Human Unity*, Aurobindo writes, "The ultimate result must be the formation of a World-State and the most desirable form of it would be a federation of free nationalities in which all subjection or forced inequality and subordination of one to another would have disappeared and, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status. A confederacy would give the greatest freedom to the nations constituting the World-State, but this might give too much room for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to operate; a federal order would then be the most desirable. All else would be determined by the course of event and by general agreement or the shape given by the ideas and necessities that may grow up in the future." If this principle is applied to the situation in India and if the Indian Union is converted into a true federation with genuine freedom for the States (a freedom that is denied by the semi-unitary Constitution of India) there is no doubt that India would be a more peaceful and desirable land to live in.

than it is now. Aurobindo wrote these words over half a century ago in 1918. Are we too small to give them a concrete form even today?

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B. B. Ghosh
Awarded Padma Bhushan posthumously

Current Affairs

Recognition of Bangla Desh by Various States

Since India recognised Bangla Desh as an independent state many states have followed India's example. Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma, Norway, Austria, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia and some other countries had been the first few groups of countries to establish diplomatic relation with the newly liberated state. Coming with these recognitions are the series of severance of diplomatic connections carried out by Pakistan against all the countries that recognised the state of Bangla Desh. This has the nature of an expression of displeasure by Pakistan against these countries for making friendly overtures to Bangla Desh. But the number of countries that are progressively establishing friendly relations with Bangla Desh are on the increase and, at this rate, the Pakistanis will soon have to cut off political connections with almost all nations. As some people have facetiously pointed out Pakistan's foreign relations will soon be utterly inexpensive. Pakistan's action is unjustified in so far as, Pakistan has been defeated and ousted from the territory formerly described as East Pakistan. It was Pakistan's policy of exploitation and repression that started the revolt and the Indo-Pakistan War. It is therefore now necessary to deal with the de facto government of that region if one has at all to have any dealings with the people who live there. Pakistan had better learn to face facts.

Doing without American Aid

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said on several occasions that she was not going to accept any foreign aid that had any conditions attached to it. We do not know which country has offered aid to India in recent times ; but if any country has, and has made it conditional, Mrs. Gandhi has done right to reject such offers. As far as we know, America has not made any offers to give money to India. The reason for this is clear. America has now an anti-Indian outlook. Moreover America is cutting down all financial assistance to all countries. Her public expenses have gone up tremendously and she has no surplus funds which she can utilise for aid to other countries. Other nations may have money and they may give some to India ; but such aid will be most probably unconditional. We believe Japan and West Germany may be in a position to lend money to India. They are, however, not in a position to impose terms. In the circumstances any expectations of financial aid should be for unconditional assistance. But Mrs. Gandhi's ideas of self-help are definitely better than accepting even unconditional aid. We hope she will stick to her ideas.

The Seas around us and the Sky Overhead

India has a fairly large and well equipped army. She manufactures most of her arms and has an air force which can support her army. This air force also can produce its own planes and weaponry. These facts go to show that India has the ability to protect her own territory. But a country with a long sea coast has ,

to have a strong navy too so that it can protect its harbours and ports, seaside townships, merchant vessels and fishing boats and foreign trade and commerce, in a proper manner. Foreign navies with aircraft carriers can make air attacks on places which are hundreds of miles inland. Submarines equipped to launch rockets can cause great damage to places right inside the country. A large and well equipped navy is therefore essential for the safety of any country that has a long sea front. India has a fairly competent naval force but it is not large enough for the size of our seacoast. We need at least four aircraft carriers, ten cruisers, 20 destroyers and 20 submarines. There should be other craft in proportionate numbers. Our air force should be doubled too. We shall need large sums of money to get all these ships and planes ; but we should go after this plan of enlargement of military strength immediately. The question of ways and means will be difficult to answer ; but once we make up our mind, we shall surely get things done by a purposeful utilisation of our national resources.

Bangla Desh and Bengal

The people of East Bengal, formerly known as East Pakistan and now as Bangla Desh have created a problem of nomenclature for the people of the state of West Bengal in India. There being no place now which calls itself East Bengal there remains no point in calling a state West Bengal. Moreover the name Bangla Desh is rather comprehensive and one gets the idea that Bangla Desh is the whole of Bangla Desh, east as well as west. It has therefore become necessary to change the name of West Bengal to something that will signify that this area, now called West Bengal, is the homeland of the Bengalis in the same manner as Bangla Desh is the motherland of the Bengalis of Bangla Desh. It is

unfortunate that the Districts of Manbhumi, Singhabhumi, Santhal Parganas and Purnea have been kept attached to the State of Bihar ; but the Districts of Birbhumi, Mallabhumi (Bankura), Barabhum (West Burdwan) Subarnabhumi (West Midnapur) etc. are still parts of the state of West Bengal. The word "bhumi" (used as a shortened suffix "bhumi") signifies "land of" and the term Bangabhumi would therefore mean the land of the Bengalis. This will be very suitable name for that part of Bengal which is a state of India for the reason that this area has been predominantly associated with the history of the Bengali race. Chaitanya Dev, Jayadev, Krittibas Ojha, Raja Ramchandra Roy Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Keshabchandra Sen, Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, Rabindranath, Abanindranath, Gaganendranath and many other eminent Bengalis were born and carried on their activities in this part of Bengal. Vijay Singha who conquered Ceylon and the semi-mythical Chand Saudagar were also people of this area. Many great preachers of Buddhism who went to Tibet and China were Bengalis from this part of Bengal. The Great Capitals of Bengali dynasties which were founded at Vishnupur, Gaur, Pandua and other places were in what we call Indian Bengal. The great ports of Tamralipti (Tamluk) and Chandraketugarh were here too. From the religious angle the Ganges, brought down mythically from heaven by Bhagirath, a descendant of Sagar Raja, for the release of the souls of his ancestors, flowed down to Sagar Island through the Adi Ganga (original Ganges) and the Bhagirathi (The Hooghly river) through the districts of Murshidabad, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and Midnapur. The Ganges assumes the name Padma in Bangla Desh and is not considered to be the Ganges proper from the religious point of view.

Leaving aside all these considerations connected with the religious cultural and political history of Bengal we may mention the economic importance of the port of Calcutta, of the great industrial belt that surrounds Calcutta, the coalmines, tea gardens and the engineering and manufacturing establishments which are associated with West Bengal. If the name of the state therefore is converted to Bangabhumi and the English version of it made just Bengal, this state of India will be distinguished from Bangla Desh which is really the Eastern part of the land of the Bengalis. If friendly relations are maintained between the two wings of this land, prosperity and progress will undoubtedly come to both through commercial, cultural and social exchanges. With about 125 million or more persons in India and Bangla Desh the Bengalis as a racial cultural community will certainly make great contributions to world literature, music, art, dance, drama, philosophy, theology history and science. The names of numerous persons come to our mind in this connection Bankimchandra, Madhusudan, Rabindranath,

Jadu Bhatta, Radhika Goswami, Gopeswar, Alauddin, Ravishankar, Uday Shankar, Devi Prasad, Abanindranath, Gaganendranath, Nandalal, Girish Chandra, Dwijendralal, Brajendranath, Devendranath, Jadunath, Jagadishchandra, Prafullachandra, Satyendra-nath are great names in the world of intellectual achievements. The Bengalis cannot and will not stop contributing to the progress of human civilisation ; whatever happens. It is therefore very necessary to give a proper and suitable name to the Indian side of Bengal. We think Bangabhumi is a very suitable name as in Bengali we call the motherland "matribhumi", our birthplace "janmabhumi" and so forth. The Indian government should take this matter up and make a change of nomenclature. If at a later date those parts of Bengal which have remained attached to other states since British times, are reunited to Bengal, it would be of great significance in point of doing justice to the people of the Bengali race. If that is not done there should be full arrangements made by the states concerned to safeguard the minority rights of the Bengalis everywhere.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Economic Growth of Israel

News from Israel gives us the following facts and figures relating to the economic growth of Israel in recent years :

The social and economic gap between the various sections of the population in Israel has been considerably reduced in the past ten years, according to the findings of an Inquiry Commission set up by the Prime Minister to examine the division of income and the social gap in the country.

The Commission which was headed by Mr. David Horowitz, Governor of the Bank of Israel, also found that there has been a marked reduction in disparity between residents of Asian and African origin and those of European and American origin, and that the standard of living of families of Asian and African origin has shown a decided improvement, in comparison with that of the general population. This improvement expresses itself in term of increased income, better housing and the ownership of durable commodities. Such improvement notwithstanding, the average income of families of Asian or African origin still amounts to only 70% of the average income of Israeli families generally.

Rising Standard of Living

There was a considerable rise in the standard of living of the general Jewish urban population in Israel from the end of the 1950's until the end of the 1960's, the gross income of the general population rising by about 92%. Between 1963/64 and 1970, the real income of the general population increased by 34%. The income of families of European and American origin increased by 36% that of families of Asian and African origin increased by 46% ;

and that of families born in Israel by only 27%. The relatively small growth in income of families whose heads were born in the country is to be ascribed to the fact that these are comparatively young and are still in the initial stages of economic development.

The Commission also took into account additional indicators, such as housing conditions, composition expenditure and ownership of durable commodities. A considerable improvement set in in the housing of the general population. The percentage of families living three to a room dropped from 21% in 1960 to 8% in 1970. For families whose heads were born in Asia or Africa and who immigrated to Israel before the rise of the State, the percentage of those occupying 3 persons and over per room, dropped from 37% in 1960 to 12% in 1970. During the same period the density of housing for families of the same origin, whose heads arrived after the establishment of the State dropped from 49% to 17%.

Role of Food Basket

An additional indicator is the gradual drop in the role of the food basket in the composition of the family's outlays. In 1959/60 the average family spent 36% of its income on food ; in 1968/69 food accounted for only 27% of a family's expenditure.

As for durable goods, the Commission examined the ownership of electrical refrigerators cooking stoves, washing machines, television sets and private cars.

At the beginning of the decade, electric refrigerators were owned by only half the number of families in the country ; at the end of the decade they were owned by 96% of all families in the country—97% of families of

European and American origin, and 92% of families of Asian and African origin.

Durables Commodities

During the same period the ownership of cooking stoves rose from 64% to 88%, and that of washing machines from 17% to 46%, the discrepancy in ownership between families of Western and Eastern origins being negligible.

Having regard to these findings the Commission arrived at the following conclusions : in the first years of the decade—1957/58 to 1963/64 hardly any change set in the distribution of income in the period of economic recession 1966/67—there was a marked increase in disparity in so far as division of income was concerned, but since 1968 there has been a clear tendency for this disparity to drop.

As for the division of income, there has been a considerable improvement in the financial situation of families of Asian and African origins. At the beginning of the decade such families earned only 63% of the average income per family in the country ; at the end of the decade they earned 69% of the average income.

Arguments favouring EEC for Britain

Economic Record, published by the British Information service, gives us the following information relating to the white paper that was placed before the British Parliament.

A Government White Paper now before the British Parliament argues strongly that Britain should become a full member of the enlarged European Communities. Five million copies of a simplified version of the document are being distributed free to the public from post offices throughout the country.

The White Paper, which was presented to Parliament by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, says : "Every historic choice involves challenge as well as opportu-

nity. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the right decision for us is to accept the challenge, seize the opportunity and join the European Communities."

The White Paper, entitled *The United Kingdom and the European Communities*, gives the historic background of the Communities, sets out the case for British membership and lays out in detail the terms for entry which have been achieved since negotiations with the Communities opened in June last year.

The White Paper stresses that the interests of Commonwealth countries have been a major concern of the British Government throughout the negotiations. It says that independent Asian Commonwealth countries will not only benefit from the Generalised Preference Scheme of the enlarged Community but have an undertaking that it will be the enlarged Community's continuing objective to expand and reinforce existing trade relations.

The Government, says the White Paper, is satisfied that the arrangements for entry agreed in the negotiations will enable Britain to adjust satisfactorily to her new position as a member of the Communities and thus reap the full benefits of membership.

It adds : "The Government will therefore seek the approval of Parliament in the autumn for a decision of principle to take up full membership of the Communities on the basis of the arrangements which have been negotiated with them."

The whole purpose of the White Paper is to explain to Parliament and to the country the satisfactory nature of the agreements and to persuade them of the advantages of membership. This is the theme which runs through the document.

On the economic side, the White Paper says that the costs of joining the Community—

which are set out in the document—are the price Britain will have to pay for the economic and political advantages, but these advantages will more than out-weigh the cost provided the opportunities are seized.

These opportunities would lead to "a substantial increase in trade, stimulus to growth and investment, and a greater rise in real wages and standards of living than we have known in recent years or would be possible if we remained outside the Communities".

The White Paper continues : "Beyond these economic considerations are the broad political perspectives. In an enlarged Community we could better serve our own interests and those of our traditional friends and allies.

Strikes and Lockouts in West Bengal Coal Mines

We take the following from the *Coal Field Tribune* :

5,00,230 mandays were lost in West Bengal coal mines due to strikes and lockouts in 1½ years' time from January, 1970 to June, 1971 and 1710 labour disputes including strikes and lockouts were entertained by the Central Industrial Relations Machinery here of which 1235 were settled. There were 90 strikes and 10 lockouts involving about 19,93,000 workers. Of the total 90 strikes, 30 were settled by the Central Industrial Relations Machinery and the rest fizzled out while all the 10 lockouts were settled. 10 disputes were referred to arbitration and 50 were referred to Industrial Tribunal for adjudication.

The year 1970 was the year of intense labour unrest in West Bengal Coal mines when 2,11,180 mandays were lost in 60 strikes and 1,73,00 mandays were lost in 10 lockouts. 17,77,00 miners were involved in strikes and 5,800 in Lockouts. About 1170 labour disputes were entertained by Central Industrial Relations Machinery during the year includ-

ing strikes and lockouts of which 885 were settled.

During January to June, 1971 though there was no lockout, there was 30 strikes involving about 1,58,000 workers and 1,15,900 mandays were lost thereby. Central Industrial Relation Machinery entertained 540 disputes including strikes of which 390 were settled.

Shipbuilding Industry of Poland

Opening the exhibition of Polish Shipbuilding Industry organised by the Information Centre of Poland in New Delhi, Alfons Raszeja, representative of CENTROMOR gave out the following facts :

The Polish shipbuilding industry was started from scratch only in People's Poland, that is, in 1945, after Poland had gained full and historically justified access to the Baltic Sea as a result of the Second World War.

In the years 1945-49 Polish shipyards had to be rebuilt after tremendous destruction caused by the War, and later followed their expansion. The first Polish sea-going cargo ship with a capacity of 2540 tons—as "*Soldek*"—which is still serving the Polish merchant marine, was launched in 1949. The beginning of the Polish shipbuilding industry was very modest : in the years 1949-50 Poland built only 5 sea-going cargo ships with an overall capacity of about 13,000 tons including one cargo ship, "*Pierwo-majak*" for the Soviet Union.

Expansion of repair shipyards and construction of marine equipment factories were started in the fifties. During the same time Polish river shipyards were also being expanded. Along with the expansion of shipyards and marine equipment factories the Polish shipbuilding industry was building up its large design and research centers which are among the largest in the world at present. The main design and research centre employs about 1,300 highly qualified engineers who can cope

with most advanced requirements in designing of the highest standard in the world.

At present the Polish shipbuilding industry has at its disposal 5 shipbuilding yards, 5 repair shipyards, 9 river shipyards and nearly 900 marine equipment factories and shipbuilding service workshops.

Poland produces and exports :

Cargo ships with a capacity upto 55,000 DWT (the production of cargo ships with a capacity upto 1,0,000 DWT will be started in 1974).

Fishing ships with a capacity up to 10,000 DWT ;

Research ships (it is worth mentioning that Polish research ships participate in the Soviet space research programme);

Training ships ;

River ships various kinds and for various purposes ;

Technical and auxiliary stock ;

A wide range of marine equipment.

Finally, the Polish shipbuilding industry offers services in designing and construction of ships, technological services, as well as wide cooperation in shipbuilding.

In the year 1969 Poland built 59 ships including cargo ships, fishing ships and research ships with an overall capacity of about 451,000 DWT. Poland has now become one of the world's ten leading ship producers, the world's leading producers and exporter of fishing ships and one of the world's eight leading exporters of ships in general.

"CENTROMOR", the organizer of our exhibition here, is Poland's central office for import and export of ships and marine equipment. It was established in 1950 and is now one of Poland's 3 largest foreign trade enterprises. Its export turnover amounts to more than a milliard US dollars. It maintains trade relations with 63 countries in four conti-

nents and exports Polish ships to 22 countries including such important naval powers as Great Britain, Norway, the Soviet Union and France. It exports Polish ship repair services to 52 countries and Polish marine equipment to 39 countries.

After this introduction of the Polish shipbuilding industry it is interesting to discuss in brief the cooperation in the shipbuilding industry between India and Poland.

Since 1955 Polish repair shipyards have been rendering services to Indian ships calling at Polish ports ; Szczecin, Gdynia, and Gdansk. This form of export has led to new contacts between the shipbuilding industries of the two countries. During this period India has been the 6th largest customer of Polish repair shipyards among 47 non socialist countries, next to such countries as Finland, Liberia, the GFR, Lebanon and Norway.

In the years 1964-65 Poland delivered to fisheries in Orissa four fishing cutters "Storem 5" and "Cofish 1, 2, 3, 4" with a capacity of 15 tons, built at the Szczecin Repair Shipyard. In 1965 the first sea-going general cargo ship B-42 with a capacity of 11,600 tons—"Vishva Mahima" was built for the Shipping Corporation of India at the Gdynia Shipyard. In 1966 the Shipping Corporation of India bought from Poland three more general cargo ships of the same type, namely : "Vishva Kalyan", "Vishva Varti" and "Vishva Raksha". In 1968 a new type of a general cargo ship B-445 with a capacity of 20,000 tons called "Vishva Vikas" was built for the Shipping Corporation of India at the Szczecin Shipyard, and in 1969 three more, identical ships—"Vishva Sandesh" "Vishva Chetna" and "Vishva Bindu", were delivered.

Thus, in the years 1964-69 the Shipping Corporation of India and the fisheries of Orissa bought from Poland 12 ships with an

overall capacity of 86,460 DWT. India is at present the third largest buyer among 22 buyers of Polish ships. The export of Polish ships to India represents approximately three per cent of Poland's total export of ships. Polish ships constitute about ten per cent of the tonnage imported by India in the years 1965-69. At present the share of Polish-made ships in the overall tonnage of the Indian fleet amounts to nearly four per cent.

Marine equipment was exported from Poland for the first time in 1966. In that year Poland supplied part of the mechanical equipment for three Indian ships built at the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam. Since then the Hindustan Shipyard has imported from Poland equipment for 14 ships built there. The Shipping Corporation of India has also been buying marine equipment from Poland.

This year Polish marine equipment has also been bought by the "Mazagon Dock" of Bombay. In the years 1966-70 India bought from Poland over 50 different items of marine equipment made in 15 factories. Every fourth ship built in India between 1966-70 is fitted with Polish equipment. At present India is the fourth out of 27 countries (outside the

socialist world) buying Polish marine equipment, next to Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

As regards Poland's imports from India they date back to 1965 but are not significant as yet. They comprise mainly parts of ship refrigerating units.

In order to make the picture of our co-operation complete it is necessary to mention the appointment of "SLM-Maneklal Industries Limited, Bombay as Poland's sole trade agent in 1964. Polish shipping industries have been presented in India three times so far : twice in Delhi in 1959 and 1961, and once in Madras in 1968. Since 1965 Poland has been placing advertisements of our goods and services jointly with our agent in the "Indian Shipping" the "Shipping and Port Review" and the "Oceanite".

So much about the past co-operation between the two countries' shipping industries.

What about its future. Is it going to develop fruitfully? Will the Polish partner be in a position to meet the requirements of the Indian shipping market?

Judging from the past experience the answer can certainly be given in the affirmative. Yes, this co-operation can fruitfully develop and can even become much more broad-based.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gaudhi :

Published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi 6. Ryl. Qto Pp. 554 + XXIV (Vol. 42), Pp. 480 + XXVII illust, (Vol. 43), Pp. 498 + XXXII 1 plate (Vol. 44) and Pp. 494 + XXVIII 1 plate (Vol. 45), Paper cover price Rs. 9/- per volume. Volume 42 covers the period Oct. 16, 1929 to Feb. 28, 1930. This is the period when complete independence became the objective of the struggle for freedom. Volume 43 covers the period March 1930 to June 1930. This volume has reference to the Civil Disobedience movement (Salt Satyagraha) and the Dandi March. Volume 44 covers the period July to Mid-December 1930 and contains the letters written from Yarveda Jail. Gandhiji's translations of the devotional songs in Ashram Bhajanavali are also in this volume. Volume 45 deals with the period December 16, 1930 to April 15 1931 and has particular reference to the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations which led to the suspension of civil disobedience and to the Congress participation in the second Round Table Conference in London.

Andhra Bhagavatanuvadaha : being a translation of Potana's Telugu version of Mahabharata into Sanskrit by Sri Suryanarayana Sastry. Sri Sastry is a great scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit and his work will be accepted by all students of Sanskrit and Telugu as a classic.

Sri Venkateswar Vachanashatakam : A translation by Sri Suryanarayana Sastry. Published by the author from 4 Zeera, Secunderabad A. P.

Flowering Shrubs in India : By S. L. Jindal Published by the Director, Publications

Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-1. Royal Qto Pp. 178 cloth bound coloured art jacket, profusely illustrated with black and white and coloured plates, Price Rs. 30/- Sh. 60. \$9. Mr. S. L. Jindal is a very well-known horticulturist of India and his book on flowering shrubs is not only authoritative but it is also a valuable addition to the very few books on the subject. Mr. Jindal received training in Japanese style gardening in Japan and worked with Japanese experts in designing gardens in India. He designed the Roshanara Park in Delhi. He is a well-known writer on gardens and gardening and his book will be found highly instructive and interesting by all garden lovers and persons who plan garden lay out.

Management in Family Living : By Paulena Nickell and Jean Muir Dorsey. Published by Wiley Eastern Private Limited J. 41 South Extension, New Delhi, Demy Oct. Pp. 554 + X, charts, illustrations with Text, Cloth Gilt, illust jacket. Family management is an important subject but most family managers believe that they know all about it and have very little to learn from books. The complexity of family management increases with economic progress and although underdeveloped countries have a simple and elementary subsistence level way of life, the affluent societies produce a wide variety of factors of family life which provide much greater scope for scientific management. The writers of this book are Americans and have naturally written about family management in the USA. Indians will find the book interesting in so far as it will point out to them a subject matter for scientific study in affluent westernised Indian families. The

principles followed in this book will also enable Indian students of social sciences to lay down rules of family management for middle and lower middle class Indian households.

Paschtm Banger Puja-Parban O Mela :

(Festivals and Fairs of West Bengal) Census of India publication 1969, Volumes 1, 2 and 3, Bengali version. Demy QTO many charts, plans, maps and plates. Vol. 1 Pp. 350, Vol. 2 Pp. 740 and Vol. 3 Pp. 540. Paper board binding with monochrome jacket. Published by the Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, Dy-Director of census operations West Bengal. Compilation carried out by the Census Officer Sri Arun Kumar Roy under the supervision and editorship of Sri Sukumar Sinha, Officer on Special Duty and Sri Asoke Mitra I.C.S. Registrar General of India. These volumes published by the Census of India are of great social-anthropological interest and would guide students of sociological and anthropological studies to carry on researches which will throw light on the history of religious ceremonies of Bengal. The subject is extensive and has been dealt with in a manner which is informative and of academic significance and value. Mr. Asoke Mitra and his assistants should be congratulated for the excellent work they have done. Census work is supposed to be dry calculation. That folklore, mythology and the colourful aspects of social manners and customs could illuminate the pages of a census report would have been considered impossible a few decades ago. But just as the study of man is never complete by an intensive enquiry into anatomy and physiology, so does one have to add extra dimensions to the measurement of demographic facts to make it a complete enquiry into the precisely projectable features of human life. The first volume of the publication covered the districts of Malda, Cooch Behar, West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and

Darjeeling ; the second volume with Murshidabad, Nadia, Howrah and Hooghly and the third volume with 24 Parganas and Midnapore. We shall deal with the fourth volume at a future date.

Census of India Village Surveys of villages Khanaid, Badwani, Mattan, Matta, Zachaldara and Agral in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Published by the Government of India. In his introductory remarks Mr. Asoke Mitra I. C. S., Registrar General India, points out that "this is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve ; to construct a map of village India's social structure..... Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the survey has set up a new census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation." J. N. Zutshi, Director of census operations said in the preface to the volume on Khanaid, "A new and challenging task was added to the work of census-taking during 1961. It was to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change." A few villages were selected from every State and the Census Organisation was told to find out, on the basis of personal observation, 'how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.' These surveys will enable us to understand the villages and their population. We used to count the villagers in the past and knew how many villages had how many men, women and children and how many were born or died annually. We are now trying to discover what they thought and how they felt or how they reacted to the impact of different social forces.

edited by Chaman Lal, illustrations by P. Khamraj. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Demy Oct. Pp 127 black and white line drawings with text, paper cover, illust jacket Rs. 3.50. The stories are taken from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* mainly. The English versions are by different writers. The book will be useful to those who wish to study Indian fables and to be acquainted with ancient Indian classical lore.

Mahatma Gandhi as a Student Compiled and edited by J M Upadhyaya published by the Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India Demy Oct Pp 84 paper cover, illust. Jacket profusely illustrated Price Re 1.75 Not much is known about Mahatma Gandhi's boyhood. This book will be found very interesting by all students of Gandhiji's life, as it contains much material that has been published for the first time in this book.

Selected Speeches of Indira Gandhi

January 1966 - August 1969 Published by the Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India Royal Qto Pp 494 XVI many illustrations Paper cover illustrated price Rs 12.00 The

book reproduces the more important speeches broadcasts, messages, interviews etc. by the Prime Minister. Some speeches are published in an abridged form. If one goes through the book carefully one gets a good idea of the way she thinks on the major national and international issue. One also gets an idea of her interests and concerns.

Gandhiji in Bihar By Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, Vice Chancellor, Patna University, published by the Government of Bihar Royal Qto Pp. 244 XII 19 plates cloth Gilt Price Re 6.00 The book has been written under orders of the Government of Bihar by Dr K K Datta who is a reputed scholar. He has dealt with the subject in the manner of an expert historian. His literary style is very good. The book deserves a place in all libraries.

Journalism in Bihar By N Kumar Barrister-at-law State Editor Bihar District Gazetteers Published by the Government of Bihar as a supplement to Bihar State Gazetteer Demy Oct Pp. 216 XVIII plates. Cloth gilt illustrated jacket price Rs. 16/- \$5 The book contains much useful information about journalism in Bihar and will be found to be a valuable book of reference.





Sk. MUJIBUR REHAMAN

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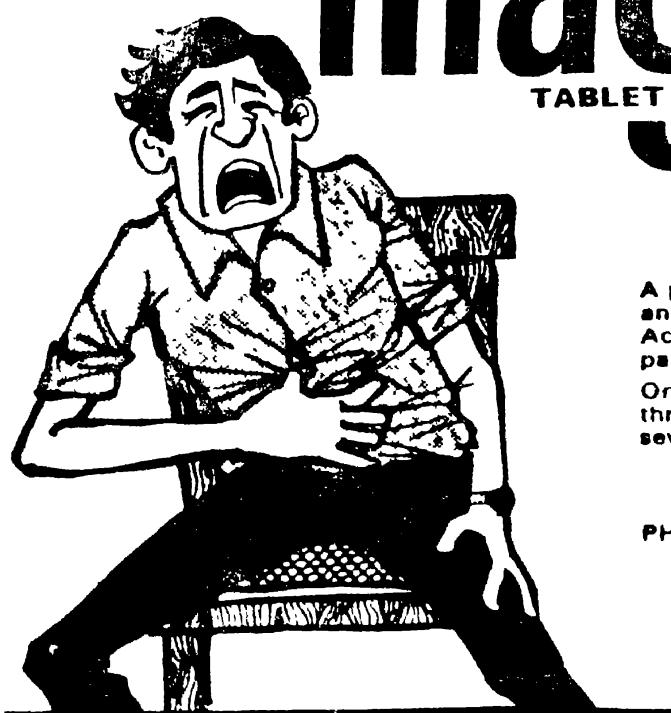
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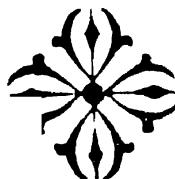
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NOTES

Approach to Problems of Progress

We often discuss problems of progress and advancement of civilisation. Some say that progress and civilisation must be taken out of their unnatural paths in which their decadent sponsors have placed them as a matter of time honoured custom. It is only the common man who can decide which way progress and civilisation should go. That is why the Chinese cultural revolution has gone to the peasants and workers to seek inspiration, and discarded (destroyed ?) the art galleries, libraries, universities and other institutions created in the past for the propagation of culture. We met a very learned man of a communist state recently. He surprised us by saying there can be no vulgar approach to progress and civilisation. Good poetry, high standard literature, sound philosophy and strict principles of conduct alone can help humanity to go ahead. The standards held up before the coming generations in the spheres of aesthetics, that is music, drama, art and other expressions of creative emotion ; must not be crude ugly and base. Only the highest, the most useful and the clearly beautiful can give proper

guidance to the people. It is therefore futile to break away from tradition in the field of civilisation for the simple reason that economic justice and fairplay can be achieved without interfering with human thoughts and emotions in other fields of life. Economic reforms and new ideals are also the products of sincere human emotions. They cannot therefore contradict the emotions that inspired a Homer or a Kalidasa, or led to the creation of Ajanta or the Parthenon.

Political Parties of India

Quite often one hears about the qualities of the various Political Parties of India. Some call themselves progressive, some revolutionary and others nationalistic, humanistic or by some other colourful name. In fact all the parties have come, one way or another, out of the great struggle that Indians went through in order to overthrow British imperial domination of this subcontinent. Many groups of Indians formed associations with foreign countries from time to time in order to get assistance in their struggle for freedom. This habit of seeking foreign assistance has continued even after India obtained independence

and some groups seek the friendship of other countries not clearly for a nationalistic purpose but for, the realisation of ideals which have a wider than national significance. The communist parties which desire Russian or Chinese collaboration are not nationalistic in the stricter sense of the term and their ideas of liberty, freedom and the establishment of human rights are also different from what others think about such matters. In any case, there are no political parties which have a feudal, monarchist, capitalistic or, generally speaking, a non-socialistic outlook. No party works for the reestablishment of the "His Highnesses", the overlordship of men over women, the rule of the Brahmin, class domination, slavery or any other decadent and dead social institution. It is therefore not logical for any party to describe any other party as decadent or atavistic in outlook as far as the declared creeds of the parties are concerned. All parties are the custodians of the highest principles of human civilisation and progress one way or another. Where they fail is in action and in individual deviations from the declared ideals of the parties. So, if the individuals who bring the party ideals down are removed, the parties could then recover their purity of outlook. But like most things in India, there is a right of inheritance of power in the parties or in government, and the undesirable individuals cannot be easily removed from power.

We quite often hear about Gandhism, the glory that was Ind, Tagore's Humanism or Marxism. But when it comes to individual conduct we find no trace of anything excepting an eagerness to fulfil one's own ambition and ordinary wishes and fancies. We have then to say that we do not see the necessity for quoting from the scriptures in order to make it easy for the Devil to hold sway over our lives. If we want power to do good to our own immediate followers as against the people in

general, who have great wants in food, clothing, housing, medical assistance and in the educational field, it would require no recitation of high ideals to help us achieve that very ordinary and utterly simple purpose.

Science in Communist Countries

The communist countries of the world have achieved great progress in the field of science. This has been possible on account of the unlimited support that the scientists receive from the states under communist governments. Russia has achieved remarkable progress in the scientific field and one finds frequent references to new discoveries and inventions in all Russian newspapers. As an example one may cite the following bit taken from a press release from Alma-Ata : "Design work is under way to divert Northern rivers southwards. Siberian rivers will 'quench' the thirst of arid lands in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It is planned to build this gigantic water artery in two stages. First, the Tobol reservoir will be built in the place where Tobol River discharges into the Irtysh. With the aid of pumping stations water from here will flow into one of the biggest reservoirs of the cis-Aral lowland and then, through canals, will head for Kazakh, Uzbek and Turkmen deserts. Then, the water flow will be additionally fed by the Ob River owing to an engineering system to pass through Kulunda and Barabinsk steppes."

In Bulgaria we find in news from Bulgaria the following account of the use of Gamma rays in plant growth. "In our times the science of genetics has explained many problems of heredity and mutation. Experts at the Institute of Genetics and Plant Selection at the Academy of the Agricultural Sciences in Sofia are studying important problems in the realm of genetics, plant physiology, the introduction of new varieties, algology etc. The Section of Experimental Mutagenesis investi-

gates how plants can change under the effect of physical and chemical mutagenic substances and is trying to create genetic varieties in plant life. Of scientific and practical significance is the observation of the mechanism of chromosome aberrations and of the mechanism of the mutation processes of agricultural plants. The Institute has built an apparatus for the gamma radiation of seeds. Thick walls of concrete isolate the source of gamma power, charged with cobalt—60. The radiation takes place deep under the soil, in a water tank. The test material is placed in an automatic steel sounding cylinder, which is submerged by remote control to a depth of 3.5 metres."

Poland is very active too in scientific work. The *Polish Facts on File* give us the following information about cancer research in Poland. "Although for a long time scientists have suspected that Cancer is caused by an unknown virus, they have not been able to isolate it from the human tissue. Recently Professor Dr. Leontyn Ludomir Dmochowski, Head of the Virus Chair of the University of Texas Medical Centre in Houston, and his assistant Elisabeth Briori succeeded in isolating such a virus. It is too early to say definitely whether the discovery of Professor Dmochowski is a crucial step on the way to an effective fight with malignant tumours in man. It will be necessary to carry out a lot more toilsome investigations to find out beyond doubt whether this particular virus is the only cause of malignant neoplasms in the human organism. Yet it can not be recognized that Professor Dmochowski's discovery is of great and perhaps, epoch-making importance."

Professor Dmochowski was born in Przemysl, Poland in 1910. He studied in the Universities of Lvov and Warsaw. He was a collaborator of the famous polish serologist—immunologist Ludwik Hirschfeld. In 1937 he joined the Royal Cancer Society in Great

Britain. He was also a lecturer at the University of Leeds. He went over to Houston, USA in 1950. In 1957 he separated the Virus causing leukemia from the human blood. The Americans have secured the services of many Polish scientists for research in this line. The following names are well known : Prof. Michal Laskowski, Dr. Hilary Kaprowski, Dr. Irena Koprowski, Dr. Ludwik Gross, Dr. Edmund Gicewicz and Dr. Wanda Wolinski.

Secularism or Mere Religious Tolerance ?

We are always extolling our political status as being secular. By this we mean that India does not officially acknowledge the existence of a state religion in the sense that Pakistan does by calling itself an Islamic republic. And by our behaviour as a state we do not show any preference for any religious community nor do we put any handicaps in the way of minority religious communities. In fact our secularism stands for attachment to worldly considerations only, that is, to the affairs of our existence on this earth as against the other-worldly spiritual considerations or the affairs of the soul, of God or of an after life. We do not observe any religious rules as a state and we are totally non-ecclesiastical, non-religious and non-sacred as far as our laws and statutory rules and regulations are framed and enforced. Our work as a state is exclusively of the material world as opposed to the spiritual. Secularism in the ethical sphere adheres to the Benthamite principle of the greatest good of the greatest number and does not rest on any considerations drawn from belief in God or in the continued existence of the soul after physical death. Secularism has no spiritual or other-worldly purpose. In these circumstances a secular state cannot have any preference for any abstract religious views.

But in the management of a state the managers ; among whom we find administra-

tors, legislators, expounders of the law, teachers and professional men; constantly come up against persons, institutions and communities whose basic setting is religious, philosophical and spiritual. Their background cannot be ignored and in all dealings with them the state has to consider their non-secular background. The people who are individually the members of the Indian nation and who constitute the human element in the institutions, communities or political groups, have faith in this religion or that, observe the tenets of some religion or other and take part in rituals which have no secular significance. Thus the state is perforce dragged into a position where it spends its revenues, orders its personnel and supports indirectly the observances of various religions. The state admits the lawful possession of large properties by the temples and their gods, spends heavily for facilitating pilgrimages and holy dips in the holy confluences of religiously glorified rivers and estuaries. One might say that although the state has taken great care to abolish the kingdoms owned by the Indian princes and the estates of the Zemindars, on the ground that such large possessions were contrary to the greatest well being of the majority of the people; the state has ignored the fact that temple properties and the incomes of the priests were in a sense worse in point of exploitativeness than the princely domains and the incomes yielded by the same. When the British were here their king was our emperor and he was also the defender of his faith, Christianity. So, in a sense India was a Christian Empire and was not, therefore a secular state. But apart from showing certain preferences to Christian institutions the British did not try to give any exclusive privileges to the Christians. They gave special advantages to the Moslems or to schedule caste Hindus and in that way, recognised religion as a specific characteristic

to be handled by the government. The present day Indian government defends no faith but does recognise religious institutions indirectly by reserving seats in the legislative Assemblies for schedule caste candidates and by recognising political groups like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and so forth. In the circumstances one has to admit that even if religion or spiritual considerations have no standing in our political set up, such considerations are clearly recognised by our government in so far as we have not nationalised temple properties nor made it illegal for priests, Mullas or Padris to collect donations and to charge fees for rendering services which are secularly unrecognisable. We have however, been very active as a State to abolish all types of exploitative privileges in other spheres. We are even considering the creation of ceilings on wealth, income, size of privately owned houses and so on and so forth. Our secularism therefore will be likely to break up on this question of Temple and Church property. Muslim Waqf property also will have to be taken into account.

The reason for our indirect recognition of non-secular rights and obligations no doubt rest on the vast and historically long stretching back ground that we have of religion and religiously developed cultural institutions. In fact very few things can be totally separated from religion or religious texts in this sub-continent. The Shastras or the Shariat touch everything in some point or another. Our communist sympathisers play an active part in all public religious festivals and our young-men go round collecting donations for such festivals with a catholicity of outlook which is incomparable for its breadth of vision and comprehensiveness. Our secularism is therefore confined to the statute books and we can only give it full effect in the practical field by intensive propaganda over a long period.

President Nixon's Many Pronged Problems

President Nixon's main trouble is that he has no moral approach to shaping his international relations' policy. The British say "Honesty is the best Policy" but President Nixon has been in the habit of choosing the next best policy in order to satisfy his greed for diplomatic shrewdness. In his opinion perhaps, nothing could satisfy the highest principles of statecraft unless it involved a hundred insincere moves. Duplicity requires more intelligence than simplicity and should therefore necessarily be a clever man's pastime. A straight forward, cut and dried policy must be taken as a proof that the person following it is incapable of thinking out a tortuous and complicated method of achieving the same or a similar objective ; and is therefore second grade in diplomatic ability. Nixon keeps everybody guessing as to his next move ; though nobody expects him to really do anything worth doing or to let anyone else do it. He has brought the USA to a position where most nations hate to have much to do with his great, powerful and prosperous country. He has forced the world to learn to do without the USA. When, however, he realises that things are going out of his clutches, he tries to suddenly change tactics and reach out to grasp something he has already allowed to go beyond the range of recovery.

He had been hating Russia and all countries which had friendly relations with Russia. But in a none too well disguised fashion he tried to win over some of Russia's friends by offers of money, military ware or other assistance. The Arab countries are a good example. The Arabs too, played the same game by accepting things from whosoever offered them and avoiding all moral obligations in the field of action. Nixon had

also been hating China and had done everything he could do to undermine China's position in the South-East Asian Zone. But he thought it would be a good idea to make friends with China in order to set the Chinese against the Russians. And he has begun to make advances to China which the Chinese do not look upon without grave suspicion. The Chinese will no doubt take what they can from the USA and do nothing that will make the USA a stronger power on earth or enable President Nixon to win the next elections. China will not fight Russia nor attack India at the President's instigation for the Communist powers know that the USA want them to fight so that when they get weakened by fighting the USA would proceed to liquidate both Russia and China. And if the Chinese had any intention of attacking India they would have done so when conditions were favourable with Pakistan still in fighting form. The Chinese also know that the USA will neither attack Russia, nor India for the purpose of helping China. Nixon's overtures to China therefore are blatantly a part of his un-clever scheme to make others do his dirty work for him.

No one knows what he expects to achieve by putting pressure on India. His objective, doubtless, is maintaining Pakistan on the map of the world as a powerful opponent of India. But Pakistan is already broken up. East Pakistan has gone out of the Islamic Republic and it is now a separate state which calls itself Bangla Desh and is recognised as such by almost all major states of the world with the exception of the USA and China. In the circumstances even if India asks Bangla Desh to go back to Pakistan nothing will happen beyond a rebuff from Bangla Desh for India. Nixon may try to make Bangla Desh acknowledge responsibility for part of Pakistan's national debt. But considering that Pakistan

borrowed money from all lenders and used 90% of the borrowed money for West Pakistan, Bangla Desh should not be expected to undertake any liabilities for these loans. If money was given to an autocratic military administration which never consulted the people of the country for anything whatsoever and spent the borrowed money as it pleased them to do ; no one should go to the people to pay back the loan amounts.

Nixon has also expressed a desire to negotiate with India about matters relating to American aid to India. His reiteration of various lies against India relating to the fourteen days war of December 1971 makes it unlikely for India to listen to Nixon's talk in a friendly and accommodating manner. India is now quite clearly a socialist sympathiser and has treaty obligations to the USSR. In the circumstances US diplomacy as exercised by President Nixon will hardly have any significance in the field of active considerations for framing India's foreign policy.

Reign of Terror in Iran

From British Press publications one finds that all is not well with the kingdom of Iran. The Shah of Iran, who is an autocrat and likes to be so, tries to repress opposition with an iron hand and last year 13 persons were executed for whatever it might have been in a summary and shadey manner. For they say all Political Prisoners are subjected to torture in Iran and that many die even before they come up for trial. This year there are two groups of persons who are being tried for political crimes. One group has 20 persons and another 23. The prosecutors will ask for the death sentence for many of these unfortunate people and some may die even before they can be sentenced and executed. The leftists who are the main target of the repressive attacks by the government of Iran,

are mainly students and intellectuals. There have been attacks on the American diplomats in Iran by the leftists, which points to American collaboration with the absolute monarchy of that country. Iran is very friendly with Pakistan and that also indicates that Iran is not progressive, nor is she a defender of Human Rights. The people of Iran, therefore have a reason for opposing the Shah's regime. The Americans of course are thinking of retrograde diplomatic tactics of the sort that they have been indulging in recently.

Iran Sends Troops to Baluchistan Border

The Baluchis have been resenting the Punjabi domination in Pakistan. Even the Baluch soldiers who were brought to East Bengal to fight a Zihad ; but were told to shoot down and terrorise large number of faithful Muslims, expressed their deep dissatisfaction with the unholy arrangement. Mr. Bhutto, who is neither a Punjabi nor a Baluchi but is a plain and simple political adventurer, has not liked the Baluchistani people's expressed desire to have local autonomy of some sort which will save them from Punjabi or any other sort of external domination. His dislike for the Baluchi gesture for achieving greater freedom might have induced him to approach his autocrat associate, the Shah of Iran, for assistance. The Shah very willingly sent troops to the Baluchistan border ; for if Pakistan broke up the Shah could always collect bits and pieces of territory which would be contiguous with his domain. The United States of America too might have egged the Shah on to be on the spot in full force. That would be in keeping with the US policy of keeping India down. It should be noted that all these Pakistani territories were parts of India before 1947 and if Pakistan broke up, and the peoples

of these areas so desired, all broken bits of Pak territory should form parts of India. If they wanted to form separate small states, that too could be supported as a desirable arrangement. But under no circumstances can any territory be joined up with the territory of foreign powers like Iran.

A Living Wage

The British miners are fighting for a living wage. Their present earnings must have enabled them to live in luxury as Indian workers understand living conditions. But British standards of living being what they are, the British miners would naturally want to live as British workers should in the opinion of British labour leaders. The British public are experiencing an acute coal shortage and that means suffering for British men, women and children. There are power cuts for hours together and less and less of working hours in industry. This has gone on for more than a month and, at the time of writing, there were no signs of a settlement. The miners demand a 25% rise in wages and the authorities suggest an increase which will be half of that. The critics of the conservative government think that Edward Heath cannot manage the affairs of Great Britain. His government, has, they say, disgraced the British nation in Rhodesia, proved itself inhuman in Ireland and unwise in the economic sphere. The critics think appreciatively of the ink throwing on Health and of the hair pulling of Home. But they do not think that the Conservatives are on their way out. World opinion also is not against the Heath regime. In India the British reaction to the Bangla Desh affair was considered wise and realistic. Pakistan has left the Commonwealth but that is no loss to Britain nor to the Commonwealth. The British are slowly breaking away from American control and management. And that is a great achievement.

The United States of America and Communism

In the Second World War the USA had been allies of the Russians. But, soon after, the USA began to develop an anti-communist attitude and, with the growth of Russia's nuclear power and development of her control over movements by rocket craft in outer space, the Americans gave a definite shape to their foreign policy which took on the work of countering all acts of expansion by communists as its principal objective. It was the same attitude in a different field, against a different communist country when the USA tried to contain the Chinese communist expansionism in South-East Asia. In Vietnam both Russia and China helped the North Vietnamese with arms, war material and training of soldiers and the Americans fought the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese openly in the battle fields. They also trained up and armed large numbers of South Vietnamese troops who defended their country against the onslaughts made by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese communists. All these clearly defined the USA as anti-Russian.

But progress in the diplomatic field is very often achieved by actions which contradict established practice and accepted principles in the field of policy. Moreover if the communists agreed to contain themselves within the boundaries of their own territories in exchange of American grants of aid and assistance of various kinds, what could stand in the way of a change over from an anti-communist to a pro-communist policy as far as it concerned only China? That would be a very desirable solution to many problems which faced the United States of America whose enemy no. 1 was Soviet Russia and not China. If the USA could, by aid and assistance, help China to build up enough military strength to fight Russia, that would help them to achieve an

objective which otherwise could only be carried out by direct warfare involving great nuclear attacks and counter attacks causing destruction of unimaginable dimensions in America and Russia. It is, of course, quite unnecessary for America to fight or destroy Russia ; as it is unnecessary to cause the liquidation of China. If all powers merely practised what they preached, there would be no occasion for any expansion nor for any wars. But, unfortunately, human emotions are not always aimed at human well being, nor at the greatest good of the greatest number of human beings. One cannot say truthfully that there are any nations on earth which are free from animosity towards other nations. Some are actively inimical to others, while others remain relatively passive and watch the down grade march of nations disliked by them. But all developments which lead to the strengthening of some nations and the decadence of others have the virus of War and annihilation in them. Had there been well planned efforts towards betterment of life only, as against repression and exploitation of some communities which were weak ; there would be no requirement for wars. But love of power is a disease with those nations which make power worship a national-political cult and other nations have to emulate their example for self-defence or for competitive increase of military might. The powers which are now guilty of spending enormous sums of money on military preparations of a conventional and nuclear type, are the United States of America, Soviet Russia and the People's Republic of China. Other nations which may be following the example of these three super military giants are Great Britain and France. West Germany and Japan can join in the race too.

The sudden arrival of the American President Nixon in Peking, accompanied by an entourage of officials, diplomats and press men, is a new move made by the USA. The Chinese, obviously, are participants in whatever game the Americans are playing at. It is assumed that the Americans would try to win over the Chinese and help them to build up their fighting strength as well as their military industries. It is the hope of the Americans that China will use that strength against Russia. But America helped Pakistan to build up military strength, specifically for resisting communist aggression. The Pakistanis used the American arms against India. Not only once ; but twice. The idea that the Chinese will fight the Russians once they feel strong enough, is also wishful thinking. The Chinese may use that strength for the conquest of Asia and their objectives may be Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malay, Indonesia, Ceylon and India. They may move on to Africa and the Arabian side of Asia later on. Russia and her Asiatic possessions can wait. So can the rest of the world. For China always hoped to conquer the world and she would spare no means, as too low, in order to achieve her plans of world conquest. President Nixon may prove to be too clever this time when he attempts to play with the Chinese. The Americans and the British had once before this played at this sort of a game by allowing the Chinese to conquer Tibet. The Chinese gained in power and used it against Indo-China and India. If now they add to their war strength ; what guarantee that they will not use it against their own objectives rather than against America's competitor Soviet Russia ?

ATUL PRASAD SEN

J. L. DAS

Atul Prasad Sen, poet, patriot, lawyer and philanthropist was born in Dacca on October 20, 1871. His father, Dr. Ramprasad Sen, possessed many qualities of head and heart. Not remaining complacent with his lot as pundit of a village school, Ramprasad sought better luck in Calcutta. There he came in contact with Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, who helped him to enter the Medical College as a student of the vernacular section. After qualifying himself as a doctor from there Ramprasad accepted government service and went to Dacca as medical officer of the lunatic asylum. But the trammels of official work bored him. So he resigned the job and set up in profession as a private medical practitioner. Soon he earned considerable name and fame as a physician. Needless to say, there was corresponding increase in his income.

Atul Prasad lost his father in his boyhood. But his mother, Hemanta Sashi Devi, and his maternal grandfather, Kali Narayan Gupta, brought him up with loving care. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1889 from the Dacca Collegiate School and then entered the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a student of the F. A. class. (Deshabandhu) Chitta Ranjan Das was a senior student of the same institution at that time. But Atul Prasad did not prosecute his studies at the college for long. Thanks to financial help provided by the eminent lawyer, Durga Mohan Das, his father's friend and Chitta Ranjan's uncle, and

encouragement given by his maternal uncles, Atul Prasad sailed for England in 1890 with a view to studying Law. He was called to the Bar from Middle Temple and returned to India in 1894.

The young barrister started practice at the Calcutta High Court, which was then lit up with such legal luminaries as Rash Behari Ghosh, Tarak Nath Palit, Benode Mitter and S. P. Sinha on the civil side and Byomkesh Chakravarti and Mr. Norton on the criminal side. Failing to make much headway at the Calcutta High Court and subsequently at the Rangpur Bar, Atul Prasad went to and settled at Lucknow on the advice of Bipin Behari Basu, a distinguished lawyer of the place. He had, in the meantime, married Hemkusum Devi, daughter of Sir K. G. Gupta, the famous civil servant of those days. The marriage took place in Scotland in 1901. Twins, Dilip Kumar and Nilip Kumar, were born out of the wedlock. But, unfortunately, Nilip died when he was only two months old.

No dissertation, however concise, on Atul Prasad Sen can be attempted without a reference to his lyrical compositions and his connections with Rabindranath Tagore. From his maternal grandfather, Kali Narayan Gupta and his father, Dr. Ramprasad Sen, Atul Prasad imbibed a profound and abiding love for music and talent for original composition of songs. His songs number fewer than three hundred and these are incorporated in

volumes titled "Gitigunja", "Kakoli" and "Koyekti Gaan". Piety and patriotism constitute the theme of most of his songs. Though he was a contemporary and a great friend of Rabindranath Tagore, the brightest star in the Indian literary firmament, yet his compositions bore the stamp of originality and distinctiveness. His patriotic songs were on the lips of the freedom-fighters and continue to inspire his countrymen to this day. He was also a singer of no mean calibre. Rabindranath, a highly gifted musician himself, loved to hear Atul Prasad sing. Once Atul Prasad went to Puri to recoup his health. Gandhiji also happened to be there along with Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. On Gandhiji expressing earnest desire to listen to his songs, the poet-cum-musician readily translated his famous piece ("Kay abar bajay banshi ey madhu kunja baney"— who plays on the flute in this sweet bower) into Hindi himself and sang it before the Mahatma, setting the same tune as in Bengali.

Though Atul Prasad was younger in age than Rabindranath by ten years, yet there was an unusually warm rapport between these two great votaries of the Muses. Whenever he felt depressed as a result of domestic troubles or other worries, Atul Prasad sought comfort and solace in the presence and company of Rabindranath,—be it at Santiniketan, Calcutta, Darjeeling or somewhere else. Kaviguru, on his part, greatly desired Atul Prasad's association. Once in summer he wrote to the latter, when everyone was pining for clouds in the oppressive heat, he (Rabindranath) was thinking when Atul would come and soothe him. Inspite of serious illness, Atul Prasad attended the seventieth birthday celebration of Tagore, delivered a speech and recited a self-composed poem, eulogising the poet's genius. Rabindranath also dedicated his book of poems, "Parishesh"

to Atul Prasad and prefaced it with a masterly verse, dwelling on the latter's literary talent.

Mention has already been made of Atul Prasad's decision to settle at Lucknow, where he soon built up an extensive practice as a barrister. In course of time the name of Mr. A. P. Sen (by which name he came to be known) became a household word not only in Lucknow but throughout the United Provinces, Uttar Pradesh that now is. In Lucknow itself he was an institution. Indeed, Lucknow and A. P. Sen became practically synonymous. He was connected with Harimati Girls' Institution, Canning College, Ramakrishna Ashram, Oudh Seva Samity,—in fact, with all the cultural and social welfare organisations of repute. The Oudh Bar Association and the Oudh Bar Council felt themselves honoured in having him as president. He was president for life of the Bengalee Club. He was also nominated a member of the Executive Council and Board of Appointment of the Lucknow University. It is said that he was even offered the Vice-chancellorship of the university, but he politely declined to accept it.

Atul Prasad Sen was a bridge between the peoples of U. P. and Bengal. He had great intimacy with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamoni, Sir Wazir Hassan, Sir J. P. Srivastava and other U. P. leaders. He played the host to Sarala Devi, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Bipin Chandra Pal and, of course, Rabindranath Tagore. His Lucknow residence was an open house for all classes of people. His charities were extensive and transcended all considerations of caste, creed and region. Though a moderate by conviction and temperament, yet he was a nationalist to the core. He twice presided over the yearly conferences of the Liberal Party. He also served as the G. O. C. of volunteers at the session of the

Indian National Congress at Lucknow in 1916. It was largely due to his initiative that annual sessions of Bengali Literature Conference were held in important centres of U. P. like Allahabad, Kanpur and Lucknow. Publication of "Uttara", an excellent literary journal, also owes its origin to his active support and financial patronage.

The people of U. P., on their part, did not fail to shower their affection and reverence on their beloved leader, Mr. A. P. Sen. In unique recognition of his manifold services, the road in Lucknow on which stood his house was named after him even during his lifetime. And when he breathed his last on August 26, 1934, the grateful people erected his marble statue in a prominent place of the city and inscribed the following at the base :

To the memory

of

A. P. Sen

Poet, Patriot, Lawyer

Philanthropist who gave

his loving service to

all spheres of Life and Society

—Erected by Friends

Rabindranath attempted to give vent to

his anguish on the demise of his dear Atul through a striking elegy, excerpts of which are given below :

Friend, you brought to this earth
a vessel overflowing with nectar
of ceaseless stream of cordiality.
Unremitting was the bounty
of your heart ;
none turned back disappointed
from your door
Your amity was sated with music,—
that ambrosial gift of Heaven.
Your company, replete with melody,
radiated warmth of sweetness
and kindled flames in ecstatic fluid,
time and again, and in newer forms.

* * * *

Long life is a great curse,
thus I aver,
as it effaces the pangs of separation,—
an unmitigated grief indeed.
Grievous may the loss be,
I am not afraid,—
only let me not outlive
the period the pain lingers.*

* Translated by J. L. Das.



LANGUAGE MOVEMENT OF BANGLADESH IN RETROSPECT

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

The wheels of history have traversed much ground since the language agitation of 1948 in East Bengal, now renamed Bangladesh. Whatever the reason behind the creation of an independent Pakistan, there is no denying the fact that it was utterly senseless, that there can be no unification of two distinctly separate masses of land having no geographical contiguity, nor ethnic unity. Tagore, who was a red rag to the military rulers of Pakistan, is the most cherished poet to the people of Bangladesh. The rulers of West Pakistan tried to foist Urdu on an unwilling population and this, without their knowledge, sowed the seed of disintegration of the country.

It is indeed a diabolical irony of Pakistan's fate that the Bengali language, which was denounced as a language of the Hindus, those hated disbelievers, in a Chittagong journal in 1940, should turn out to be the cause of Pakistan's ruin. But the "Muslim Literary Society" that was established with the teachers of the Dacca University, tried to present the Bengali language in a more liberal perspective. The free thinking of eminent intellectuals like Kazi Abdul Odud, Kazi Motahar Hossain, Abul Hossain and others brought in a new whiff of free air in the orthodox Muslim society of East Bengal. Tremendous effort was put in to show that the use of Bengali was not a special prerogative of the Hindus. Thus, however feebly, one of the first efforts at

buttressing Bengali nationalism was found in this identification of the Bengali language as the language of the Bengali Muslims.

The need for this identification was felt all the more, when in March 1948, Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, announced in clear terms, while delivering the Convocation Address of Dacca University at Curzon Hall, that the State language of Pakistan was going to be Urdu and no other language. When he first made this announcement in Ramna's Race-Course Maidan, there was no protest. Encouraged by this seeming acquiescence he reiterated this decision of the Pakistan Government in his Convocation Address four days later to meet with a strong rebuff from his audience of young graduates. The protest strike, picketing and demonstrations, and consequent police firing in front of the Judges Court causing the death of one demonstrator on 11th March, signalled the first outbreak of discontent of the people of Bangladesh against their discriminating rulers. Almost all over East Bengal there was a peaceful strike on that day. In Jessore girls were at the forefront of processions. Though the protest against Jinnah's announcement was spearheaded by the intellectuals and the student community, it cannot be said to have been confined to a handful of saboteurs and students as given out by a Government Press Note.

An interesting episode is related by

Mr. Kalipada Biswas about the predicament of Dhirendranath Dutta (reportedly killed by Pak Army), then a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, who pleaded in 1947 for acceptance of Bengali along with Urdu for use in the proceedings of that body. The incident provided a thrilling scene which highlighted the contempt of the Urdu zealots for the Bengali language. They surrounded the Constituent Assembly Hall wanting to kill the profaner of Urdu language. Liaquat Ali, understanding the gravity of the situation, despatched Mr. Dutta straight to the airport to go back home. Disembarking from the plane at Dacca Mr. Dutta found a bigger crowd and when he was apprehending death, he found himself on human shoulders to be borne triumphantly into the city. However, the Basic Principles Committee accepted Urdu as the sole official language of Pakistan.

This acceptance thrust the country into the flashpoint and the Bengalees understood to their utter chagrin that it was an attempt of their Western rulers to deny them their birthright. Discontent was simmering just beneath the surface when there was an attempt to foist on the Bengali language an Arabic Script in 1949-50 and to make a hotch-potch language by diluting Bengali with Arabic and Persian words. This was done only to obliterate the geographic distance between the two wings of Pakistan through a fake form of uniculture. Bengali language was reformed so as to bring it nearer to Urdu. In place of **maser parisamapti** (Bengali word meaning 'end of the month') the Bengalees were asked to use **maskabari** to connote the same meaning, as noted by Mr. Hasan Mursid, a Bangladesh intellectual. But far from having any unifying effect this approach precipitated the separation movement between the eastern and the western wings of Pakistan. Even at the All-Pakistan Historical Conference a speaker, named

Suleman Naqui, was beaten up for denigrating Bengali as a Hindu language.

'52 Movement

The historic language movement of February 21, 1952 was only a natural explosion of a long-suppressed disaffection. It culminated in the shooting down of 11 persons. A curfew was clamped down upon Dacca and some 1,000 students of Dacca University were served with expulsion order which affected another 1,500. No wonder that the first casualty of the Pak Army crackdown is the Dacca University, which, in the minds of the military rulers, is the epicentre of all waves of agitation. Many front-rank leaders of the movement of February 1952, had to go underground for fear of Government reprisal. In a Provincial Assembly debate the Chief Minister Mr. Nurul Amin met with a severe challenge from a member when the former tried to show the agitation as an attempt by agent provocateurs to overthrow the Government. The member claimed that in the case of a plebiscite over the language issue 99% of East Bengalees would vote for Bengali. March 27 was observed by the Pakistan Youth League as Youths' Demand Day. East Bengal won the first round of victory when after a hot exchange of words between the Bengali and non-Bengali members of the National Assembly a Bengali member was allowed to speak in his mother-tongue.

The movement was so total that in 1952 the students, teachers and journalists of Dacca reverberated its air with Tagore's famous song, "My golden Bengal, I love you, /Your sky and air for ever play their flageolet in my heart". It became the battle cry of the mass movement of 1969 and has now been accorded the prime position of the national anthem of Bangladesh.

Muslim League Routed

The rout of the Muslim League in East Bengal in the 1954 elections was the direct

result of its attitude to the Bengali language. The people of East Bengal came to feel how necessary it was to keep alive their own Bengali heritage. The Muslim students staged in the Curzon Hall of the Dacca University theatrical versions of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's novels like "Parineeta" in 1956. The wave of Bengali culture and love of their mother-tongue swept over every walk of Bengali life in East Bengal. The "Bengali Language and Literature" week organised in Dacca in September, 1963, was unprecedented in mass participation. However it was President Ayub Khan who successfully played an elaborate hoax on the people of East Bengal by setting up "an Education Commission which recommended that both Bengali and Urdu should be State languages, followed by a clause that gradually English should be substituted by an admixture of Bengali and Urdu for communication between the two wings of Pakistan in business and educational matters. This was aimed at evolving a lingua franca for Pakistan in which Urdu would eventually be the dominant element" (Mr. Monojit Mitra in the Statesman, 9th May, 1971).

But the hoax was seen through by such intellectuals as Dr. Syed Ali Ahsan, the then Director of Dacca's Bangla Academy. As a shameless window-dressing the Ayub Government set up separate Boards to develop Urdu and Bengali. The Government and private sponsors declared awards for creative writings. But it was found that to get them one must fall in line with the Urdu chauvinists by producing "Basic Democracy Literature". Even that sacred seat of learning and research, the Bangla Academy of Dacca, had been reduced to a hand-maid of the Government in its policy of weaning away Bengali Muslims from the mainstream of Bengali culture. Though it has its research wing, old MSS. and folk literature preservation wing, publication

wing and translation wing, among its many diversified activities, the Academy mostly busied itself with research on, and preservation of the writings of Bengali Muslim writers and poets. However, only recently it awarded a research scholarship for work on the Bengali Hindu poet, Jibanananda Das. But Rabindranath Tagore does not figure in about 300 titles published so far by the Academy. However, one consolation is that it is the only official forum for the development of Bengali language and literature. But hopes for further work on Bengali Language and Literature by it are frustrated by its premature destruction by the Pak Army.

Tagore Denigrated

It was however Tagore, the symbol of Bengal's modern literary culture, who has suffered utmost denigration under successive regimes in East Bengal. The West Pakistani rulers and their cohorts among Muslim Leaguers of East Bengal tried to show Tagore's writings as exuding Hindu, and therefore, divisionist, culture. The 1965 Indo-Pak War made the stigma on one of the greatest poets of the world complete. Tagore was superseded by Nazrul twisted and corrupted. Once again Persian-Arabic adaptation of Nazrul's diction in his poetry was attempted. A blanket ban was imposed on all broadcasts of Tagore songs and T. V. programmes on Tagore.

But no military regime has ever been able to obliterate Tagore from the minds of the Bengalees of Bangladesh. They know Tagore is theirs : by comparison the enthusiasm for Tagore on this side of the border which celebrate only half-hearted routine Tagore festivals on his birthday, is quite unimpressive. They defied all Government orders to register their love for their poet. In the Tagore Centenary year they organised meetings, symposiums and cultural functions. Their

wrath against anti-Tagorism expressed itself in the bonfire of copies of the "Azad" journal.

"Real Mother"

Repression on the use of the mother-tongue only enhanced the peoples' love for it immensely. Sons of Bangladesh have found that their mother-tongue is their "real mother". The movement for the recognition of their own language was greatly intensified in 1969. On February 18, 1969, as a result of military firing, a young professor of Rajshahi University, Dr. Samshuzzoha, laid down his life at the University gate. Trouble erupted at Dacca University also. The students again defied Government order and the demand for recognition of Bengali as the Official Language was met with more bullets. But bullets have not been able to silence the protests of Bangladesh people. What once was a demand

for recognition of their language has opened their eyes to the West Pakistani ruling clique's continued suppression of a whole nation. The year 1971 opened up the floodgates of its anger which had been accumulating against the colonial rulers of Bangladesh and it took the shape of an armed revolt.

A Bangladesh poet, Daud Haidar, once wrote in an ode to Tagore : "Rabindranath, we are here down-trodden, humiliated, tortured,/In the procession for you/The people lay down their lives, and so do I, and yet for what ?/Vainly do I tire myself out calling you most sincerely/But you do not respond/Yet I cannot go away neglecting you,/Ahead of me appears an abyss !/We want you now, Rabindranath,/Come, and see/We are terribly unhappy." The people of Bangladesh will regain happiness in freedom and also regain Rabindranath through their independence.



DANGER OF FORMING UNITED FRONTS

BIMAL BANERJEE

A Political Party is formed to execute its own programme chalked out on the basis of the political philosophy the Party believes in. Accordingly the Party goes before the electorate with its programme and tries to educate the electorate along the line of the political philosophy it believes in and holds dear. The electorate in their turn judge the programmes of the different political parties and support one or the other according to their liking and judgement. This is what happens in a Society where a democratic system of government functions. The chance of a permanent United Front of different political parties therefore occurs very seldom in a democratic setting.

United Fronts of different political parties are sometimes formed with a limited scope and purpose on specific issues. But a single United Front on a permanent basis to govern a state or nation is against the very principle of a democratic system of government and is a betrayal of the electorate by forcing a thing upon them without an alternative choice. The electorate fail to find out, judge and compare notes on the programme, policy and ideology of the different parties.

The tactics of the United Front had been taken out of the leaf of the popular front governments of Europe in and around the 30's devised, formulated, advocated and directed by the Comintern the central organ of International Communism, under the direct thumb of Moscow. It was a tactics of the Communists to get organised under the left national opposition against the conservatives in power, in order to gain an opportunity for infiltration and consolidation, when the Communists were weak and were distrusted by

the people. The tactics were first popularised in France with the slogan—to prevent division of left votes—.

After the defeat of Communism in Germany, the Communists raised the slogan of Popular Front of Socialists and Democrats to fight against Fascism led by Hitler.

The Communists did not succeed in the Western Countries of Europe because of the democratic tradition but in Eastern Europe they were successful. In India the Communists even joined Congress Socialist Party and All India Trade Union Congress after dissolving their own Red Trade Union Congress and they were very much successful in their mission in capturing A. I. T. U. C. and breaking the Congress Socialist Party before the Second World War.

After transfer of power in India the Communists for some time were isolated because of their anti-national conduct in supporting British war effort at the directive of the Soviet Union and naturally betraying the national struggle for independence. But immediately before the first General Election they succeeded in manoeuvring the other leftist parties in West Bengal and could form an United Front to fight the election and after the election emerged as the largest Opposition Party in the West Bengal legislature. The Forward Block, which was a powerful political force in West Bengal before the 1952 General Elections, was reduced to an insignificant position as a result of its pact with the Communists much to the advantage of the Communists but to the disadvantage of its own members. A big chunk came out of the Block

and formed a separate party styled as the Marxist Forward Block to climb on the band wagon of the Communists.

It should never be forgotten that the Communists have always been a minority in the political cross-section of all States. This was true in West Bengal in 1952. By way of the United Front they have become the most powerful political party in West Bengal, today. Never have the Communists come before the electorate all alone with their own programme to fight an election. In the last five general elections they only contested as one of the constituent parties of the United Front.

To take advantage of the immense popularity of Sree Ajoy Mukherjee, the Communists of both the varieties formed a United Front of fourteen political parties to fight the mid-term general elections in 1969. Gullible leaders of the other socialist and nationalist parties of the Front did not see through the game. In the mid-term general elections the Communists could capture almost half of the Assembly seats. The C. P. I. (M) directly won 80 seats and 10 of their fellow travellers came out successful while the C. P. I. won 30 seats and a few other C. P. I. members won with the tickets of other constituent parties. In the West Bengal Cabinet nearly half of the members were Communists. All the important portfolios went to the Communists. Home, Education, Land and Land Revenue, Labour, Food, etc., were under the control of the Communists.

In the elections in March 1971 the Communists could improve their position further. The Communist Party (Marxist) alone emerged as the single largest party in the West Bengal State Legislature and the Communist Party of India also secured quite a few seats. Seats won by the two Communist parties and their fellow travellers almost constituted a majority in the State Legislature.

After the elections of 1969, with the support of the massive political organisation outside and the direct help of a section of Government employees and officers, the Communist Ministers could use the Governmental machinery to consolidate and expand their party rapidly. Overnight rival trade unions under the leadership of C. P. I. (M) were formed and registered where previously the trade unions were under the leadership of other political parties. Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) used to control some large trade unions in West Bengal in the coal fields, in tea gardens, Railways, Port and Dock, jute mills, etc. The Communists selected H. M. S. controlled Unions for disruption and formation of rival unions to extend their party activities in those industries with the direct assistance of the Police. The Communists formed rival unions in different collieries such as, Sripur, Rana, Ninga, East Chora, in Ranigunge coal belt and intimidated the employees to join their unions. Those who opposed this were murdered. As many as 27 workers were murdered in the coal belt. The employers were forced to recognise the newly formed unions. The same thing happened in the tea gardens and other places. In 1969 the Communists could increase their strength, amongst the labour, fourfold by force and violence.

In the rural area lands belonging to small holders who were supporters or sympathisers of other parties were forcibly grabbed by the Communists and distributed to their own workers or supporters. Peasant organisations under the control of other constituent parties were disrupted by physical force. Number of peasant workers belonging to other parties were murdered. More than 300,000 acres of land were distributed, not by Government machinery, but by the Communist Party (Marxist) and the beneficiaries were mainly the party cadre or supporters,

Socialist Unity Centre, one of the constituent Parties of the United Front, had powerful peasant organisations in the southern subdivisions of 24-Parganas District and it was an eye sore to the Communists. The Communists took all the measures at their disposal to break the S. U. C. organisation. Their peasant organisers were assaulted, some of them were also murdered and in this effort the Communists did not hesitate to take the assistance of land lords, as well as of the police, which force was under the command of the Dy. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, C. P. I. (M).

The dirty game was also being played in the sphere of education. 100 head masters were forced to resign and School Committees not friendly to the Communists were dissolved. As many as 358 school Managing Committees were superseded and party cadres were appointed as administrators. School curriculum included Communist literature to brain wash school boys. Gandhi, Netaji, Vivekananda were discarded and Mao and Ho Chi Minh were glorified in school text books. The whole education system in West Bengal became an appendage to the Communist Party (M) under the direction of the Minister who belonged to the Communist Party (Marxist).

The performance of the Home (Police) Department surpassed all other departments under the Communists in the matter of corruption, irregularities and evil practices. Loyal police personnel were removed from service, some were transferred. A parallel Police Association was formed with the Communist sympathisers in Police service. The police force was made completely ineffective.

All these policies were drawn up as a calculated move to make other parties in the Front ineffective and to gradually dissolve them. And this is the policy they have followed everywhere in the past and they will do so in the future too in any part of the world they happen to work in.

The Democratic Socialists must take lesson from their own experience and from the history of their conduct elsewhere. They should know that United Fronts with the Communists can be nothing but a clever trap, to put the socialist elements in the death chamber with the lullaby of a classless society.

Therefore, democratic socialist parties should come before the electorate with their own definite programme. They should also educate the electorate as to what is beneficial to the masses. On specific issues united fronts or combinations of different parties might be found necessary and in such cases united fronts should be formed with the socialist and democratic parties only, i. e., with those, who have faith in a democratic system of government and who believe in human dignity and the rights of individuals. The parties in such combinations will not indulge in violence to engulf or break other parties, or cannot be expected to disrupt trade unions or peasant organisations of fraternal parties, taking advantage of united platforms. Communists under no circumstances should be given the advantage of a United Front shield to hide their anti-national character and to enable them to work for social disruption, grab power and establish a dictatorship.

POPULARITY OF G. K. CHESTERTON AS ESSAYIST

B. DHAR

The essay loomed large in the colourful literary career of G. K. Chesterton. A versatile writer, he enriched every department of literature, but it was as an essayist that he made his debut in the world of letters and won immediate popularity. Again, it was as an essayist that he spoke, from week to week, of things uppermost in his mind to a fairly wide circle of readers. The publication of each weekly essay was to him an act of fulfilment. He, therefore, wrote voluminously and contributed over 2,200 pieces to the **Daily News** and the **Illustrated London News** alone. These essays, besides encompassing the whole gamut of his spiritual progress, are a notation of his times. They form, as Father Rice of Douai justly pointed out, "the finest and only reliable history of our times". They treat of the topical without losing sight of the universal and touch life at all possible points.

"The essay was," as F. A. Lea says of Chesterton, "his literary form per excellence".¹ It suited his genius very well. Its pliability as a mode of expression, its appropriateness for all kinds of discourse, its capacity to admit of a wide range of themes, and, above all, its informality and brevity made it his favourite. In a life crammed with engagements, this literary form always came handy to him, because he could apply his mind and energies to it at will, producing a piece with amazing speed and ease. Maisie Ward tells us that she had noticed him in the thirties or forties writing two articles at a time and writing fifteen in five days in the fifties.² As a nonspecialist speaking on all subjects, he could turn to the essay with the aplomb and easy mastery of a man to the

manner, born. Whatever the manner place and circumstances in which he set about his task, he had, goat-like, the instinct of landing on his feet and turning everything to advantage.

Chesterton was one of the most popular and "the last of the great English essayists". An examination of the factors which contributed to his popularity and eminence as an essayist during his own and later times will perhaps provide an answer to the question of his relevance to our times.

One of the secrets of Chesterton's appeal to the English mind lay in his middle-class background. Treating of this aspect of Chesterton's authorship, Belloc remarked, "This tradition of his, the tradition of the merchants and writers, lawyers and religious men who had made the norm as it were and centre of English life for two hundred years, gave him, an especially national character, upon which in all that is or shall be written of him the greatest insistence should be laid."³ His middle-class background, then, ensured the representative national character of his writings. His Englishness took as varied forms as the English spirit had done down the ages. Some of its manifestations were the love of the English past; the love of the landscape and the weather of the British Isles. Perhaps, the most amiable aspect his Englishness found expression in the love of the common people of his country and his willingness to understand their mind. In his championship of the rights and liberties of his countrymen his fervour resembled William Cobbett's; in his love of the eccentricities and angularities of the common people

his earnestness was comparable to Charles Dickens's.

His appeal derived its strength from his genial humour too, "a by-product of the vivid, exaggerated and therefore most powerful English visual imagination."⁴ There was no loss of perspective in his essays, because he was seldom without humour, and his brilliant wit added a new dimension to his utterances. Moreover, wit and humour made his essays entertaining and provided an outlet to the exuberance of his spirits.

Another quality which contributed to his popularity was the rational frame of mind which he brought to bear on the exposition, analysis and examination of ideas. It was not, as Belloc rightly suggests, an especially English virtue. All the same he employed and highlighted reason in his essays through various devices of definition, exposition, illustration and parallelism. He went about his task most patiently, persistently, and even cheerfully. The "confusion of thought", as Belloc observed rightly, "was to him not so much an irritant as an immediate spur to corrective criticism; he resolved the tangle with a gusto; he untied the knots with the enjoyment of one who makes rather than undoes. He argued as though he were building or carving."⁵ One of the purposes of Chesterton as essayist was to teach his age the wholesome habit of thinking logically. His own essays are good examples of deductive reasoning and exact thinking. "There was no other writer of our time," said Belloc, "in whom the appeal to the reader was perpetually through the intelligence."⁶

Yet another source of inexhaustible interest of Chesterton's essays is he himself. One can hear behind the written word the fountain of friendly chat spouting incessantly; one can listen to the living voice expatiating on some point, asking and answering questions that

might possibly be raised by others. He was an engaging talker which accounted for his great success as a broadcaster during the last years of his life. It has been rightly observed that "his writing seemed rather a by-product of his conversation"⁷ and that "his mere casual conversation was better than most good writers' deliberate compositions".⁸ It is not easy to analyse what diverse elements go into the making of the personality of Chesterton as reflected in his essays. He is a spokesman of the submerged sections of society in the manner of Cobbett and Charles Dickens; a Dr. Johnson in stature, girth, appearance and habit; an "exuberant" Emerson determined to put his point across with the zeal of that oracle; a St. George fighting for many a good, even lost, cause; a St. Thomas Aquinas with a powerful mind; and a man of the mould of Sir. Thomas More. Ivor Brown, who called him "a multiple man" in the rather uncomplimentary sense of a man whose multiple selves contradicted one another, put the record straight when he said that Chesterton "seemed to be Falstaff and Aquinas, Blake and Dr. Johnson, Cobbett and Conan Doyle all rolled into one".⁹ "Social splendour and largesse" which Chesterton saw in St. Thomas Aquinas were part of his own unique personality. A. G. Gardiner has pointed out that aspect of his personality which has become a legend. "He is", says he, "a wayfarer from the ages, stopping at the inn of life, warming himself at the fire and making the rafters ring with his jolly laughter. Time and space are accidents: he is elemental and primitive. He is not of our time, but of all times.....One seems to see him coming down from the twilight of fable through the centuries, calling wherever there is good company and welcome wherever he calls, for he brings no cult of the time or pedantry of the schools with him".¹⁰ This many-faceted'

personality finding expression in his essays in an unaffected, direct, effective and often exuberant manner, makes them an extremely fascinating reading.

One of the interesting features of Chesterton's essays is their style rich in tonal effects and deft in the manipulation of linguistic resources. It is a style at once original, vigorous, apt, individual and brilliant. The preference for the everyday idiom saved his style from affectation, and an appropriate use of literary devices like metaphor, analogy, paradox and parallelism spared it from lack of colour. Consequently, the prose of his essays is a chiaroscuro prose. Even the ordinary passages seldom lack in a minimal raciness.

In any estimate of Chesterton his message should find a pride of place. The views expressed by him in his essays on universal and topical problems, which agitated his mind, have by and large a relevance to our own times. In 1946, Douglas Woodruff wrote, "The ten years that have passed since Chesterton died on June 14th, 1936, have not seen any falling off in the demand for his books, such as commonly happens in the first years, even where a writer is, in fact, secure. The candle burns low for a time before it lights up. But Chesterton, as we move further away from the early decades of the century, emerges more and more as a man ahead of his time, increasingly preoccupied with the real questions which men would have to answer, and writing about them for contemporaries who in general underrated him because they have only now begun, most painfully, and under the pressure of very unpleasant events, to understand what, and how much, he meant. His relevance will be more and more seen, and his fame will grow".¹¹ He added later, "Chesterton understood the future in the same way that he so often, without any extensive historical reading,

divined the past and set out its essentials. And his works are in demand today because, forty years afterwards, they are about actual and burning realities".¹² Three decades after Chesterton's death, this estimate of him is as true as when it was written. His essays are still a stimulating fare to the reader, because they celebrate man's primary urges and seek to broaden his vision by pointing out the relevance of his past to his present and future.

More than any other essayist of the present century Chesterton tried to make the periodical essay the mirror of his times. He restored to it, one might say, almost the same prestige and function which belonged to it during the days of Addison and Steele. More than any other contemporary essayist he used the short piece as a vehicle of a distinct point of view. Keeping himself, by and large, in touch with the mood of his age, Chesterton used the essay to promote sensibility, thoughtfulness and catholicity of mind. He used it for what may be called its highest purpose, namely, "the contemplation of life from the vantage point of the highest truths".¹³ By setting his ideas "in a context of human awareness",¹⁴ in his essays he set the tone and pace for the English essay of the later decades which, shorn of "the whimsy and superfluous verbiage of the pre-war week-end essay",¹⁵ is nearer to the Addison-Chesterton spirit rather than the Elia-Stevenson tradition. Chesterton anticipated the modern essay-writer who is "both more concerned and more committed than his predecessor".¹⁶ Consequently, Hubert Waring had ample justification when he called him "a prince of essayists".¹⁷

As an essayist Chesterton is unique, for he has no literary descendants as he has no literary ancestors. He combines prolificity with excellence which is a very creditable thing, since these qualities generally do not go together. Besides these, he has the capacity

to relate the topical to the universal and to see all things under the aspect of eternity. The sprightliness of his manner, the weightiness of his matter, the freshness of his perspective, the wealth of his ideas, the width of his interests, the earnestness of his purpose and the facility and aptness of his expression mark him off from the contemporary essayists. As an ingenious manipulator of the essay form, Chesterton occupies a high place in the hierarchy of the twentieth century essayists.

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ABOUT SUPERIORITY OF INDIAN WEAPONS

India's brilliant victory in the 14-day war was backed by the reliable support of arms and equipment produced in the country. The gallant men of the Armed Forces have come to respect Indian equipment. Defence production establishments have built up a technologically strong base with research support from our scientists. The establishments are now well set to meet the requirements of sophisticated and dependable weapons to match the best in the world.

Bangalore-built Gnat has already become a household name in the country. The tiny Gnat was the first to draw blood. Four Gnats roared into the sky on November 22 to challenge four Pakistani Sabres which had intruded into Indian air space over Boyra, and succeeded in shooting down three of them in a rapid dog-fight. When Pakistan launched the full-scale war, the Gnats were itching for air battles with the mighty Mirages and F-104s. The much-vaunted Pakistani planes often turned tail at the sight of a Gnat.

The India-built MiGs and Vijayanta tanks were battle-tested for the first time in this war. The MiGs destroyed a number of Pakistani aircraft and the Vijayantas with their 105 mm guns took a heavy toll of enemy's Patton and T-59 tanks.

The success of Gnats, MiGs and Vijayantas has vindicated Government's policy of self-reliance in defence equipment.

Thirty Ordnance and Departmental Factories and Public Sector Undertakings under the Ministry of Defence are busily turning out modern weapons for the Nation's defence. Besides the Gnat, the MiG and the Vijayanta, India is producing a large number of arms and equipment—guns and mortars for the Army, frigates equipped with missiles and helicopters for the Navy and Jet fighters (HF-24), transport aircraft (HS-748) and Alouette helicopters for the Air Force. The indigenous content of these has gone up considerably and in the not too distant future, the country should be completely self-reliant in this vital sector. India has already achieved a broad measure of self-reliance in conventional arms and ammunition and complete self-sufficiency in small arms and allied ammunition.

A totally new advance strike aircraft, incorporating the latest technology, will be manufactured in the country for operational role with the Air Force in 1980s. The design bureau of the HAL's Bangalore Division is engaged in conducting preliminary studies connected with this project.

The work on the Grey Iron Foundry at Jabalpur is progressing and with its commissioning all castings required for military vehicles will be manufactured within the country. The Alloy and Special Steels Project has been sanctioned to meet the require-

ments of a variety of special steels for the manufacture of modern armaments.

A new field gun with a long range to replace the existing guns of World War II vintage has been developed indigenously and has successfully completed technical trials. The production of this gun is expected to commence in about five years. The Ordnance Factories are developing a new Pistol both for Army and civilian use and its production is likely to commence in about three years. The indigenous production of floats for Kruppman Bridges was established in 1971.

With the commencement of the assembly of anti-tank missiles at the Bharat Dynamics Ltd., Hyderabad, the country entered a new field of sophistication. Manufacture of these missiles from raw materials will be taken up shortly.

Production in ordnance and departmental factories has gone up from Rs. 41 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 120 crores in 1970-71. Apart from augmenting the manufacturing capacity of established armaments, ordnance factories have taken up production of large number of new weapons and equipment.

The first 39-ton Vijayanta tank rolled out of the Heavy Vehicles Factory in December 1965. Since then the indigenous content has gone up to 60 per cent and is expected to increase to 85 per cent in the next two years. The factory has also taken up production of armoured recovery vehicles, designed and developed entirely by Indian talent. In yet another role, the Vijayanta chassis has been fitted with self-propelled gun for which a prototype has been built and successfully tried out. Proposals are under way to build a lighter series of vehicles like the armoured personnel carrier which will be used in the seventies and eighties.

A major explosives project has been completed and a new project for the manufacture of propellants and ballistites is making pro-

gress. The old capacity for nitro-glycerine and nitro-cellulose is being modernised by more efficient and safer processes and plants. A new plant for the manufacture of nitric acid and modern TNT plant are being set up.

A new factory for the manufacture of Shaktiman trucks and Nissan one-tonner and patrol jeep has been set up at Jabalpur. The factory though not fully commissioned has already gone into production; it has taken over production of these vehicles from other ordnance factories.

The eight public sector undertakings under the Ministry of Defence manufacture sophisticated equipment including aircraft, frigates and radars for the Defence Forces. During 1970-71, these undertakings accounted for a total production of Rs. 154 crores and during the current year the production is expected to go up to Rs. 190 crores.

The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited is now producing HF-24 (Marut), a ground attack fighter; MiG-21, a supersonic interceptor; Gnat, a jet fighter aircraft; HJT-16 (Kiran), a jet trainer; Alouette helicopter; and HS-748 a transport aircraft. Arrangements for the manufacture of an improved version of MiG-21 have been completed and its production is expected to begin in 1973.

A separate factory for the manufacture of light aircraft and helicopters is being set up. An agreement has been signed with SNIAS of France for the manufacture of SA-315 helicopters under licence. Another agreement signed with the French firm provides for design collaboration for the development of a helicopter of Indian design as a successor to SA-315. Work is now going on at the Kanpur Division of HAL on the conversion of HS-748 into military freighter.

The production of aircraft accessories and instruments like brake and hydraulic equipment, flight instruments, airconditioning,

pressurisation and fuel system equipment and ejection seats is expected to begin towards the end of 1972 at the new factory under construction at Lucknow.

Bharat Electronics Limited which began its production in 1956 with only two items of equipment now manufactures equipment like transmitters, receivers, trans-receivers and radars for Defence Forces. BEL's second factory is being set up at Ghaziabad (UP) for the manufacture of special types of radar and associated equipments.

Mazagon Dock in Bombay and Garden

Reach Workshops in Calcutta are engaged in constructing frigates, dredgers tugs and other equipment for the Navy. The first Leander Class Frigate, INS NILGIRI, built at the Mazagon Dock, has gone out for sea trials. The frigate is the most modern of its kind and will be equipped with missiles and helicopters for anti-aircraft and anti-submarine roles. The second frigate is being fitted out and the third is under construction. Three more frigates are also on order. Production of Marine diesel engines is now in hand at the Garden Reach Workshops' newly established factory at Ranchi.

HEROES OF THE 14 DAY WAR

On a cold windy night on the inhospitable heights of Kargil, our Jawans stormed Pakistani pickets in the recent 14-day war. Like Ibexes, they dominated the dizzy heights after driving away the Pakistanis. Leading the men was Major Chowang Rinchen, a winner of Maha Vir Chakra during the J & K operations in 1948-49. His courage has brought him the award a second time.

In another battle in Kargil, a battalion of the Punjab Regiment was held up while attacking enemy positions. Sub. Mohinder Singh charged at the enemy, destroyed a bunker and inflicted many casualties in close combat. His personal example ensured the success of the attack and won him the much-coveted Maha Vir Chakra.

Poonch Battle

In Poonch, the Pakistani troops attacked our posts in massive strength at the commencement of the war. They were pitted against

our forces led by Brigadier Anant Vishwanath Natu. The Brigadier organised his defences so skilfully that when the enemy attacked by great weight of artillery fire, not a single post was lost in spite of repeated attacks over a period of four days. One of the battalions in Brigadier Natu's brigade belonged to the famous Sikh Regiment. Under the leadership of their Commanding Officer, Lt.-Col. Kashmiri Lal Ratan, the troops held their ground and frustrated attempts by the enemy to capture our posts. Lt.-Col. Kashmiri Lal Ratan moved from company to company in total disregard of his personal safety.

A factor that helped in demoralising the Pakistanis in Poonch was the daring attacks on them by our aircraft. Wing Commander Vidya Bhushan Vashisht, the Commanding Officer of an operational squadron, led his heavy bombers at very low levels and attacked the enemy. The difficulties and dangers of

this operation were evident from the volume of ground fire in the area and the hazards of flying his large aircraft and leading his formation at low level through mountainous terrain.

Brigadier Natu, Battalion Commander, Lt.-Col. Kashmiri Lal Ratan and Wing Commander Vashisht all won Maha Vir Chakras.

Chhamb Battle

In the battle of Chhamb, it was the combined effort of the Army and the Air Force which frustrated repeated Pakistani attacks. Sorties by fighters and fighter bombers of the IAF demoralised the enemy.

When a massive enemy attack was launched, a battalion of the Sikh Regiment commanded by Lt.-Col. Prem Kumar Khanna was in the forefront. It was subjected to continuous and ceaseless attacks in overwhelming strength by infantry and armour. With cool and calm courage, he restored the situation in the area. One of his Company Commanders, Major Jaivir Singh, repeatedly exposed himself to enemy fire and repulsed a series of attacks with many losses to the enemy. When his position was attacked twice the next day, he held his ground showing indomitable personal courage and grit. In one of these attacks when the enemy succeeded in penetrating his defences, Major Jaivir Singh personally led a counter-attack and cleared the incursion after a hand to hand fight. Lance Naik Nar Bahadur Chettri destroyed five enemy tanks in the Chhamb battle.

Among the Air Force heroes of the Chhamb battle were Wing Commander Man Mohan Bir Singh Talwar, Squadron Leader Madhavendra Banerji and Squadron Leader Ravinder Nath Bhardwaj. Wing Commander Talwar had carried out day-light missions in the Chhamb area and silenced four enemy gun

positions near the Manawar Tawi River. Squadron Leader Banerji led no fewer than 14 missions in S-22 aircraft within the first week of the war most of them in support of the Army in the Chhamb battles. Squadron Leader R. N. Bhardwaj led a close support mission to Chhamb area on December 10. During the first attack, his aircraft as well as that of his number two were hit by ground fire. As they pulled out of the attacks they were engaged by enemy Sabres. He guided the number two out of danger and joined the fray to shoot down a Sabre. Later, he returned to attack Pakistani tanks and troops and caused extensive damage before nursing his aircraft back to the base.

All the heroes of the Chhamb battle have been awarded Maha Vir Chakras.

Attack Stalled

In the Punjab, the Pakistanis had planned a major attack across the Dera Baba Nanak bridge. This was frustrated by a daring pre-emptive attack by our troops in the area. Our brigade was led by Brigadier Krishnaswami Gowri Shankar. Undeterred by enemy's heavy tank, MMG and artillery fire, he remained in the forefront, showing audacity, boldness and originality in planning the attack. His skill and presence inspired troops and ensured the success of the attack. His reward : Maha Vir Chakra. Air support in the battle was provided, among others, by Wing Commander A. A. D'Costa.

Laungenwala Battle

A Pakistani thrust which turned into a rout is more popularly known as the battle of Laungenwala. The hero of the battle, besides the Air Force pilots who turned Laungenwala into a graveyard of Pakistani tanks, was Major Kuldip Singh Chandpuri. He held his ground at Laungenwala against successive enemy tank attacks by his personal courage, inspiring example and offensive spirit until reinforcements arrived. He inflicted heavy

casualties and forced the enemy to retreat, leaving behind 12 tanks. Also in his bag is Maha Vir Chakra.

A Soldier Prince

The prince among soldiers to win the Maha Vir Chakra is Lt.-Col. Sawai Bhawani Singh of Jaipur. As Commanding Officer of the 10 Para Commando battalion, he personally led his men deep into Pakistan territory and successfully raided enemy posts at Chachro and Virawah. He spent four sleepless days and nights fighting.

Eastern Theatre

In the eastern theatre, our troops made swift progress in all sectors causing confusion in enemy ranks. In the Jessore Sector, Brigadier J. S. Gharaya led his brigade with extraordinary courage. The brigade withstood four attacks. The enemy suffered heavy losses and subsequently withdrew in disorder. Even though severely wounded, Brig. Gharaya refused to be evacuated till he had seen the attack through, since the success of this attack was vital to our further advance in Bangla Desh.

Another hero of the Jessore battle was Major Daljit Singh Narag, who was commanding a squadron of tanks. When attacked by enemy infantry and armour, he skilfully manoeuvred his squadron and standing on the turret of his tank directed fire effectively despite heavy enemy fire. Major Narag, unfortunately, did not live to see the success of his squadron. Hit by MMG fire, he was killed during the battle. Another brave JCO who died during the battle was Sub. Malkiat Singh. When his battalion was attacked by enemy infantry and armour, he moved from trench to trench encouraging his men. When the enemy came within 50 yards, he crawled forward to engage the enemy and killed two machine gunners before he was hit by an enemy tank and killed. Other heroes of the Jessore battle were :

Lt.-Col. Surinder Kapur and Lt.-Col Chittor Venugopal.

At Atgram, a young Gorkha Jawan, Rfn. Dil Bahadur Chettri, sliced the throats of eight Pakistanis with the cold steel of his khukri. In Kushtia, another Gorkha Jawan, Rfn. Pati Ram Gurung, made the supreme sacrifice while silencing an enemy machine-gun position. At Murapara, Lance Naik Ram Ugrah Pandey of a Guards battalion paved the way for the advance of his battalion by silencing two enemy bunkers with hand grenades. While destroying a third bunker with a rocket launcher, he was mortally wounded. At Laksham, Major Anup Singh Gahlaut, commanding a Company of the Dogra Regiment, broke the back of the enemy with his cool courage. The brave officer died after the battle due to wounds suffered in hand-to-hand fighting.

Heroes of the Seas

Captain Mahendra Nath Mulla, Captain of the frigate INS KHUKRI has carved a niche in the Naval history. The frigate was hit by torpedoes and sank. Captain Mulla refused to leave the ship ; he gave his life-saving gear to a sailor. Having directed as many of his men to leave the ship, Captain Mulla went back to the bridge to see what further rescue operations he could perform. In doing so, he was last seen going down with his ship.

Daring Attack

The success of the Navy's daring attack on Karachi was largely due to the leadership of Commander K. P. Gopal Rao. Commander Rao led his task group into the enemy's den and sank two destroyers and one minesweeper. Later, the task group successfully bombarded the port of Karachi setting fire to oil and other installations in the harbour. One of his Squadron Commanders in this operation was Cdr. Babru Bahau Yadav.

In the Bay of Bengal, ships of the Indian Navy completely crippled Pakistani ports and installations. The Commanding Officer of the Indian Naval Air Squadron was Lt.-Com. S. K. Gupta. He himself flew the Sea Hawk to Khulna in the face of a fierce barrage of anti-aircraft fire. Though his aircraft was hit, he continued the assaults and brought back the damaged Sea Hawk to the flight deck of INS VIKRANT safely.

A close quarter battle fought by Naval ships during the operations featured INS PANVEL commanded by Lt.-Cdr. J. P. A. Noronha. The ship was part of a task force which attacked Mongla and Khulna. Though it was subjected to incessant air attacks and shelled by shore defences, Lt.-Cdr. Noronha fought the enemy in close quarters for a prolonged period, silencing enemy's shore defences and causing very extensive damage to shore installations. The task force was commanded by Cdr. M. N. R. Samant.

The Air Observation Pilots of the Regiment of Artillery, with their small unarmed planes daringly directed streams of fire from our guns into enemy concentrations in all the sectors. One of them, awarded the Maha Vir Chakra, was Capt. Pradip Kumar Gour who made the supreme sacrifice.

Air Force

Besides providing valuable ground support to the Army, the Indian Air Force planes flew deep into enemy territory on reconnaissance and strike missions, attacking air bases, communication lines, installations and trains carrying material to the front. Among the brave pilots are Wing Comdr. Ramesh Sakhram Benegal, Wing Comdr. H. S. Manget, Wing Comdr. C. V. Parker, Wing Comdr. Padmanabha Gautam and Wing Commander Swaroop Krishna Kaul. Many of them flew into heavily defended targets, returning with holes in their aircraft. They literally blazed a trail of glory.



COMMUNALISM AND OURSELVES

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Communalism, like provincialism, is the thwarted expression of the striving of the people to fulfil their genuine aspirations. So long as the aspirations remain unfulfilled the perversions of the popular outlook cannot be checked. This fact is often overlooked in discussions of the communal problem in the overt eagerness on the part of many to appear as "secular". Yet the persistence of both communalism and provincialism, despite hundreds of thousands of words written and spoken against them, is a reminder of the utter inadequacy of mere platitudes to deal with the evil effectively. It is not the suggestion that all strife would disappear if the basic demands of the people were fulfilled. But there is no doubt that if there were enough jobs for all educated persons to keep themselves gainfully occupied there would have been no provincialism or communalism. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, would not cease to be Hindus, Muslims or Christians but the edge of communalism in their outlook would be gone when there would be no unemployment and discrimination (for which there would no longer be the objective basis of scarcity of jobs).

An empty brain has been described as the devil's workshop. When the number of empty brains runs into lakhs and millions the potentiality for mischief becomes indeed terrifying ! Historically we find that in undivided Bengal, which bears the most gaping wounds of communalism, the political difference between the Hindus and the Muslims, which led to the most tragic development of the century—to the partition of Bengal—arose over the distribution of governmental jobs between the educated

Hindus and educated Muslims. All efforts to build up a joint political movement of the Hindus and the Muslims in undivided Bengal foundered upon the disagreement over the apportionment of government jobs between the Hindus and the Muslims in Bengal. The last supreme bid to build up such a joint movement had been made by the Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das in the mid-twenties but it came to naught with his sudden death soon thereafter. Communists sought partition and got it. Language enthusiasts wanted linguistic States and had them. But communalism still persists in this country so much so that an anti-communal convention now is called for ! So far as provincialism is concerned, even now heads are often counted by many as to how many persons of a particular State or a language are employed by a particular government department, or public sector organization, when opportunities for employment in non-governmental organizations have expanded considerably more than what they were fifty years ago.

Bangla Desh and Communalism

Despite the historic event of Partition, which was brought about to "scotch" communalism very much in the same manner in which the British and the Americans had fought the First World War "to end all wars", communalism has persisted in India. There has been a great failure of the politicians and the intellectuals alike in this country to grapple with the spectre of communalism which has been causing a real havoc. In India since the Hindus predominate and govern the affairs, this failure has been primarily of the Hindus and their principal political organization, the

Indian National Congress. It was only in Pakistan, in its eastern wing to be precise, that a fundamental reappraisal of the theory and practice of communalism was sought to be made. And this was not made by isolated individuals but by the Muslims occupying high and responsible positions in the political, economic and social fields. The Muslims who had been so insistent only a few years earlier for separation from the Hindus became the most vocal champions of non-communalism and protagonists of Hindu-Muslim joint action. It ought to be noted that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, whose Awami League had swept the polls in Pakistan earlier this year, was himself a great champion of the separatism of the Muslim League at the time of the partition of India and Bengal in 1947. Indeed many of the latter day champions of secularism in Pakistan were die-hard Muslim League communalists only a few years earlier. In Pakistan they did not take long to turn their back upon communalism.

In this reappraisal the most heart-searching and self-critical questions were raised by the Muslim intellectuals involving the approach of the Muslims to pre-Islamic and post-Islamic traditions in India. After Partition the Muslims of East Pakistan had to decide whether they would accept that part of the heritage of the Bengali literature and history which was not Islamic in the narrow sense (who say that the Islamic philosophy of brotherhood of man has not influenced the non-Muslim thought pattern?). Most of the Muslim intellectuals came to the conclusion that the Muslims of East Pakistan must take over the pre-Islamic and non-Islamic heritage of the Bengalis as their own. In other words the Muslim intellectuals for the first time made a conscious assertion that they were the inheritors of the Vedas as much as of the Quran. In fact they were staking a claim to a bigger heritage than any Hindu in the India-

Pakistan subcontinent had ever dared to do ! Comparing the partition of Bengal into constituents of two different states with the partition of Germany, Mr. Badruddin Omar wrote that as the East Germans had not discarded the West German writers and culture as being "West" German or pre-communist, the East Bengalis also ought not to discard the rich pre-Islamic, pre-Pakistan and non-Islamic Bengali tradition. In a biting denunciation of the compartmental thinking of some Muslims who wanted to reject all that was explicitly non-Islamic, Mr. Omar said that perhaps the Bengali Muslims were the only people in the world who although being in the majority, had felt ashamed of calling themselves Bengalis and in assimilating the tradition of Bengal. "This was among the principal reasons why the Bengali Muslims had failed to establish their identity and this was why they had been unable to make any distinctive contribution to the development of literature and culture and to the enrichment of the public life in Bengal", Mr. Badruddin Omar wrote. Vehemently criticizing the tendency among the Muslim writers to disown non-Muslim cultural leaders like Isvarchandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankimchandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore as being non-Islamic, Mr. Omar called these Muslim critics "mad" men. Yet only a few years earlier the vast bulk of the Muslim intellectual opinion in Bengal had been against recognizing these great Bengali writers as worthy of reverence by the Muslims ! It was in contrast with the earlier Muslim view that a proper assessment of the vast change that had taken place in the dominant Muslim opinion in East Pakistan could be made.

This Muslim reassessment was by no means confined to the field of literature. It was equally operative in the political field. A

section of the very same Muslim leadership which had refused to see any positive aspect of the earlier political movements in undivided Bengal led by the Hindus, proudly proclaimed in public that the democratic movement in East Pakistan was nothing but a continuation of the movement led by such non-Muslim Bengalis as Aurobindo, Chittaranjan Das, Jatindramohan Sengupta and others. In the Awami League conventions gates were erected in honour of these non-Muslim leaders whom the educated Muslims of undivided Bengal had refused to honour only a few years earlier! The Muslims of East Pakistan were thus firmly set upon a course of secular politics whose culmination was to be seen in the proclamation of a people's Republic of Bangla Desh on 10 April, 1971.

Persistent Communalism in India

There was no such reassessment by the Indian Muslims. In India communalism remained the principal plank of Muslim politics. Indeed, as Mr. A. Q. Ansari, the eminent Muslim leader of Bihar pointed out, the non-communal Urdu newspapers edited by the Muslims had no appeal to the Muslim masses. Even many Muslim leaders who were not formally in any communal organization were openly sympathetic to the exponents of the communal stand. (See Theodore P. Wright Jr : "Muslim Representation in India" in Donald E. Smith (ed) : *South Asian Politics and Religion*. Princeton University Press 1965, P. 119. "In private some Congress Muslims will acknowledge that the Muslim League is 100 per cent correct.....")

What was the reason for this divergent conduct of the Muslims of Pakistan and India? To my mind the answer has to be sought in the same source: Frustration of their aspirations. In Pakistan the failure of communalism to provide relief to the people opened their eyes to the utter inadequacy of

communalism as a philosophy of life. Many of those who had adumbrated communalism in the belief that salvation lay that way were forced to reconsider their stand and forsake communal politics as being unserviceable and adopt a non-communal and secular stand. In India, on the other hand, the failure of the non-communal politicians either to provide economic improvement or, in many cases, even physical security from communal slaughter left the bulk of the Muslims unconvinced of the superiority of non-communal politics. They had no assurance in secularism. On the other hand building up a communal solidarity appeared to many to be the only means of protecting their identity. The non-communal Muslims, feeling of insecurity is best illustrated in the writing of Mr. Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Principal of Jamia College, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. His basic stand regarding the need for the Muslims to take a rational view of life, "shorn of all romanticism" of past Muslim societies, is secular. At the same time he points out that the Indian "Muslims have reason to suspect that the majority community is not honest in its profession of secular ideals and the State itself is lax in safeguarding their cultural rights as guaranteed in the Constitution." (Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi : "Indian Muslims and the Ideology of the Secular State" in Donald E. Smith (ed) : *South Asian Politics and Religion*. P. 144.) To dispel any doubt about the very sensible approach of Principal Faruqi I wish to reproduce the concluding paragraph of his essay: "The above discussion has emphasized two main points concerning the Muslims and Hindus of India. First, the Muslims need to understand that secularism as adopted in India is not atheistic in nature and does not imply any negation or rejection of religion. It is a secularism based on democratic traditions and

liberal thought and is not only tolerant toward religion but grants to all full freedom of religious faith and practice. They should also realize that in a country like India it is only this brand of secularism which can provide safeguards for their cultural and religious freedom and can give strength to their status as a religious minority. It is, therefore, in their own interest to support the secular ideal envisaged in the Constitution with sincerity and ardor. Second, in addition to any change in the Muslim attitude, it is the attitude of the majority community upon which, to a great extent, the success of secularism in India depends. Thus Muslims and non-Muslims are urgently required to cooperate in promoting that national integration which is essential to the building of a modern India," Principal Faruqi writes. (*Ibid* P 149)

Hindus and Secularism

For me, both as a Hindu and citizen of India, the most important point is what Principal Faruqi says about the majority community in India. If the Muslims need to reorientate their ideology of communalism, as they undoubtedly do in my view, it is equally imperative for the majority community in India to evolve an outlook of secularism which would be credible to the Muslims—the other principal party involved in the politics of secularism. Many Muslims in this country are not quite enthusiastic about Bangla Desh, but the vast majority of the Hindus are. The question that every conscious Hindu must ask himself is : Can he bring himself to the same level of self-criticism where the considerable number of Bengali Muslims have reached ? If the Muslims are to integrate themselves into the national heritage including the pre-Muslim Indian heritage, can the Hindus integrate themselves into the national heritage by disregarding the pre-British, post-

Hindu, Muslim heritage of India ? The Hindu today is as much in need of clearing his mind as the Muslim is. Nay, since the Hindus are in a majority the duty for a Hindu to be rational is all the more insistent. I cannot do better than to end this note with the same argument with which I started it. It is this. It is impossible to do away with communalism without expanding job opportunities sufficiently so as to eliminate unemployment as a major economic factor. A hungry man cannot agree to suffer hunger in the name of secularism, especially when he finds others are not sharing his suffering. The message of secularism can find way to the hungry man's head only through his belly. To the extent that communalism has tended to grow in dimension in the country over the past two decades and a half the failure of the ruling party, the Indian National Congress has to be admitted as a fact. This failure in part lay in the Congress Party's disowning the non-communal Muslim leaders and openly cajoling the communal Muslim leaders, installing many of them to positions of power, thus preventing the masses held by communalism from seeing that communal politics was not paying. On the other hand it was the non-communal Muslim leaders who were made to appear ridiculous by being cast aside in favour of communal elements. This has been the most costly blunder on the part of the majority community in India that it did nothing to encourage non-communal politics among the Muslims in India. With the added failure in the economic front the problem has now become more complex and difficult to disentangle. The only possibility of breakthrough of the communal maze lies in speeding economic development for which primarily the responsibility again lies with the Congress Party which is in power.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S CONCEPTION OF UNIVERSAL RELIGION

PIYUS KANTI DAS

Swami Vivekananda regarded advaita vedantism as a universal religion. It is necessary to explain the main features of advaitism before we consider the sense in which Vivekananda took advaita vedantism to be a universal religion.

Advaita Vedanta is a school of Hindu Philosophy. It is strictly monistic. It posits one impersonal, indeterminate Absolute which it calls Brahman. According to it, the world is an illusion. The individual self and Brahman are identical in essence. The realization of the identity of the individual self with impersonal Brahman is the ultimate goal of the spiritual aspiration of an advaita vedantin.

The variety of religions, according to Swami Vivekananda, is natural.¹ He, however, spoke of unity in variety. He said : "A background of unity will come by the fusion of all the existing religions into one grand philosophy. In the mythologies or the ceremonials there never will be unity, because we differ more in the concrete than in the abstract. Even while admitting the same principle, man will differ as to the greatness of each of his ideal teacher."² The grand philosophy Vivekananda spoke about is the philosophy of advaita vedanta.

Vivekananda regarded each religion as true in so far as it is an effort to grasp and realise the Infinite.³ Different religions are, to him, different approaches to the knowledge of God.⁴

Like his Master, Swami Vivekananda believed that religion is a matter of realization of the spiritual reality. Vivekananda, being an advaita vedantin, meant by spiritual reality indeterminate, impersonal Brahman. A necessary step towards the realization of the spiritual reality is the belief that Brahman is the only reality ; all else is illusion. For him, the realization of the spiritual reality means the realization of oneness of the self with Brahman.

Swami Vivekananda liked a fusion or amalgamation of religions. It may be mentioned here that the religions Vivekananda spoke of are religions which believe in Personal God. But, in his view, God or Brahman is indeterminate and impersonal. The fusion of religions or the truth of religions which believe in a Personal God has value only in the phenomenal world. The phenomenal world, according to Vivekananda's advaita metaphysics, is not real. God conceived as the creator of the phenomenal world, is also not real. The highest reality which is indeterminate and impersonal cannot be equated to the determinate Personal God of religion. So, the religion of advaita vedanta is fundamentally different from all other religions of the world. In what sense, then, did Vivekananda describe the principle of advaita vedanta as the basis of the unity of all other religions ? The

principle of advaita vedanta, he said, is the principle of the realization of religion.⁵ A religious man is one who has realized religion in life.⁶ What then is meant by realization of religion? Vivekananda's answer may be found in the following words: "For you to become religious means that you will start without any religion, work your way up and realize things, see things for yourself, and when you have done that, then, and then alone you have religion."⁷ By working the way up and realizing things he seems to mean reasoning about the truths of religion and seeing the Divine oneself. This principle may be the basis of the unity of religions, because this is the common element in all of them. In this sense, it may be held, Vivekananda made the assertion that all prophets, seers and saints are but its illustrations and manifestations.⁸ But this does not make advaita vedantism a universal religion. Let us see in what sense, then, Vivekananda considered advaita vedantism a universal religion.

Unity, according to Vivekananda, is the goal of religion. After reaching the unity religion can make no further progress. Vivekananda said: "Chemistry ceases to improve when one element is found from which all others are deducible. Physics ceases to progress when one force is found of which all others are manifestations. So, religion ceases to progress when unity is reached, which is the case with Hinduism."⁹ The progress of religion comes to an end when the conception of the unity of existence is reached. Such a conception of unity is reached in the philosophy of advaita vedanta which in the above passage has been equated with Hinduism.

Swami Vivekananda expressed the view that Vedanta tolerates all religions.¹⁰ "Our religion", he said includes different religious practices, such as symbolism and image-

worship.¹¹ We have already mentioned that Vivekananda in this context equated the religion of advaita vedanta with Hinduism. Now, how can the religion of advaita vedanta which believes in the realization of oneness with indeterminate, impersonal Brahman tolerate or include religions which believe in Personal God? The answer to this question will be found in the explanation of Vivekananda's view that different religions are true in so far as they are different approaches to the knowledge of God. The highest approach is found in advaita-vedantic religion.

The religions which believe in Personal God are true only from a lower standpoint. The lower standpoint is the empirical standpoint of the ignorant. Things viewed as true from this standpoint are found illusory from the higher standpoint of the wise men. The world and its supposed creator Personal God are true only on the empirical level of knowledge. But the truth is that indeterminate, impersonal Brahman is the only reality. It is this conception of unity reaching which the progress of religion comes to an end. Hinduism, or advaita vedanta, as mentioned before, gives this conception of unity which is the highest goal of religious knowledge. The religions which believe in Personal God are not true from the standpoint of ultimate reality. But Vivekananda maintained that Hinduism tolerates and includes all religions. As has been mentioned, Vivekananda regarded different religions as different approaches to the knowledge of God. Transcendentally viewed, the conclusions reached through these approaches are not true. But they are true as far as they go, that is, true from the standpoint of a lower level of knowledge. The knowledge of the higher level, however, tolerates the lower approaches. This is because these approaches are necessary steps towards the

attainment of true knowledge. About dualistic religion Vivekananda said that it is a necessary step in the evolution of mind. He said that the Vedas show the various steps leading to the highest goal. So long, Vivekananda opined, a man's mind will remain on the empirical level he will see the world and require a Personal God.¹² Advaitism, he said, is the natural outcome in the evolution of mind. The mind reaches the last stage of 'Tattvamasi' passing through the stages of dualism and qualified monism.¹³ So, the religion of advaita vedanta can accommodate all other religions.

According to most Western, theologians, a universal religion is one which has a universal appeal and can claim universal acceptance. A national religion is connected with the life, aspiration and sentiment of a nation and a tribal religion with those of a tribe. But a universal religion is such a religion which transcends the limits of tribal or national boundaries. The God it postulates is a God not conceived as the God of a tribe or nation. A universal religion postulates its God as the God of whole mankind. His nature and functions are so conceived that no group of people can claim an exclusive possession of Him. The God of Islam and Christianity are so conceived and Islam and Christianity claim to be universal religions. The religion of advaita vedanta can claim to be a universal religion for the same reason. But Vivekananda's claim that advaita vedantism is a universal religion is based on a different ground.

It may be disputed whether any of the above religions described as universal has really offered a universally acceptable conception of God. But even if the conceptions of God as found in Islam and Christianity are taken to be universally acceptable, it does

not make the above religions universal ; for conception of God alone does not make a religion. So long no universally acceptable code of rites and rituals can be framed there can be no universal religion. Every religion has a peculiar code of rites and rituals developed out of the customs and nature of the people of the place in which the religion concerned was first preached and where it developed. Naturally, other people following other religions cannot accept its code. Taking this aspect of religion into consideration, we may reasonably come to the conclusion that a universal religion in the above-mentioned sense is an impossibility. As has been mentioned, Vivekananda did not base his claim, that advaita vedantism is a universal religion, on the above ground. His claim is based on the ground that advaita vedantism can accommodate all religions in its scheme of the realization of the identity of self and Brahman. For, these religious approaches are necessary steps towards the realization of the identity of self and Brahman or the realization of the unity of existence.

Advaita vedanta's claim to be regarded as a universal religion on the above grounds apparently seems to be reasonable. But an important question arises at this stage. Is Advaita Vedanta a religion or a mere system of philosophy ? It appears reasonable to conclude that Advaita Vedanta is not a religion, for, the Brahman of Advaita Vedanta cannot in any way be equated to the God of religion and also because there is no scope of worship in the Advaitic scheme of the world.¹⁴ While the God of religion is a determinate, personal Being, the Brahman of Advaita Vedanta is an indeterminate and impersonal Being unresponsive to worshipper's prayer. The worship of God is based essentially on a belief in the distinction between the worship-

ping self and God worshipped. But Advaita Vedantism believes in the identity between the individual self and Brahman. Again, God of religion is worshipped as the creator and controller of the world. But, according to Advaita metaphysics, the world is not real and so the question of the existence of a creator and controller of the world does not arise. The self being non-different from Brahman and the world not being real, there is no scope for the worship of the creator in Advaita Vedantic scheme. We naturally come to the conclusion that however great Advaita Vedantism may be as a system of philosophy, it can by no means be regarded as a religion.

1. Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda,

Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, Vol.IV, p.376.

(This and subsequent references to the same work are to the 1963-Edition.)

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. vol. I, p. 332.
4. Ibid. vol. II, pp. 365-366.
5. Ibid. vol. VI. p. 13.
6. Ibid. p. 14.
7. Ibid. p. 13.
8. Ibid. p. 17.
9. Ibid. p. 105.
10. Ibid. vol. I, p. 390.
11. Ibid. vol. III, p. 132.
12. Ibid. p. 281.
13. Ibid. pp. 438-439.
14. Author's Raja Rammohun Roy and Brahmoism, Calcutta, 1969, p. 58.



CEILINGS ON LAND HOLDINGS - EMPTY SLOGANS

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Is the reform a reality or a myth? Imposition of ceilings on the individual ownership of land is the most important plank in all the land reform measures undertaken in India. The need for fixing ceilings on land holdings in India was recognised on a nationwide scale with the adoption of a resolution on the socialistic pattern of society in the Avadi session and the approval of a resolution on Agrarian Reforms in the Nagpur session of the All India Congress Committee. Added to this, the principle of placing limits on the maximum holdings of land by an individual has been commended in the First Five Year Plan, with the Congress Government at the Centre, pronouncing its desire of following a policy of establishing an egalitarian society and removing all the disparities in the distribution of income, wealth and power, among different sections of the population. The concept of ceilings on land holdings in India gained momentum, particularly in the light of the existence of glaring inequalities, in the land holdings by the different strata of society and the exclusive dependence of more than 70 per cent of our population on agriculture as their mainstay for earning their livelihood. Zamindari abolition and tenancy reforms did not by themselves solve the problem of land hunger in our country. A majority of the tillers of the soil in India have no land of their own. Even if they had any, the holdings were so small and the yield so inadequate

that they could scarcely have two meals a day. Out of sheer necessity they had to take land from others on lease, paying extra rent as tenants. At the other end curiously there are land lords with hundreds and thousands of acres of land exploiting these poor landless tenants. Thus the problem of ceilings on land holdings in India arose, mainly as a result of the glaring inequalities in the ownership of land by different sections of the people and the problem of land hunger. Realising the gravity of the situation, and weighing the pros and cons of social justice with the economic principles, the All India Congress Committee, at its Nagpur session held in January 1959, resolved that ceilings should be placed on existing as well as future holdings, and legislation to this effect should be completed by the end of 1959. At the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress which passed the far reaching resolution on agrarian reforms the view was being propounded with great eclat that if drastic measures like land ceilings and cooperative farming were not resorted to in a hurry with a view to increasing food production, the country was in danger of collapse. It seems now undoubtedly the country is somewhere there. The anticipated crisis has arisen at least after a decade. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, who was the real force in moving the resolution on the Agrarian Reforms said, "the assumption underlying all our land reforms is

that once we make sure that the cultivator is given what he says is his birthright by virtue of being born in a village, we can leave the rest to him." The philosophy behind the agrarian reforms legislation, particularly the ceilings legislation, as explained by the Dhebar Sub-Committee, is that it is only the effort and enthusiasm of the peasant cultivator that can transform the rural scene and he must not be denied his right, to security and full enjoyment of the fruits of his labour. The Sub-committee has therefore called for a determined effort to be made to secure effective implementation of the measures for redistribution of the rights in land including the abolition of intermediaries and the enforcement of ceilings. In pursuance of the resolution on Agrarian Reforms at Nagpur session, a spate of legislation followed in various states, though the pace of implementation is far from satisfactory and the spirit of the legislation has not been followed in a majority of the cases and as a consequence the very purpose of the legislation has been defeated. The top congress leaders and ministers in central and state governments, had started discussing the problems of agrarian reforms, and passed resolutions at seminars and conferences. The land policies, since 1959, became invested with ideological slogans like social justice and land to the landless, tiller of the soil, owner of the land, etc.

The objectives laid down in the land ceilings legislation enacted in different states, have been indeed, very lofty, high sounding, and theoretically very sound. Almost all the possible worthy canons of social justice, and ethical considerations have been enunciated in the land ceilings Acts. To cite a few instances —the Mysore Tenancy and Agricultural Land Laws Committee Report of 1957, enumerated the objectives of the land ceilings in the following words—1. Meeting the widespread

desire to possess land. 2. Reducing the glaring inequalities in the ownership and use of land. 3. Reducing inequalities in agricultural incomes. 4. Enlarging the sphere of employment. The same objectives have been more or less echoed by the framers of the land ceilings legislation in various other states. In fact, they have added some more laudable objectives : 5. To build up an agrarian economy with high levels of efficiency, and productivity. 6. To afford opportunities to landless sections of the rural population, to gain social status and to feel a sense of opportunity equally with other sections of the community. 7. To develop a cooperative rural economy where there are no large inequalities and which thrives best in homogeneous groups. The planning commission had also its share in the enunciation of the laudable objectives of the land ceilings legislation. The Planning Commission observed in the Second Five Year Plan that in the conditions of India, large disparities in the distribution of wealth and income were consistent with the economic progress in any sector and that for building up a progressive rural economy it was essential that disparities in the ownership of land should be greatly reduced. The Planning Commission had further expressed its fear that the existing pattern of distribution in excess of ceilings may yield limited results only. The observations of Mr. K. Santhanam, Chairman of the Second Finance Commission, over the issue of glaring inequalities deserve mention here : "There is no divine right to possess unlimited land with a consequent right of exploiting those who depend upon its cultivation." The statistics published by the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee in its Report, also confirm the prevalence of wide disparities in the ownership of landed property. About 19 per cent of the people, whose main occupation is

agriculture, do not have any land and 48 per cent hold land which is less than 5 acres in size. About 33 per cent of the cultivators belonging to upper strata obviously hold more than 85.5 per cent of the total cultivated land under their possession. 4.5 per cent cultivators belonging to the privileged sector, own nearly 34.4 per cent of the total cultivated area. The committee further observed that while the number and proportion of uneconomic holdings is extremely large, the area occupied by them is quite small.

The need for fixing the ceilings on land holdings is the need to increase agricultural production in the country and to achieve a graduated progress of the rural economy, which will contribute substantially to the overall growth of the national income and wealth. By redistribution of surplus land over and above the ceilings, to the landless agricultural labourers and tenants, there will be an intensified effort put forth on land by the contented labourers, and they will strive to increase the per capita yields which will boost up the overall growth in the agricultural production, and the rural employment as well. The need for fixing ceilings on land holdings is not exclusively based on economic consideration, but on the sociological factors also, viz.,—improving the status and position of the landless agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators in the village community and the social atmosphere in the rural areas as a result of conferring on the poor people, ownership of some land and increasing their income. As the actual tiller of the soil is deprived of his rightful share in the produce on the land, in the existing agrarian pattern of land ownership and there is no ethical justification for the absentee land lords to enjoy the fruits of the toil of the innocent, ignorant, and poor landless cultivators, the fixation of ceilings on land holdings is justified morally, as it will effect a

transfer of the surplus land from the big land lords (who are in a majority of cases absentee landlords) and not contributing any efforts to augment the agricultural production in the country) to the needy and the real toilers and tillers of the soil. The tillers of the soil are the backbone of a nation. Hence they should be vested with a reasonable means of livelihood and enabled to maintain a decent and minimum standard of living. As more than 70 percent of our population live in villages and depend on agriculture for their livelihood, the political power should also be vested in the hands of the rural masses. By fixing ceilings on land holdings in India and as a result of the transfer of surplus land from the big landlords to the vast multitudes of landless agricultural labourers and the actual tenant cultivators, it is believed, the vested interests of the big landlords, feudal lords, Zamindars, Jagirdars, etc., will automatically vanish and the pendulum of political power will swing towards the rural population and that, too, the common masses engaged in the agricultural operations. It is further believed that the diseconomies of the large scale cultivation will automatically disappear and the economies of small scale cultivation can be reaped on an extensive scale. Agrarian reforms are to be approached in a pragmatic and human spirit. The problem of land hunger is no more an economic problem, but essentially a human problem.

The planning commission which reviewed the progress achieved in the implementation of the legislation on land ceilings in different states in its "Mid-Term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan" pointed out that in several states, provisions concerning the ceilings have yet to be enforced. The unusual delay in the enforcement of the legislative provisions had provided an opportunity for adopting devices for evasion in many states. The Ministers

themselves, in several States have admitted that the land has been already divided, nominally of course, among relatives and that the Government could not do anything either to undo the division or arrest the process, in view of the inordinate delay in drafting, passing and enforcing the legislation. The achievement gained so far fall much short of the desired goal.

It is evident that the top congress leaders and Ministers in Central and State Governments felt contented with enunciating the lofty ideals and principles of land ceilings and they did not set about the task of implementing the provisions of the legislation wholeheartedly and with unstinted cooperation. They did not set about the task of finding out where the defect lies. The planners themselves have admitted for years that the objectives of reforms have been largely defeated because of the loopholes in the laws and indifferent enforcement. It is no secret that of the 80 million acres or more of the tenanted land very little is available for redistribution as most of the landlords divided up their land, long before the imposition of the ceilings. The major defect of the land reform laws is that they are too complicated. To be effective land ceiling legislation must be simple. "A simple law which is efficiently implemented is better than a theoretically perfect law which inevitably leaves loopholes in actual implementation" as Mr. Ghorpade, member of the Regional Planning Committee of Mysore argued. A just solution to the challenge posed by the defective land ceilings legislation is not beyond human ingenuity. The real question is whether the State Governments are sufficiently in earnest in doing what ought to have been done long ago as one critic observed.

"Administrative problems are a formidable obstacle of course, to the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. But they are

not insurmountable difficulties to overcome—if there is the will to overcome them, as one foreign expert on the agricultural problems of India pointed out aptly.

In India, the most glaring manifestation of the faulty content in the legislative enactments is the seemingly reasonable but ill-defined right of the landlord to resume tenanted land for what is euphemistically called "personal cultivation." This has led to mass evictions of tenants, to voluntary surrenders of land by tenants in order to salvage some relationship to the land even if it be as a hired hand, to the augmentation of the ranks of the agricultural workers, and inevitably to the failure of the whole land ceilings legislation. The ceiling provision did not fare well at all with becoming candour. The planning commission admitted the same in the Third Five Year Plan in the following words : "On the whole it would be correct to say that in recent years transfer of land have tended to defeat the aims of the legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on the rural economy". The legislation did not contain any teeth to preclude such transfers. The recent amendments, designed at annulling such transfers have had so far very little effect on the evasions committed already.

The vast size of the country, the administrative decentralisation, the multiplicity and diversity of the land ceilings legislation enacted in different parts of the country, the paucity of good land records, the lack of peasant initiative and his inability to comprehend the complex laws, the attitude of indifference, almost apathy, carelessness, irresponsibility, etc., of the senior officials of the State Governments, the almost negative attitude displayed by politicians and legislators of different States, the anti-reform sentiment of the vested interests and powerful political cliques, the absence of a sense of participation by the tenants in the

Implementation of the land reform programme, the loopholes in the ceilings legislation which permit resumption of land from non-occupancy tenants on grounds of personal cultivation, the absence of simplicity in the land ceilings legislation coupled with the illiteracy of the tenants on a large scale who could not take advantage of the rights conferred under the Acts etc.,(to mention a few only), are cited as the important causes responsible for the failure of the land ceilings legislation. If there is a strong leadership, many of these problems can be overcome. However as Mr. Wolf Ladejensky, Permanent Adviser to the Ford Foundation on economic and agricultural affairs, pointed out clearly, the key to successful reform lies in the controlling political forces of the country willing to support the reform, and their readiness to use all instruments of governmental power to attain their goals. It is obvious from the very start that the State Governments have been implementing the land reform programmes half heartedly. It is a pity that even among the reformers and politicians there are many who are half hearted in their advocacy of the agrarian reforms. The ostrich policy followed in respect of the agrarian reforms makes nonsense of all talk of social justice and levelling up of social inequalities in the country.

The planning commission itself confessed that the total impact of the land reform measures has been much less than was hoped due to the multifarious loopholes, snags, lapses, etc., in the administrative machinery and in the legislation itself to a certain extent, and also the behaviour of the officials as well as non-officials who are responsible for the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. A very common observation made by several experts, Indian as well as foreign, is that the spirit of the legislation is not followed properly and

only the letter observed and as a result the very purpose of the ceiling legislation has been frustrated. The malafide transfers of land by the owners, in anticipation of the legislation, to their family members has also defeated the purpose of the ceilings legislation to a very large extent. Legislation for ceilings tends to be defeated because of the inadequate measures for preventing transfers of land. As Dr. Wolf Ladjensky pointed out, the legislative provisions did not contain the teeth to preclude such transfers. It seems that the ceilings legislation was too much publicized, rather too early and the enforcement of the legislation delayed too long, permitting too many landlords to effectively escape from it. The process of splitting up the holding started long before the introduction of the reform bill in the State Legislatures. In view of the high level of ceilings, divisions, gifts, and sales that have been effected since the introduction of the agrarian reform bills, considerable area of land could not be made available for redistribution.

While fixing the ceilings many of the State Governments have exempted the following :—
 1. Tea, coffee and rubber plantations.
 2. Orchards of reasonable size.
 3. Specialized farms engaged in cattle breeding, dairying and wool raising.
 4. Sugarcane farms operated by the sugar factories.
 5. Some farms which invested heavily on permanent structural improvements where the splitting of the existing farms may lead to inefficiency and decline in productivity. The following factors, ostensibly were taken into consideration in deciding upon the exemptions from the purview of the ceilings legislation as recommended by the planning commission in the 'Second Five Year Plan' viz. (1) The integrated nature of the operations especially where industrial and agricultural works are undertaken as a composite enterprise. (2) Specialized

character of the operations. (3) From the aspect of the agricultural production, the need to ensure that efficiently managed farms which fulfil certain conditions are not broken up. In addition to the above, general exemptions some State Governments have made some more exemptions. For instance, the Land Reform Act of 1955 of West Bengal exempted the following from the ceilings of 25 acres, viz. (1) In the case of intermediaries the excess of land over and above the ceiling can be held for public, religious, or charitable purposes. (2) In the case of cooperative farming societies the total area of land per member must not exceed the limit of 25 acres. (3) The ceiling shall not be applicable to the ryots living in those parts of the Darjeeling district as may be specified by the Government. The Madras Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceilings on Land) Act 1960 exempted the following from the purview of the legislation, viz. hill areas, land owned by the Government (union), State or local university, educational institutions and trust lands, lands under plantation crops as on 1st April 1960, under orchards, topes, or arecanut gardens, Gramdan and Bhoojan lands, lands used for livestock breeding and dairy farming, etc. It is obvious from the few specimens afore mentioned that there are too many exemptions and relaxations from the ceilings legislation. The exemptions of several types of land are motivated by personal considerations, influence of the group of vested interests owning those lands, and political pressure and not based purely on economic considerations, as proclaimed by the framers of the land ceiling legislation and the planning commission. Some of the exemptions, for instance, the exemption of leased out land from the ceilings as in Andhra Pradesh, are most unjustified and run contrary to the very idea of a more equalized distribution of land. It is basically defective and defeats the very

spirit of the legislation. It is very difficult to understand the logic of choices. The obvious effect of these exemptions would be to favour certain regions and privileged classes and encourage transfers of land from the unspecified uses to the specified uses. Another hypocrisy underlying the exemptions, as pointed out by Sri Rajagopalachary, founder leader of the Swatantra Party, is "The idea of exempting well managed farms from the adumbrated ceilings law is a confession and a snare. The nation is a bundle of contradictions and based on well demonstrated fallacy of too many cooks. The exemptions programme of well managed estates will be a fine opening for collecting funds for the ruling party for political nepotism. It is needless to dilate on the dangers of discretionary expropriation, the discretion being entirely or ultimately in the hands of the executive." Rajaji though opposes agrarian reforms tooth and nail on ideological considerations and dialectical convictions, had very nicely exposed all the hypocritical and selfish motives of the ruling coterie.

The high level of ceilings coupled with the multifarious exemptions defeated the very objectives of equalising the distribution of land ownership. Very little area of cultivable land was made available for redistributive purposes with the result that the very objective of removing disparities in the ownership of land and appeasing the land hunger of the multitudes of landless agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators could not be achieved in any substantial degree.

The land ceilings legislation and the lofty objectives enunciated therein remained mere slogans, if not a myth, among several other reasons, due to the following deficiencies or lacunae especially,

1. The authorities have not enlisted the support and sanction of village communities in

favour of effective enforcement of the legal provisions. A large number of ryots who are in control of the gram panchayats are opposed to the idea of land ceilings legislation. It is but natural that the vested interests, whose possession of wealth would be adversely affected, should oppose the legislation. But the Government should have enlisted the support of atleast the beneficiaries. Ironically this is also not done on a satisfactory level. The beneficiaries of land redistribution are in majority of cases economically backward, illiterate and unorganised. The Government failed in its task lmiserably,in organising all the beneficiaries and acquaint them in an adequate manner of their responsibilities, duties, etc. in cooperating with the Government in the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. Instead, it squarely laid the blame at the door of the peasant, for the non-enforcement of the ceilings legislation.

2. It is also observed that ceilings on land holdings, albeit rigid in appearance,are too liberal in content, to yield any substantial surplus land for redistribution to the landless.

3. Lack of proper land records showing the extent of the actual ownership, tenant—landlord relationship of different lands is another stumbling block. The cadastral surveys are not up to date, presumsbly due to the inadequacy of well trained and efficient revenue staff. A large number of leases are found to be still oral agreements, and tenants are not able to prove their title deeds.

4. The laws have not been framed carefully, and enforced rigorously. The loopholes in the present tenancy laws and the defects in their implementation are a serious drag on the entire rural economy. The legislation has been drafted in a very loose fashion with the resulting unnecessary complications and increased litigation and delays ultimately in

the process of implementation of the ceilings on land holdings legislation.

5. The legislation has been pursued in a most unsystematic and uncoordinated manner. The futile distinction drawn between the existing tenants and the tenants admitted after the commencement of the Act, was misused in several cases by the landlords, who took advantage and converted their existing tenants into future tenants and replaced them with new tenants. Landlords tried their best to prevent tenants from continuing in posse-
ssion for the specific period.

6. As Dr. A. M. Khusro pointed out aptly, the spirit of the land reform legislation is nullified due to the clash between legislation and the basic and economic forces which stood as a stumbling block in the fulfilment of the true spirit of the law. This is responsible to a very considerable extent for the failure in correcting the structural imbalances between land and labour.

The much adumbrated legislation of ceilings on land holdings as everybody knows has proved at last to be an empty slogan, an eye wash and a highly powerful and ingenious electioneering technique and a vote catching device in the rural areas, employed by the congress party to divert the support of the common masses from the progressive minded opposition parties, with a socialistic ideological base. Those against whom the reforms are directed will not divest themselves of their property and of political and economic power simply because the Government wrote out a decree as stated by Dr. Wolf Ladjebsky. If the illiterate, innocent and poor peasants dying of hunger and starvation are to get what is promised in the much publisiced land ceilings legislation, peaceful and democratically managed reforms do not seem to be suitable methods. Government

coercion, whether practical or clearly threatened appears to be virtually unavoidable if the fruits of the land ceiling legislation, which forms the important plank of all the agrarian reforms proposed in India, are to be enjoyed by the multitudes of landless peasantry throughout the country. "Pressure will have to be applied by the dominating political group, willing to bring in to play all the institutional resources of the country and willing be it needed, to act with unceremonious vigour." This is the only road to progress as advised by Dr. Wolf Ladjensky, a well known authority on the agricultural problems of Asia and Permanent Adviser to the Ford Foundation on economic and agricultural affairs. Mr. M. L. Dantwala, an authority on the Indian agricultural economic problems, has also confirmed more or less the same opinion in the following words in his Essay on Land Reforms in India included in the 'Problems of Economic Growth.' "Without political pressure and terror it appears to me, really impossible to implement the land reforms." Mr. William Arthur Lewis, an authority on the growth economics and of international fame, has also expressed the same opinion in a conference on the problems of growth held in

Tokyo as far back as 1955. The fact is that the legislatures at central and state levels do not represent the interests of the peasantry. If they did, the reform might have taken on a different character altogether, as one writer observed. Whatever the handicaps, shortcomings, and sentiments and attitudes of the ruling party, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said while explaining the need for placing ceilings on landholdings, "if it is not done, there is a danger of the Zamindari system coming back to life one day." The realisation of the Agrarian reforms, particularly the successful enforcement of the ceilings legislation is a precondition for the economic, social, political and technological changes without which democracy in our country has no bright future. It is of inestimable significance, therefore, that in an underdeveloped country like India an effective, successful and early implementation of the land reforms, specially legislation pertaining to the ceilings on land holdings, aiming at the removal of the glaring inequalities in the distribution of the ownership of land and the establishment of an egalitarian society based on sound principles of social justice, should be undertaken immediately.



MARXISM AND INDIA

Major S. N. MUKHERJEE (Retd.)

Communism in India can claim almost contemporary status with the Communist movement of China. Aided by outside sources, Marxist thoughts seeped into our country in the early twenties and these found expression in various peasant and trade union movements of that period. But the political circles in India, pre-occupied with the freedom movement, took no particular notice of the Indian Communists beyond exhibiting an attitude of sympathetic toleration. The British ruling authorities in India, however, felt perturbed, and in 1929 rounded up about a dozen Indian Communists together with three of their British Comrades who happened to be in India at the time, grabbed a few more non-Communist local revolutionaries, and prosecuted the lot on a charge of treason. The Court was held in Meerut and the case became famous as the 'Meerut Conspiracy Case'. It went on for a long period of four years for which the accused themselves were largely responsible since, by taking advantage of the privileged position of an accused in the British legal system, they converted the Court into a political platform for propagating Marxist philosophy and thereby slowed down proceedings. In the end they got off with jail sentences of two years and less, and many were set free. Next time the Communist Party of India created some commotion was during the war when they fell into much disrepute by opposing, in the interest of Russia, the Congress decision to non-cooperate with British War efforts.

However, the Communist fortune turned with the coming of independence and subsequent bunglings of the Congress government resulting in serious failures in the economic

sphere which, as we realise now, fixed the fate of at least two generations. On attaining independence the Congress felt like a child with a new toy. The novelty of the situation almost overpowered them, and they failed to co-ordinate their behaviour correctly with their duties and responsibilities. The Congress government developed a style in its day to day administration that contradicted its own preachings, and Mr. Nehru himself failed conspicuously in his approach to the terrifying task of rehabilitating a desperately poor, dismembered, and vast country. In Socialist India under the Congress the largest palace in the world continued to be the abode of one man—our President. For the armies of fashionable and fat-salaried bureaucrats to carry on their crusade against want and poverty of the starving millions that is India, sumptuous administrative buildings were raised overnight in the Capital, as also elsewhere all over the country, at the expense of those millions. Large Public Sector Undertakings of doubtful immediate value were established post haste with vast sums of borrowed money, and the countryside was soon dotted with huge anachronisms of mighty dams and gigantic power plants. New educational and scientific institutions were set up and housed in imposing mansions fitted with costly gadgets for comfort and display. On the other hand the more earthy and urgent problems like those of food and agriculture failed to receive the required attention, the ministry of education which had a stupendous task of a vital nature, became merely a clearing house for sending cultural missions to foreign lands, and the prosaic and complicated

business of population control was allowed to be conducted with leisurely schemes of impractical nature and flimsy fancyful gimmicks. In short the Indian government went after ostentatious and lop-sided priorities, and that set the trend in the entire administration at the higher levels. Big money which flowed in as loan or gift from outside started circulating, and in the prevailing lax monetary atmosphere induced by the spending spree, rackets of every kind, graft, and spivvery, so familiar during the war that had just ended, became the order of the day once again. The Congress aimed high but failed to look below where all the realities lay. He took things for granted and behaved as if prosperity for India waited just round the corner, to be whistled up the moment we so desired. Moreover, Mr. Nehru, the 'Discoverer' of India, forgot for once that beyond the pomp and bustle that surrounded him in those heady days of post independence India, there lay another world, of teeming millions, poor and apathetic after centuries of subjugation, ignorant in the technical sense but highly sophisticated in culture, and basically conservative on account of their deep-rooted old traditions and, therefore, likely to be sceptical of any new-fangled ideas thrust upon them. One of the poorest people on earth, they were duly impressed by official figures of money in billions, cusecs in millions, and thousands of engineers, and hundreds of megawatts. But they felt no enthusiasm. To them these were strange talk. In making and executing economic plans the ruler failed to establish the necessary rapport with the ruled, which is so vital for success of any wholesale schemes at national levels. Mr. Nehru called his gigantic projects 'temples' of modern India. But these were 'temples' without a god.

*What happened thereafter was, of course, inevitable. Plans of economic emancipation

badly misfired—and miseries mounted. And in the resulting chaos the Communists saw their chance. Mr. Nehru, the one time champion of the Communists abroad, certainly made thing easier for the Communists at home.

The Communist Party of India now entered politics proper. In the general elections of 1952 and 1957 they secured about 5% and 10% votes respectively, but after that there has been no appreciable change in their total strength in the Parliament as a result of subsequent elections upto and including the one held in 1971. In the early sixties the Party split into two groups, and the dissidents assumed the name of CPI (Marxist). The latter sub-divided again in 1969 creating a third Communist party in the country which called themselves CPI (Marxist-Leninist). This last named party is a kind of throw-back on the old lines which has taken to terrorist activities and enjoys no mass support outside their own limited ranks. Shortly before officially parting from CPI (M) this extremist group started a violent peasant movement in certain areas of North Bengal which soon fizzled out, as did a similar campaign in the Telengana district of Hyderabad in the early fifties by the undivided Communist party of those days. All these three Communist parties are now at loggerheads with each other.

The Communists captured power at the State level for the first time in the elections of 1957 in one State only—Kerala, after dislodging the Congress. Kerala is one of the poorest States in India and boasts the highest percentage in literacy. Undigested learning mingled with acute poverty creates ideal hunting grounds for the Communists, but yet their success in Kerala must be attributed mainly to the growing anti-Congress feelings at the time. However, the Congress has recovered its ground substantially in that State.

through the latest elections. In West Bengal the Congress government was ousted for the first time in the elections of 1967 by an assortment of leftist parties which combined together for the purpose along with a small breakaway group from the Congress itself. The CPI (M) happened to be the major partner in this combination. The reasons for Congress failure were again the same—deep frustration of the people caused by the inadequacies of the Congress government, and particularly its failure to properly solve the grave social and economic problems caused by partition of the State and consequent influx of huge numbers of refugees from the other side. The large community of industrial labour in the State also provided useful additional material for the Communists to exploit. But there was another big factor also, that finally brought the Communists to power as a partner in the coalition government of West Bengal in 1967. Since the last war it has been the tactics of local Communists in many countries to infiltrate into the government by any means, fair or foul, and then with the aid of increased authority thus acquired manipulate the situation further, again by similar means, and eject all competitors and seize absolute power. Communist policies in India also obviously followed the same lines. But the self-deluding non-Communist political leaders of West Bengal failed to learn from recent history, and instead of obstructing the Communists they helped them to power by inviting them into the aforesaid coalition ministry of 1967. Results of the ill-conceived plan followed in no time. The various parties of the unwieldy (more than dozen parties were involved) and unnatural coalition had, against there one point of agreement to expel the Congress, innumerable points of divergence over other matters, and they soon fell out, other complications followed, and the government collapsed, only to come back

again in almost identical shape, size, and circumstances through an interim election in 1969. This government also disintegrated for similar reasons as the first, after being in office for roughly a year. But the Communists made full use of their time in office to further their party interests, and could capture a few additional seats in the legislature through the State elections of 1971. But in the same elections the Congress gain was far more spectacular. In the rest of the country the strength of the Communists is insignificant, and their influences on the public life either nil or only marginal. It will be seen from the above survey that with all their efforts, legitimate or otherwise, the Communists could gain a following from the late fifties onwards in only two of the smallest States in India. And this development did not signify a triumph of Marxist philosophy : it was only an index of Congress failure in these two states.

We have now arrived at another crucial point of India's political history. Results of the last general elections have, somewhat unexpectedly, divested Indian politics of its painful uncertainties of only the other day and given it a tidier shape. Fortunately for us the forces of democracy, at least the best of it that is going in the country now, have gained a large victory, and it is up to us now to sustain it and nature it to better efficiencies. But the Communists are a persistent lot and they will remain, as yet, the biggest threat to all orderly progress and our democratic ways of life. The Communist issue in our country, therefore, merits a detailed examination.

Communist revolutions elsewhere had occurred in countries under autocratic or semi-autocratic rule where the people for generations had almost been reduced to the status of serfs for the benefit of a privileged few, and such revolutions had been inevitably attended with large-scale violence and slaughter. Now,

if someone can visualise similar events taking place in present day India, then he must be a born lunatic. Nothing tallies. The time, the people and their background, the nature of the society, the present stage of political and social development in India, its system of government, and so on-endlessly. Furthermore, India had never known Dictatorship. We did have our share of tyrants in the past who used to descend upon the people occasionally like a pestilence, but they never ordered the daily lives of those people. From time immemorial the Indian society had lived by principles that were fundamentally democratic irrespective of the quality and character of the power that ruled. What are the Indian Marxists after then? They cannot regale us with the tales of the Marxist dreamland of the 'stateless' State since they cannot logically and rationally think of taking even the essential first step towards that end—of establishing a proletariat, or for that matter and kind of dictatorship in India for reasons stated. Why then is all this fuss and gibberish about Marxism in India? If the basic dictates of Marxists or Communists, and what authority have they to call their activities Marxist movement? In the circumstances why don't they call themselves, more properly, some kind of socialists instead of misleading the masses with a sales label? Our self-styled Marxists have, by their own actions, proved that Marxism is not feasible in India. They have laid aside the whole idea of Marxism and have hung on only to its name which sells so easily in a poor country.

In the advanced countries labour as a class is a dwindling factor now, because of the vast technological advances and automation that have taken place since the days of Karl Marx and which will continue to grow. The labour is no longer a menial of the system or the oppressed community of the nineteenth century. With the industrial machine getting more intricate and sophisticated the

man behind it has acquired a stronger status and made himself a power to reckon with, and the character of the producer-labour relations is also changing to the latter's advantage with the emergence of the 'Technocrat', the third force of the modern industrial world. We in the industrially backward countries are also striving and hoping to catch up with those conditions some day. Therefore, how is Marxism relevant any longer in these changed and changing contexts? It is quite conceivable Karl Marx wouldn't have thought up his theories had he lived to-day instead of a century ago. He would have missed the irritant which excited him into propounding his doctrines sweetened by irrational promises. It is true we have millions of desperately poor people in India. But they are not the 'Marxist proletariat'. They are a part of the continuous spectrum of the Indian society, and their future is linked with that of the rest. Human happiness is not a divisible commodity, and to set man against man to achieve it is the idea of a cynic and a defeatist, and is a counsel of fear and desperation.

The Proletarian Dictatorship in the communist countries had become a political bunkum long ago. The Communist Parties claim themselves to be the mentor, guide, and brains of the proletariat. But dedication for the cause ceased to be the sole criterion of eligibility in the Party which soon filled with careerists and ambitious men, and people who could best serve the political interests of their masters. It was also not very long before the initial passion for the Marxist philosophy evaporated. What remained, and continues to this day, is an autocratic system enlivened only by an endless cacophony on Marxist-Leninist gospels to support the constant shifting of the ideological stance by persons in power. The best that can be said about the system is that it has produced a nation of near automatons.

who have done somewhat well, comparatively speaking, in the material sphere, aided by their local peculiarities and at the cost of many fundamental ethical and human values. And finally, it can also be said that no one in those countries today, except perhaps some imaginative school boys, is disturbed by visions of the Marxist State where everyone, after doing his daily quota of self-allotted tasks, would spend the rest of his time in blissful unhurried contemplation of the Marxist utopia.

But these are all uncomfortable questions and unpalatable truths for the Marxists of all brands in India. They are loud about their immediate methods and policies for to-morrow and, in preparation for the next procession, would electrify their bemused audiences with excerpts from the Marxist manual, bits of Leninist lessons delivered long ago to a different set of people in totally different conditions, selections from Mao's masterpiece, and the catchiest phrases of Che and Castro ; but you will never catch them spelling out in precise details the actual system of government and the society they are out to establish, and exactly how. They themselves must be confused and harried by uncertainties. All the symptoms point to that. The Marxists in other countries oppressed those who questioned the Marxist philosophy. But a century after Karl Marx, and half a century after the foundations of his kingdom were laid in Russia, the Indian Communists, staunch Marxists all, are busily engaged today in battles of annihilation against each other. This state of affairs is partly a reflection of the chaos and intense bitter feelings raging in the sphere of International Communism to-day. All over the world, communism has sown more dissensions amongst its followers to the point of violence than can be ascribed to any other time and its ideological content has now been largely replaced by political ambitions.

The Marxist ship has foundered on the rocks of realities—that ideas cannot be fostered by brute force, and the spiritual thirst of man cannot be quenched by dogmas—and the voyagers are now diverting themselves with the bits and pieces retrieved out of the wreckage.

There is no end to knowledge and experience that a man can gather in this world, of things and ideas. One lives and learns. The more a man learns the more he realises how little he knows. But the Communist is convinced that he has exhausted all the learning of the world by lapping up the contents of his Marxist text book, and, with the logic of his one track mind, goes on constantly criticising, misrepresenting, and ascribing non-existent motives to every democratic institution and every democratic sentiment. On our part we do not question the motives of the Marxist revolution. Their leaders were obviously honest men who were impelled by some highest sentiments in their actions. But it will be expecting too much that we should accept the childish claim that their system is democratic when their Constitution and their government allows no other political parties in the country except that of the Communists, and it debars all freedom of expression except in praise of Communism. And we totally disagree with the Marxist assessments of the nature of human problems, and consequently with their remedies as well which are based exclusively on material factors and in contradiction of all fundamental established values. Further, we do not accept the Marxist notion that the 'end' justifies the means since every 'end' is merely a means to a further 'end'. Finally, we condemn wholeheartedly the methods of organised violence on the mind and the person of the human being—any kind of human being, in any circumstances.

In the present context a few words in conclusion about that pretentious phrase 'Scientific Socialism' would not be out of place. It obviously means a system based entirely on a materialistic analysis unhindered by any considerations of ethics, morality, and human sentiment. Therefore, it can also be treated as synonymous with Marxist socialism. The use of the word 'scientific' in this case is significant and indicates a trend of the mind which accepts science as the supreme arbiter in all human affairs, and desires all doubts and questioning to cease once a thing has been shown to conform to scientific principles. The utter inadequacy of this approach is simply and easily proved. For example, we feel, and we know that to murder is bad. But this realisation does not, and cannot arise out of any scientific reasoning. Therefore there must be areas of human affairs lying quite outside the domain of science. Consequently science cannot be the main-stay of life. The following words of a great Savant would be found highly illuminating—"Convictions which are necessary and determinant for our conduct and judgements, cannot be found solely along this solid scientific way.....It is equally clear that the knowledge of what 'is' does not open the door directly to what 'should be'. One can have the clearest and most complete knowledge of what 'is', and yet not be able to deduct from that what should be the goal of our human aspirations. Objective knowledge provides us with powerful instruments for the achievement of certain ends, but the ultimate goal itself and the longing to reach it must come from another source." Many worshippers of the scientific cult would be surprised to know that these words were spoken, not by an oriental philosopher, but by a western man, the greatest scientist and rationalist of all time —Albert Einstein.

The cry of a hungry child or the slight of a

destitute stirs our compassion, and, often, makes us impatient. But a Communist is not moved by individual suffering. His thoughts do not go beyond the conception of the so-called 'classes' and the nature of their inter-relations in the light of his own interpretations. To the Communist a human being has no other identity or significance except the outer label of his class as defined by him. To him an individual is a creature that has to be gagged and fettered and added to the inventory as one more item of State property. For uplift of humanity the Communist, for all practical purposes, wants to liquidate the individual, who must cease to claim his human status and must wait. But the Communist with his political bigotry must get through, always. Vast numbers are still waiting, even in today's Russia, for nothing better than their paltry share of the Communist bonanza. To quote Edward Crankshaw, the British expert on Russia—"Even in villages on the outskirts of Moscow and other great cities life is fairly primitive except on a few model firms. Even the ten-day tourist visiting the Moscow markets must be aware, as he regards the bowed and wrinkled peasant women, the tottering old men, bringing in their produce of the private plots for free sale at free prices, that not many miles from the Dynamo Stadium and the lights of Gorki street there must still exist another world not far removed from the world of Chekov and Turgenev." We, therefore, need not despair and let ourselves be goaded to desperate actions through pointless hurry. Time is endless and humanity is still young, and it is obviously better to go an inch along the right path than cover miles in quick time in the wrong direction. The effort in the second instance would be a total loss. In fact it would be a double loss, since in that case one will have to turn back all the way to find the point of beginning for the fresh journey towards the new goal, which humanity in every walk of life has aspired after since the earliest days of known history.

BICENTENARY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

There are some scholars of good standing who have chosen to raise objections as to the date of birth of the great Raja at a time when all arrangements have been made for celebrating the bicentenary of his birth on the 22nd of May 1972. There are numerous historians, scholars belonging to the Brahmo Samaj, publicists, officials, priests of religion and others who believe that Raja Rammohun Roy was born on the 22nd May, 1772. The fact of the matter is that a couple of years this way or that make no difference to the importance of the celebrations. Raja Rammohun Roy's greatness as a pioneer of modernism in India, as the first Asian to think coherently of world freedom and unity, as a revivalist of Hindu monotheism, as an expounder of Vedanta, as a powerful social reformer who challenged age old customs like *Suttee*, offering children to the river goddess, polygamy etc. etc.; and as a great linguist who had intensive knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Pali, Bengalee, Hindi, English, French, Spanish, Italian and Tibetan; does not in any manner depend on his arrival on this earth two years before or after his accepted date of birth. Rammohun Roy travelled all over north India before he attained the age of eighteen and he traversed the dangerous and lonely heights of the Himalayas to reach Lhasa with a view to study Mahayana Buddhism when he was barely adolescent. This journey to Tibet alone would make him famous as an explorer; as an English admirer of the Raja had said. The fact that he wrote a booklet in Persian and Arabic supporting monotheism when he was just about twelve years old, makes him a rare

prodigy; and his translations of the major Upanishadas into English and Bengali assure him a place among the great scholars of the world. Jeremy Bentham was amazed at the excellence of the Raja's style of English and Robert Owen thought he would have been an equal of Erasmus had he been born a European. Raja Rammohun Roy was such a great lover of liberty and freedom that he threw a great party to celebrate the liberation of the Spanish colonies of South America. He also rushed up at such break neck speed to see the French Tri-colour flag flying from the masts of some French ships when he was travelling by sea to England, that he fell down and broke his leg. So, if he were born in 1774 instead of in 1772 it would add no fresh lustre to his memory nor make it less luminous.

The scholars who have taken upon themselves the noble task of saving the nation from making a terrible mistake relating to the date of birth of Raja Rammohun Roy would have been welcomed as date maniacs had they restricted their efforts to date finding only. But unfortunately they also put in little malicious touches here and there in their speeches and paragraphs to prove that Raja Rammohun Roy was not such a great scholar or social reformer as his admirers thought. If malice is allowed free play then it might be said that so and so are not such great historians or critics of social history as they are supposed to be. But we do not like to be malicious even with the malicious. Noblesse oblige is our motto; and let all pretenders survive in mock glory in this world of pretensions. Yet let it be clearly under-

stood that the world of merit is quite apart from the world of false claims. Raja Rammohun Roy was far above all these pseudos and we must not allow useless assertions to even remotely cloud our vision of the great man who was the founder of modern India in every field of life, so to speak. In introducing modern education in India with the idea of allowing science to have full scope in stimulating social progress ; along with reviving the study of our philosophical classics as an anti-dote to blind faith in rituals or fanatical attachment to materialistic jargon, Raja Rammohun Roy created an intellectual balance which was amazing for that period of history. He synthesised religious thoughts of the Christians, the Muslims and the Hindu sects in a manner which made it possible for people to think constructively about unity in diversity in the field of religious belief. The movement that the Raja initiated in the sphere of religious thought accommodated all monotheistic ideas as found in different religious texts.

The standard biography of Raja Rammohun Roy is the one that was begun by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet and was finished after her death by the Rev. F. Herbert Stead and published by Mr. Harold Collet in 1900 from London. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, as the book was named, was based on the immense mass of material collected very carefully by Miss Collet. In chapter, 1 of the book the first line gives Rammohun's date of birth as "1772, May 22". It may be assumed that Miss Collet made very careful enquiries before she fixed the Raja's birthday. The idea that Raja Rammohun Roy was born in 1774 on the 22nd of May had its origin in the mistake made by the inscriber on the Raja's tombstone at Bristol. But "the Rev. C. H. A. Dall in a letter to the *Sunday Mirror* of Jan. 18, 1880 reported that Rammohun's younger

son Ramaprasad Roy said in 1858 before a circle of friends and clients in Calcutta,—'My father was born at Radhanagar near Krishnagar in the month of May 1772, or according to the Bengali era, in the month of Jyaistha 1179.' Babu Lalitmohun Chatterji, another descendant of Rammohun, stated that, 'Rammohun Roy was born in the year 1772, on the 22nd day of May.' L. M. Chatterji gave this information to Rabindranath Tagore. The question of fixing Raja Rammohun Roy's birthday is answered by the above and there need be no further unnecessary arguments over it, for the reason that it was of no great consequence. Rather, such argument creates confusion in the public mind and prevents them from celebrating the bicentenary in a whole-hearted manner. The bicentenary celebration committee have decided to carry on the programme from the 22nd of May 1972 till the 22nd May 1974 with a view to appease everyone.

Raja Rammohun Roy's campaign against the practice of Suttee began about fifteen years before this burning alive of widows was prohibited by law by Lord William Bentinck. Raja Rammohun Roy published an *Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows Considered as a Religious Rite* in 1830 which stated clearly and concisely all "the points which had been scattered through many essays and tracts. These he grouped under three heads. According to the Sacred Books of the Hindus concremation was (1) not obligatory but at most optional ; (2) not the most commendable but the least virtuous act a widow could perform ; and (3) must be a voluntary ascending of the pile and entering into the flames—a mode never practised in the conventional Suttee. The tract concludes with devout 'Thanks to Heaven, Whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex

from cruel murder' and 'our character as a people' from international opprobrium."

(Collet : Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy III edition, 1962 p. 266)

The above shows how strongly the Raja felt about the hideous custom. In the four years 1815—1818 the recorded number of widows who were thus burned to death was 2365. Out of these 1528 were from the Calcutta division.

Raja Rammohun Roy was a great Shastric scholar who devoted himself to the restoration of the Vedic and Vedantic ideals to Hindus. But he was a great advocate of Western education through the medium of English, as he felt philosophy and mysticism alone could not help to build up a mental outlook which will enable Indians, as a nation, to hold their head high among the nations of the world. Raja Rammohun Roy wanted that India should progressively adopt a scientific outlook and set up all social, political and economic institutions that the Western nations had evolved. He nevertheless, wanted Indians to retain their cultural contacts with the intellectual achievements of the *Rishis* and desired to develop a spiritual vision that will keep Indians clearly off the dangerous quick-sands of gross materialism. We find the following in the Report of the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon in 1882 : "It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor General, before the Committee could as a body acquiesce in the policy urged by him (Rammohun)."

(Collet : L. & L. of Raja Rammohun Roy)

Raja Rammohun Roy had expressed great concern for the well being of the people of India in his various writings in the journals he published. Education, medical aid, civic rights, public institutions like cremation grounds etc. etc. ; all attracted his attention.

Some examples have been given by Mr. Yogananda Das in his book "Rammohun and the Brahmo Movement" (in Bengali). Free education for the children of the poor, trial by Jury in the Mufassil, construction of more cremation grounds, hospitals for women and children, training up Indian doctors by Europeans, watering of roads, wasteful expenditure by rich people, charity to the poor etc. etc. The people of the Brahmo Samaj, inspired by Raja Rammohun Roy took up extensive public benefit work, some of which have been mentioned by Mr. Yogananda Das. Famine relief, nursing the helpless sick persons, teaching deaf and dumb children, opening blind schools, orphanges etc. and the upliftment of the depressed classes are fields of work which the Brahmo Samaj entered actively and with enthusiasm. We shall close this discussion now by quoting some lines from a letter written by Raja Rammohun Roy which Mr. Sandsford Arnot published in the *Athenaeum* of Oct. 5, 1833 after the Raja's death. In that letter which he addressed to Mr. Gordon of Calcutta the Raja gave details of his own personal life :

"When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond the bounds of Hindooostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour ; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of Government. Finding them generally more

intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants ; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me, and through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me."

.....
“The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to Brahminism, but to a perversion of it, and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities, which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence

of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.”

“I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain by personal observation a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company’s charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council ; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. I accordingly arrived in England in April 1831.”

N. B. : Sri S. K. De, Principal Raja Rammohun Roy Mahavidyalaya has given the following dates of the Raja’s life in a booklet published by him.
 Birthday, 22nd May, 1772. Entering Pathsala in 1777 at Radhanagar.
 Goes to Patna to study Arabic 1782. Writes against idolatry 1784.
 Travels in North India and Tibet in 1787—1789—1790.

PRESIDENT'S POWER TO PROMULGATE ORDINANCE IN INDIA

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The power of the President to promulgate Ordinance, a hang over from the British regime under the Government of India Act 1935, is considered as one of the vexed and perennial problems in the Indian political system for the simple reason that the executive is inclined to resort to this mechanism very often, not for the welfare and betterment of the people but for its own convenience. Under the British regime, this power was to be used mainly to suppress the national sentiments. Being so, it met with a scathing criticism in the Constituent Assembly.¹ Dr. Ambedkar, the main architect of the Constitution and Chairman of the Drafting Committee, tried to the best of his ability to allay the fears expressed by some members and compared this provision with the provisions contained in the British Emergency Act 1920 under which the King can issue proclamation. Under such circumstances, the executive can issue regulations relating to any matter when the Parliament is not in session. But this comparison is not convincing.² In response to the criticism levelled by Pt. Kunzru, Dr. Ambedkar said :

It seems to me that my friend Pt. Kunzru, has not borne in mind that there are in the Government of India Act, 1935, two different provisions. One set of provisions is contained in Section 42 of the Government of India Act and the other is contained in section 43. The provisions contained in Section 43 conferred upon the Governor-General the power to promulgate Ordinances which he felt necessary to discharge the functions that were imposed upon him by the constitution and which

he was required to discharge in his discretion and individual judgement.....The other point is this ; that the Ordinances could be promulgated by him under Section 43 even when the legislature was in session.....It would be seen that the present article 102 does not contain any of the provisions which were contained in Section 43 of the Government of India Act. The President, therefore, does not possess an independent power possessed by the Governor-General under Section 43.....All that we are doing is to continue the powers given under Section 42 to the Governor-General, to the President under the provisions of article 102. They relate to such period when the legislature is in recess, not in session.³

Article 103 of the Draft Constitution is article 123 of the present Constitution which runs as follows :

(1) If at any time, except when both Houses of Parliament are in session, the President is satisfied that the circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action, he may promulgate such ordinances as the Circumstances appear to him to require.

(2) An Ordinance promulgated under this Article shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament, but every such ordinance—

(a) shall be laid before the Houses of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament, or, if before the expiration of that period resolutions disapproving it are passed

by both Houses, upon the passing of the second of those resolutions; and

- (b) may be withdrawn at any time by the President.

(3) If and so far as an Ordinance under this Article makes any provision which Parliament would not under this Constitution be competent to enact, it shall be void.

As a matter of fact, this provision may be described as anti-thetical to the real concept of democracy by any definition. According to Orlando, the Ordinance is the expression of the will of the executive power as law is the expression of the will of the legislative power.^a

Now, the question to be examined is whether the word 'President' in Article 123 means advised by the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister similar to that of the 10 Downing Street or the man dwelling in the White House? So far as the latter part of the question is concerned, that can be disposed off shortly for the simple reason that the political systems prevailing in India and United States are poles apart. As far as the 'President' advised by the Council of Ministers is concerned, the various luminaries have expressed different opinions. S. Mohan Kumaramanglam argues that the Ordinance-making power of the President is a legislative power outside the ambit of Article 74(1) and "satisfaction" literally means that the President "is personally satisfied."^b But D. D. Basu thinks otherwise and says that this power must be exercised with the aid and advice of his ministers.

Although the contention of Mr. Kumaramanglam which is immediately contrary to that of Orlando, seems to be right to some extent in the sense that this power occurs in a separate Chapter yet the plea that this is a legislative power is not convincing. It cannot be considered as an original legislation

for the simple reason that it is subject to the approval of some other body—the Parliament. It can be regarded as a subordinate legislation. Making distinction between supreme legislation and subordinate legislation, Salmond, an eminent jurist, observed :^c

Legislation is either supreme or subordinate. The former is that which proceeds from the Supreme or Sovereign power in the State which is not therefore capable of being repealed, annulled or controlled by any other legislative authority. Subordinate legislation is that which proceeds from any authority other than the Sovereign power and is dependent for its continued existence and validity on some superior or supreme authority.

Moreover, Article 123(2) clearly indicates that an ordinance promulgated by the President shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament. The phrase "same force and effect" does not mean the "same value" which is attached to an Act of Parliament. Therefore, it appears right to observe that the Ordinance-making cannot be said to be a legislative power. It falls somewhere between the terminal point of parliamentary sovereignty and Executive dictatorship. Professor K. V. Rao says that this power occurs in a separate Chapter by itself, and so, if this contention is allowed, the President can alone issue them. But this is not a serious argument as this is not a question of "legal quibbles, but one of practical politics."^d

Keeping in view the practice so far adopted both in the States and the Centre, the principles and Conventions of Parliamentary democracy and cabinet government, the spirit of the Constitution, the intention of framers and the judicial interpretation, it appears that the actual powers belong to the Council of Ministers and the President is simply its mouthpiece. When Draft article

102 which is Article 123 of the Present Constitution⁷ was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, Sardar Hukam Singh wanted to be clearly stated that this power would be used on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Dr. Ambedkar said :⁸ "I am very grateful to you for reminding me about this. The point is that that amendment is unnecessary because the President could not act and will not act except on the advice of the Ministers."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India and President of the Constituent Assembly, who initiated⁹ the controversy about the powers of the President had himself declared at the concluding session of the Constituent Assembly that the position of the Indian President is somewhat analogous to that of the King in Great Britain.¹⁰ The question of powers of the King is a closed chapter and the controversy has been settled in favour of the advice tendered by the Prime Minister. Thumping through the pages of modern Constitutional History of England, it becomes quite evident that the real powers are vested in the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. Moreover, there is a common saying that "The King can do no wrong." Besides, King Edward VIII in 1936, had to sign the Bill for his own abdication.

Above all, in *Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapoor vs. the State of Punjab*, the Supreme Court has decided that the parliamentary executive in our country like that of England has made the President only a constitutional Head, the real power are to be exercised by the Council of Ministers.¹¹

Although the Courts have declared in some of the cases that the speeches of the members in the Constituent Assembly have no relevance to the interpretation of the constitution,¹² yet in *U. N. R. Rao vs. Indira Gandhi*, it thanked the Attorney-General for having supplied compilations containing extracts

from the debates in the Constituent Assembly.¹³

When in Punjab, the Akali led coalition headed by Mr. Prakash Singh Badal advised the Governor to issue an Ordinance for the appointment of the legislators to the membership of the Board and Corporations, the Governor, Dr. D. C. Pavate, sent the Ordinance back to the Council of Ministers and asked as to what was urgency and necessity of such a move?¹⁴ The experts of the Central Government are believed to have expressed the view that the Governor was bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers and consequently he had to subscribe to this view.¹⁵ The gist of the problem is that had the Acting President Mr. V. V. Giri not issued the Ordinance pertaining to the Bank Nationalization on the advice of the Ministry headed by Mrs. Gandhi even before 72 hours of the session of Parliament, the resignation of the Ministry at the very moment, its reference to the electorates and her electoral return with a thundering and thumping majority would have settled the issue within no time. It is commonly observed by the commentators that the parliamentary democracy is not made of words only but the Conventions of the Constitution also. So it appears right to say that the President would act according to the advice of the Ministry.

Conditions for Issuing Ordinance

According to article 123, both the Houses of Parliament should not be in session. If any ordinance is issued before the prorogation of the Parliament, it shall be void.¹⁶ But there are cases wherein this power was used when one of the two Houses was in session. The Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance was promulgated in 1957 when the House of People was in session.¹⁷ The preamble of the Ordinance says : "Whereas a Bill to provide for maintenance of certain essential

services and the normal life of the community has been passed by the House of People and the Council of States is not in session and the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action to give effect to the Bill." Even the Allahabad High Court has decided that an Ordinance can be issued when one of the Houses has been prorogued.¹⁸ Moreover, the framers of the Constitution also purported so.¹⁹ It is also interesting to note that an Ordinance can be given retrospective effect even from the date on which both the Houses were in session.²⁰ Even the President can prorogue the session for the very purpose of promulgating an Ordinance.²¹ The Governor of Punjab Dr. D. C. Pavate did so and when it was challenged in the Court, while reversing the decision of the Punjab and Haryana High Court, the Supreme Court decided .²²

Article 174(2) which enables the Governor to prorogue the Legislature does not indicate any restriction on this power. When the Legislature is in session and in the midst of its legislative work, the motives of the Governor may conceivably be questioned on the ground of alleged want of good faith and abuse of Constitutional powers. The power is untrammelled by the Constitution and when an emergency arises the action is perfectly understandable. There is thus no abuse of power by him, nor can his motives be described as malafide.

It is not necessary that the order for the prorogation must reach each and every member. The Secretary of the Legislative Council or Assembly is the most appropriate person to be informed of the order of prorogation.²³ This is applicable in the case of the President that is why the position of the Governor in the State is similar to that of the President.

The President must be satisfied that the circumstances so warrant. This is the subjective satisfaction of the President and the Courts cannot go into the question of its validity.²⁴ In Ratan Ray Vs. The State of Bihar, Justice Sinha and Sarjoo Prasad took the view that the clause does not require that the Ordinance to be promulgated by the Governor has to state in so many words that the Governor was "satisfied" as to a certain state of affairs as mentioned in Clause (1). On the other hand, Meredith C. J. held that for a valid Ordinance two conditions are necessary under Clause (1) of Article 213 : (1) That the Governor is satisfied that circumstances exist which require immediate action, and (2) that in his opinion the circumstances require such an Ordinance, the Ordinance shall be void as not satisfying the conditions laid down in Article 213(1) of the Constitution. Whenever a legislation uses the word "satisfied" it must mean reasonably satisfied. It is, therefore, obvious that if it is found on the very surface of an Ordinance that it is an irrational and an unreasonable piece of legislation a Court of law would be entitled to hold that the legislation is invalid.²⁵ But the President can issue an ordinance to circumvent the decision of the Courts.²⁶ He can do so with retrospective effect also.²⁷ During the debate in Parliament, Mr. H. N. Mukherjee criticised and condemned the government for having resorted to such mechanism of circumventing the judicial decisions. He referred the case of Jnan Prasanna Vs. The Province of West Bengal particularly, wherein the judge also condemned the move.²⁸ In U. P. the coalition government headed by Mr. Charan Singh promulgated an Ordinance to save a Jan Sangh M. L. A. from being disqualified through a judgement of Mr. Justice G. D. Sahgal at the Lucknow Bench of High Court. The Ordinance was issued on October 20, 1967, but on finding that it had flaws and did

not cover the objections raised in the High Court judgement, the State Government sent another Ordinance to Government Press for publication.³⁰ Mr. C. B. Gupta, the then leader of the opposition in the Assembly called it as the immoral and partisan action.³¹ Even the *Hindustan Times*, while commenting on the Ordinance said that there was "hardly any excuse" with the Chief Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, the Chief Minister to defence reminded³² Mr. Gupta that seven Ordinances retrospectively amending the law on legislators' disqualifications had come during the Congress regime between 1950 and 1957 and that they had certain individuals in view and had the effect of benefiting or designed to benefit them and them alone.³³ In this connection, it must be noted that the resignation of the Charan Singh Ministry was demanded on the ground that the Vidhan Sabha refused to grant permission to the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Jai Ram Verma, to introduce the "Removal of the State Legislators Disqualification Bill"—144 voting against the Government and 123 for it.³⁴ Dr K. V. Rao³⁵ cites other instances of such a nature—Ordinance to declare Annual Charge to be part of Capital Charge which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional on May 26, 1950, and Ordinance nullifying the judgement of the Supreme Court regarding the Income Tax Tribunal in 1954. Both the Ordinances had retrospective effect. In U. P. this power was used to validate Zila Parishad appointments (1963) and in Rajasthan to validate the appointment of Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Rajasthan University (1964) both declared invalidated previously by the courts. In 1962, the Union Government by an Ordinance virtually made a judgement of the Supreme Court on a clause of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, inoperative.

Above all, in January 1956, barely four weeks before the re-assembly of the Parliament, the President promulgated an Ordinance nationalizing Life Insurance Business with immediate effect. The urgency of this "immediate action" and legislation of such far-reaching character could apparently wait for a few weeks. Commanding an overwhelming majority in the Parliament as the present government does and in the absence of a powerful lobby of Life Insurance Companies, the cabinet had nothing to fear from the Parliament.³⁶ The Ordinance pertaining to the nationalization of fourteen major banks was promulgated by the President only before 3 days of the beginning of the session of Parliament.³⁷

Extent for Issuing Ordinance

Article 123(1) says that if and so far as an Ordinance under this article makes any provision which Parliament would not under this Constitution be competent to enact, it shall be void. As it is clear from a careful reading of article 123 that the Ordinance-making power of the President is co-extensive with the Parliament's power of making law. The legislative powers of the Parliament have been defined by Articles 245 and 249 read with the Seventh Schedule. It leads to the conclusion that the Parliament can make laws on the subjects contained in the Union List, Concurrent List and in some Contingency in the State List ; for instance during the period of emergency and during the operation of Article 356 in a State. But there are exceptions to it. The President cannot promulgate an Ordinance pertaining to Articles 2, 3, proviso to Article 83(2) and Article 100(3). These matters are required by the Constitution to be regulated by Parliament by law ; hence they fall outside the ambit of Article 123. Similarly the Governor of a State cannot promulgate an

Ordinance pertaining to Article 210. This is required to be dealt with by the legislature of the State by law and not otherwise.

Duration of the Ordinance

Every ordinance promulgated by the President is to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament for approval. This provision is directory and not mandatory.³⁷ The only consequence of the non-compliance of this requirement is that the Ordinance shall cease to operate within six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament. It means that the maximum life of an Ordinance is six weeks plus six months. This is so because the Parliament must be summoned not later than six months after its prorogation.³⁸ The refusal to leave to introduce the bill replacing the Ordinance does not amount to its expiry.³⁹ The Ordinance will lapse after six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament in such a situation also. If, in case, the term of the Ordinance has expired before Parliament meets, is it still obligatory to place the Ordinance before Parliament? Precedents exist when such Ordinances were placed before Parliament which met subsequent to the expiry of the duration of the Ordinance. For example, in 1954 the President promulgated an Ordinance imposing a Pilgrim Tax on the pilgrims visiting Kumbha Mela held that year. Both the duration of the fair as well as the Ordinance exaired before the next meeting of Parliament. This Ordinance was nevertheless placed on the table of the House not with a view to seeking its approval but in order to apprise it of the promulgation of Ordinance.⁴⁰

In this connection it is also interesting to note that an Ordinance can be reissued. It means that there is no time limit.⁴¹ It can lead to the usurpation of the powers of the legislature by the executive in case it is inclined to use this power with retrospective effect particularly with regard to the

Ordinances already disapproved by the legislature.

Taxation by Ordinance

It may, however, be asked as to how far is it possible on the part of the President to spend money through Ordinances? Articles 265, 266 and 267 make it clear that no money can be spent or collected except by authority of law. As the matters which can be dealt with by law may be regulated by an Ordinance; hence one is bound to draw inferences that the money can be spent or collected through the mechanism of Ordinance also. The Governor of Punjab, Dr. D. C. Pavate, passed two Appropriation Bills through the Ordinance and in State of Punjab Vs. Satyapal Dang and others, Dr. Baldev Prakash and others, the Supreme Court declared them constitutional.⁴² The other instances⁴³ are the Ordinances to spend Income Tax Act (1950), to levy tax in Bengal (1952). In 1954, the taxes levied on the pilgrims to Ganga Sagar Mela. In Lok Sabha, Dr. A. Krishna Swami, while criticising this move of the Government said:⁴⁴

Did the Government suddenly make the discovery some time during the cold month of January that Kumbha was to take place on the 3rd February, 1954 and hence be a fruitful source of revenue to them? Was this discovery so sudden, so emergent that it could not have been made when we were in session in November?.....By the time we have met the Kumbha is over. The Government has no need to bring even a ratifying bill. The test of emergency, Mr. Speaker, in the case of fiscal Ordinances should be much greater than in the case of other Ordinances. Above all, in the case of fiscal measures it is the Parliament and the House of People that is Sovereign authority to vote and raise tax

and to direct how the money shall be spent.

Mr. Mohan Lal says :⁴⁵

In no democracy, does the executive branch of the Government possess the power of raising and spending money without the express and prior approval of the legislature. The authority of the legislature, the responsibility of the executive, all hinge upon the power of the purse that must belong to Parliament alone. The raising and spending of money shape and mould the economic structure of society, and where money is raised or spent by an Ordinance, though Parliament or Assembly may disapprove such notion of the President, it cannot demand the refund of the taxes or revenues raised, recall the money spent.

Now the question arises : Is it possible on the part of the President to pass the budget through the Ordinance ? The answer seems to lie in the positive. As a matter of fact there is no difference between the money bill and the budget. The most we can say is that the budget can be considered as a 'special kind of money bill'. Beyond this there is no difference between the two. On February 24, 1961, in Orissa, the Governor passed the budget of more than four crores for the years 1960-61 and the President's Rule was imposed on February 25, 1961.⁴⁶ In the Lok Sabha, Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri said :⁴⁷

When the Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor, there was consultation amongst our Officials as well as with the Law Ministry. The Governor took this action in consultation with the Chief Secretary and the Law Department of the State Government. He felt that some action was necessary in order to incur expenditure on the administration. But as I said, when the Ordinance was passed and

it came to our notice, the Home Secretary immediately consulted the Prime Minister, and later on the matter was referred to the Law Ministry. The Law Ministry's opinion is that the ordinance promulgated by the Governor is not valid under the Constitution. We immediately informed the Governor about this. Therefore, no action is taken since then under the Ordinance.

Though the opinion of the Union Law Ministry seems to be sound yet the problem is that such a kind of eventuality may arise at the Centre and it appears that there is no remedy except to use this device to spend money to avoid developmental retardness in the administration.

The Ordinance making Power and the Amendment of the Constitution

Another problem to be tackled is as to what extent the President can issue ordinance with regard to the amendment of the Constitution ? Can he do so under the Constitution ? According to Mr. H. M. Jain, one of the political commentators, "the Supreme Court judgment in the Golaknath case erased the distinction between Parliament's legislative and constitutive powers. It held that the amendment of the Constitution is only an exercise of the legislative power. Art. 368 merely laying down the procedure for doing so. After this judgment it should be possible to amend the Constitution by an Ordinance."⁴⁸ This is not a sound argument. It is generally accepted that there are three modes of amending the Constitution—by simple majority, by two-thirds majority and by two-thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. The last can be disposed of shortly because it does not fall within the legislative powers of the Parliament as defined by Article 245 and 249 read with the Seventh Schedule because in this mode, the States are co-partners. As far

as the amendment by simple majority is concerned, it covers Articles 2, 3, proviso to 83(2) and Article 100(3). In all these Articles, it has been clearly stated that these are to be regulated by Parliament by law; hence the question of amending these Articles by an Ordinance does not arise. Besides, in a technical sense, it cannot be considered as an amendment. If it is accepted of a mode of amendment, then there will arise a fourth mode¹⁹ in the sense that under Article 210 it is stated : "Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides, this Article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the Commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words 'or in English' were omitted therefrom." As far as the amendment by two-thirds majority is concerned, it may be said that there is a clear-cut difference between the procedure of giving assent to an amendment and a simple Bill. Article 368 which is concerned with giving assent to an amendment is a complete code by itself. Its sense is positive. Article 111 under which a simple Bill is given assent is infested with the negative sense. The arguments between the Supreme Court and Mr. Niren De, the present Attorney-General, are being produced below in support of the contention :²⁰

Mr. Justice Shah—He may return the Bill.

Mr. De—No, it is not open to do so. Article 111 does not apply to Article 368, which is a complete code by itself.

Chief Justice—If the President has no option but to assent, do you mean it is an empty formality?

Mr. De—Yes, he is guided by the ministerial advice.

Keeping in view the said facts, one is bound to draw inferences that the President cannot amend the Constitution through an ordinance.

Conclusion

After having made the post-mortem of Article 12²¹, it appears very sound to observe that it can be misused to some extent and both the Central and State Government did so. Being so, sometimes the legislators had to demand the attention of the President or the Governor, as the case may be, to such a kind of abuse of power. A deputation of the Haryana Jan Sangh consisting of Mr. M. S. Malik, Mr. Mangal Sen and Mr. Shiv Ram Verma called on the Governor, Mr. B. N. Chakravarty and demanded the summoning of the session on the ground that the government was misusing the power by imposing taxes through Ordinances.²² Mr. A. P. Jain tells a very interesting case. He says :²³

I know of a case in the hey-days of Governorship in early fifties when a top politician of all-India status occupying the position of the Governor of a major State was made to sign an Ordinance by the Chief Minister after its publication in State Gazette on the previous night. The refusal would have created a major political scandal and one would sympathise with the Governor for having suppressed the conscience. I have little doubt that the fault lies less with men but more with situations.

The framers of the Constitution adopted this provision for special contingencies but it is being used as a daily-diet which is a cancerous factor for the maintenance of our infant parliamentary democracy. It is misused when the Government is in a slender majority and afraid of facing the legislature. This practice should be avoided because it is the negation of parliamentary democracy as conceived by the founding fathers, interpreted by the jurists and defined by the scholars in political science.

1. Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru compared this power with that of the Governor-General*

under the Government of India Act, 1935 and said that "such a procedure was understandable in the circumstances in which that Act was passed.....We have now a reasonable ministry. There is no reason therefore, why the process laid down in the Government of India Act 1935, should be sought to be copied in the new Constitution....." *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-7. (Hereafter it would be referred as, C.A.D.).

M. V. Patasker described the ordinance-making power as obnoxious to democracy and Professor Siban Lal Saxena wanted to eliminate this provision. Vide C.A.D., Vol. IV, pp. 882-3.

Mr. B. Poker Sahib was afraid of the eventuality that this power may be used to deprive the citizens of their elementary right. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 203.

Here, it is important to say that Mr. Poker was rightly afraid of it because the governments both in the Centre and the States have used this power in such a way. The Preventive Detention Act may be cited as an instance.

C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 214.

It is also important to mention that Mr. H. N. Mukherjee pointed out during a debate in February 1954 in the Lok Sabha, "such powers in England are entirely statutory and the regulations are to be made subject to the regulations and conditions imposed by the Statute of 1920 and they are liable to be set aside by the Court, if they are ultra vires. Article 123 does not lay down in what conditions and for what purposes the Ordinance-making power is to be used, and our Courts have no power to question the jurisdiction either as to the occasion or the purpose, or the subject-

matter of an ordinance, even if the ordinance is not made in good faith." Cited in H. M. Jain, *The Union Executive* Chaitanya Publishing Home, Allahabad, 1969, p. 77.

3. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 213.
- 3A. Cited in D. K. Sen, *A Comparative Study of the Indian Constitution* (Longmans), Vol. 1, First published, 1960, p. 205.
4. Henry W. Holmes Jr., "Powers of the President : Myth or Reality", *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, Vol. 12, No. 3, July -eptember, 1970, p. 397.
5. D. D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, S. C. Sarkar & Sons Pvt. Ltd., I. C., College Square, Calcutta, 5th Edn., 1967, Vol. III, p. 337.
6. For detailed study see R. N. Mishra, *The President of the Indian Republic*, Vora & Co., Publishers, Pvt Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay, First Ed., 1965, p. 103.
- 6A. K. V. Rao, *Parliamentary Democracy of India* (Calcutta), First Ed., 1961, p. 56.
7. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 209. See also the speech of Tajamal Hussein, who supported the move. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 212.
8. *Ibid.*, p 215. For detailed study see the dialogue between Dr. Ambedkar and the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad who, later on became the President of India, *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.
9. In 1951, Dr Prasad, the President of India started controversy over the Hindu Code Bill. He is believed to have declared that he would use his individual judgement in giving assent to the Bill. The then Prime Minister of India, Pt. Nehru referred the matter to the Attorney-General, Mr. M. C. Setalvad who is said to have stated that 'the President was misunderstood about his constitutional position. He is bound

by the advice of the Council of Ministers. See for detailed study Austine, *The Indian Constitution—Coner-stone of a Nation* (Oxford, 1966) Pp. 140-41.

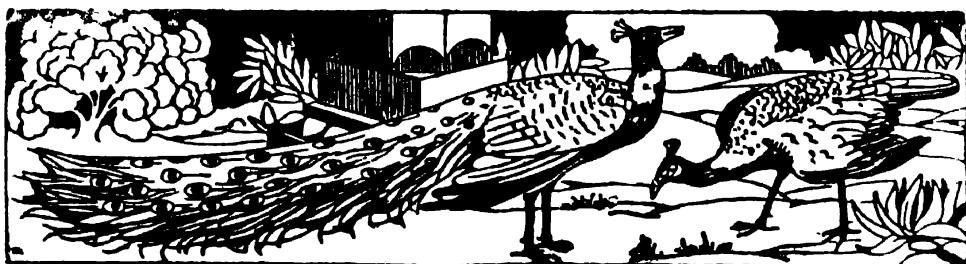
On November 29, 1960 Dr. Prasad, again initiated the controversy by declaring that the President was not bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. He was laying the foundation stone of the Indian Law Institution, New Delhi. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 30, 1960.

Here, it is also worth mentioning that Pt. Nehru emphatically reiterated in Parliament in 1961 that the relation between President and the Council of Ministers is exactly what subsists between the Queen of Britain and her Prime Minister. N. Gopinath Nair, "Fresh Debate on Powers of the Union President", *Patriot*, New Delhi, June 2, 1969.

10. See M. L. J. Kagzi, *The Constitution of India* (Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi), Second Ed., 1967, pp. 89-90.
11. A.I.R., 1955, Supreme Court 549 (556).
12. Bengal Immunity Company Limited vs. The State of Bihar, A.I.R., 1955, 66I.
13. Vide Journal of Society for Study of State Governments, Vol. IV, January-March 1971, No. 1, p. 68.
14. *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, July 8, 1970, p. 1.
15. The controversy arose when Mr. Gurnam Singh, the leader of the parallel Akali Dal strongly protested to the Governor against this step of the government on the ground that it was being done simply to create posts for the legislators who could not be given place in the Council of Ministers.
16. Bidya Vs. Province of Bihar, A.I.R. 1950, Patna, 19.

17. Vide D. D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, Vol. 3, 4th Ed., 1963, pp. 57-58.
18. Vishwanath Vs. State of U.P., A.I.R., 1956, Allahabad 557 (560).
19. See the dialogue between Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. H. V. Kamath. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 214.
20. Jnan Prasanna Vs. Province of West Bengal, 1948, 53 Calcutta Weekly Notes 27 (72) F.B.
21. In re Veerabhadraya, A.I.R., 1950. Madras 243 (256), Prem Narain Tandon Vs. The State of U.P., 1960, Allahabad 205 (207), A.I.R., 1950, C. 59 and A.I.R., 1945, P.C. 48 and A.I.R., 1931, P.C. III, Relied on.
22. State of Punjab Vs. Satyapal Dang and others, Dr. Baldev Prakash and others, A.I.R., 1969, Supreme Court 903 (911).
23. Sarjoo Prasad Pandey Vs. State of U.P., A.I.R., 1970, Allahabad 571 (574).
24. Lakhinarayan Vs. Province of Bihar, A.I.R., 1950, F.C. 59 (61), Prem Narain Tandon Vs. State of Uttar Pradesh, A.I.R., 1960, Allahabad 205 (207), Sarjoo Prasad Pandey Vs. State of U.P., A.I.R., 1970, Allahabad 561 (575).
25. C. L. Anand, *The Constitution of India*, Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, Allahabad, 2nd Ed., 1966, p. 334. Article 213 is a carbon copy of Article 123 which is concerned with the President's power to promulgate an Ordinance.
26. Prem Narain Tandon Vs. State of U.P., A.I.R., 1960, Allahabad 205 (207), The State of Orissa Vs. B. K. Bose, A.I.R., 1962, S.C. 945 (952-53).
27. Jnan Prasanna Vs. Province of West Bengal, 1948, 53 Calcutta Weekly Notes 27 (72), F. B.
28. H. N. Mukherjee, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. I, part II, 1954, cols. 102-3.

29. *National Herald*, Lucknow, November 6, 1967.
30. *The Statesman*, New Delhi, November 7, 1967.
31. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 11, 1967.
32. *The Statesman*, New Delhi, November 9, 1967.
33. *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 1967 ; see also M. S. Verma, *Coalition Government*, Oxford & I.B.H. Publishing Co., Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, 1971, p. 63.
34. K. V. Rao, *Parliamentary Democracy of India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, pp. 55-57.
35. Mohan Lal, 'The President and Parliament', *The Indian Parliament*, edited by A. B. Lal, Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad, 1955, p. 225.
36. After having been approved by the Parliament and assented to by the Acting President, Chief Justice Haidyatulla, it was challenged in the Supreme Court and consequently it was declared as unconstitutional.
37. Krishnan Vs. R.T.A., A.I.R. 1956, Andhra 129 (137), Cited in D. D. Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
38. Article 85 (1).
39. The U. P. Ordinance for Removal of State Legislators' Disqualification may be cited as an instance.
40. R. N. Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
41. This ruling was given by the Court in Anukul Chandra Vs. Dainik Nayak, A.I.R., 1933, Cal. 278, cited in K. V. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
42. A.I.R., 1969, Supreme Court 903 (211).
43. K. V. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
44. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. I, Part I, 1954, col. 93.
45. Mohan Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25. See also the views of N. C. Chatterjee, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. I, part II, 1954, col. 106.
46. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. LI, 1961, col. 2929 The Governor is said to have taken this step in view of the sudden resignation of the Council of Ministers during the Budget Session.
47. Vide Lal Bahadur Sastri *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. LI, 1961, col. 2931. It was only the opinion of the Law Ministry and not the decision of any court.
48. H. M. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
49. Dr. K. C. Markandan also thinks along these lines.
50. Cited in H. M. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
51. *The Hindustan Times* (City Ed.), New Delhi, July 6, 1969.
52. See the Report of the National Convention on Union-State Relations sponsored by Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Indian Institute of Public Administration and Indian Law Institute, 1970, p. 333.



SMRITI AND BISMIRITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Riga—Sept. 1924

All arrangements for leaving Moscow were complete. Taking leave from friends was also complete. It had to be done twice as the first date fixed for starting had to be shifted by a week or so, for reasons not known to me. It seemed to me that the second leave taking was a little less warm than the previous one.

At the Rly. Station, Jaffar Hossain, Dr. Noor Mahammad, and a few Indian friends, were present. They embraced me warmly and even kissed me farewell in the Russian fashion. No representative of Communist International or of Eastern University or any Russian friend was present. This was perhaps due to the fact that I was a non-Communist and showing any intimacy with me might be frowned upon by the authorities there.

I had a first class ticket for Riga, the nearest Port in the Baltic Sea, just out of U.S.S.R., in those days. I had with me only about £10 pounds. £8/- were given to me by the Moulana before leaving Moscow. He had asked all of us, the members of the Party, who had left Kabul with him and who were still in Moscow, to deposit with him whatever money, each one had with him. He then divided equally the sum collected and gave each one equal share. I had deposited £3/- I had and got in return £8 as my share. Dr. Noor Md. deposited about £50 and he was the greatest loser, for he also got £8/-. This was Communism of Moulana Obeidulla in practice. After Moulana left I spent about £3/- mostly on food and Trams and Buses. I was given £5/- for translating into Bengali, the A.B.C. of

Communism by Bukharin and £2/- given to me for the journey. This was under M. N. Roy's arrangement. If I had joined the Communist party, I could get £2000/- from him instead of just £2/-. Was I a fool? I think, in retrospect, I was not.

The train steamed off, and my friends and myself went on waiving our kerchiefs, as long as we could see ourselves. It put an end to our two year long intimate comradeship, at least temporarily. Long afterwards I met Dr. Noor Md. in Karachi but not Jaffar Hossain.

I was in European dress. In Kabul I had Afghan dress, Dr. Noor Md. helped me to get one suit, re-cut from one of his. I sat down in my seat in a state of physical and also mental exhaustion. I did not even notice who else travelled with me in the same compartment, far less talk with them. Stalin was on the saddle, but Stalin-era or undisputed Stalin rule was yet to come. It did ten years afterwards. But talking freely was risky and instead of going to Riga I might find myself in Soviet prison. So I kept quiet. At the frontier, there was the usual checking by Police, of Passport & travel documents and all my belongings, by customs authorities. This was my first experience of this process. For I had gone to Kabul, without a passport and without being searched. Since then I had got through such process more than 50 times. The first one at the Russian frontier. It was interesting indeed. We had to get down from the train and stand in line. All searches & examinations of documents & belongings were done outside the train, once by the Russian & then by the Riga Police. Then we were allowed to get

into the train which started after some time. From the Frontier to Riga Station was about an hour's run. I was now out of U.S.S.R. and safe from U. S. S. R. police.

My feeling was one of deliverance from Dictatorship, almost similar to my feelings, when I crossed the border of British ruled India & stepped into independent Afghanistan. The feeling was however not so intense in stepping into the Democratic world from the Dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Riga

Riga, Capital of Estonia, was then the rendezvous of World Press to glean or concoct news from the U. S. S. R. and feed the world, hungry for the news of the U. S. S. R. Correspondents of most of the important News Agencies and News Papers were there. I avoided meeting them and air my views. I could have made some money also, giving first hand news & my views, directly coming from Moscow. But I avoided lime light, with a keen desire to facilitate my coming back to India. It was a cautious policy, perhaps a little over-cautious.

I took a room in a small & inexpensive Hotel with bed and breakfast for about half a £ per day. It was for the first time in two years that I was living on my own. After leaving Kabul in 1922 I was & had to make all arrangement myself, first as a guest of the Moulana & then of Soviet Russia. As a member of the group of the Moulana, I had a privileged position. I felt a thrill as well as the responsibility of living independently. I went for a stroll & while on the streets and boulevards, I noticed men and women, well dressed often in European style, smartly walking on the streets, in pairs or singly. It drew my attention and even myself, who is so careless about dress could not fail to see the contrast. In Russia people used to dress shabbily, often deliberately. Wearing a tie

was almost an exception. I somehow liked this informality in dress in Russia. In Riga the dress smacked of bourgeois culture.

I walked slowly and looked askance, to see whether I was being followed by Russian spies. For I knew that Riga was full of Russian spies following all those who came out of Russia and also those going to Russia. I could not however detect any signs of being spied upon. While on the streets I had somehow fondly hoped to see some of my friends who had left Russia and were waiting at Riga to go to the U. S. A. I specially longed to see Liza, a cousin of Roza, wife of Late Abani Mukherjee. I had met her in Roza's house and she taught me Russian & German ; in exchange I used to teach her English. She was a Jewish blond girl from Germany and had come to Russia after the Revolution expecting great chances for her in Russia, but managed only to get a job as a shop assistant. She was disappointed and went out to Riga to try to go to America. She took me into confidence and I learnt much about Russia through her. I did not know her address and naturally could not find her.

I went to a restaurant for my meal. As I knew Russian fairly well and I had no difficulty. This country, was a part of Russian Czarist Empire, but after the defeat in 1914-18 World War it became an independent nation and again after World War of 1939-45 it was incorporated within the U. S. S. R. After enjoying one night of freedom in the Capitalist world, I left for Austria via. Germany. I was in a buoyant spirit. I did not repent leaving the U. S. S. R., on the contrary, I complimented myself that I could check the temptation of living an easy life in Russia and get substantial monetary help from Russia by joining the Communist Party.

Polish Corridor—Danzig

.....In the peace Treaty, Poland was

awarded a corridor to the Baltic Sea. Trains were allowed to pass through the corridor to Danzig, a free port but the Rly. bogies passing through the corridor would be locked before entering the corridor and would be unlocked only after crossing the corridor. They are not unlocked even for answering a call of nature. On my vigorous protest I was allowed to go to the lavatory for a few minutes but not allowed to get down at the Station. After the World War II (1939-45) not only the territory up to the corridor but much beyond have gone to Soviet Union and so there is no Polish corridor any more.

Soviet

From Riga I bought a third class ticket to Berlin Via Koningsburg. At Koningsburg, I entered into the first German town. My dream of going to Germany was fulfilled. All our slogans on the way from Kabul to Moscow were off to Bloody Berlin or "Westward Ho". We had stopped at Moscow, but I started on the road westward again. During my stay in Moscow, as a temporary measure, after looking at the world from the Marxist angle, my admiration for Germany was very much reduced though their achievements in Science still thrilled me. The fact that I was not given a visa to go to Germany, by the Social Democratic Government there was a rude shock to me. I was given transit visa only for a couple of days. During the days of my admiration for Germany, I had planned to get technical education in Germany, I had planned to get technical education in Germany and then return to India as a Socialist Technologist and also study the methods of a Social Democratic Government and contrast it with the Soviet system and proletarian Dictatorship.

- At the German Border there was again the repetition of customs check and Pass Port check as in Russian Riga border but less

thorough. Eye brows were raised by the officials, whenever they found that I was coming from Russia.

Germany

In Germany proper, the signs of prosperity both in dress and appearance of the people as well as the general appearance of the Rly. Stations, agricultural fields, houses in villages and in the countryside were quite apparent compared to what I had seen so far in Russia and Riga.

At Last Reached Berlin

So this was Germany and Berlin. My dreamland for technical learning from the days of 1914-18 World War when almost every month or week, some more destructive weapons would be used compared to the existing weapons, invented by Germany itself. Trans Channel Siege Guns bombarding England from France. Submarines, Zeppelins etc. attacked British shipping and towns. But my objective to stay in Germany and acquire technical knowledge was gone and I wished to have a quick look at Germany and its technical advances and go back to India and organise the workers and peasants to fight for independence and then for socialism. I had advanced one stage from the fight for independence, when I left India in early 1922, to fight for socialism also when I left Moscow in 1924. Still the charm and attraction for Berlin continued but in a much reduced form, from adoration to simple admiration.

Berlin

Reaching Berlin, I went to a small and inexpensive Hotel, by enquiring from the Ry. men at the station. It was the usual Bed and Breakfast type. I had learnt a little German, while in Moscow and found I could get along. My first task was to meet Dr. Bhupen Dutta, brother of Swami Vivekananda. There was a galaxy of other Indian Revolutionaries in Berlin, who had made several revolutionary

attempts to smuggle arms into India. One was through the Bay of Bengal. Two German ships with 20,000 and 10,000 rifles and adequate ammunition came near Balasore, but they did not attempt to land the arms as there was no reply to their signals and they dumped the arms in the sea and escaped along with M. N. Roy who was coming with the arms. The other notable attempt was by Raja Mahendra Protap, Moulanas Barkatulla and Obeidulla, to make an organised Revolutionary rising, with the help of the Khalif Sultan of Turkey, through Iran and Afghanistan.

After the surrender of the Kaiser and the signing of the peace of Versaille and the abortive attempts at revolution in India, the Indian Revolutionaries were still in Berlin except M. N. Roy who had joined the communists in Moscow. Some of the Ex Generals of the German Army were very helpful and sympathetic to the Indian Revolutionaries and Birendra Nath Chatterjee, brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was held in great esteem by them still. He was so to say, the un-Official Indian Ambassador in Berlin and he did render very great service to them in various ways.

Birendra Nath Chatterjee (also known as Biren Chatto) and Agnes Smedly. I had only three days for transit through Germany and one day had already passed. On the second day I went to Chatto's place in the afternoon. I met Chatto and his wife, Agnes Smedly, an American journalist of great name and fame. I was not anti-Russian at all and was not anti-communist. I really wanted to work with Russia in our fight against British Imperialism and International Capitalism, but I did not like some of their methods.

Agnes Smedly was very happy to meet me, a man straight from Soviet Russia. She put me through a searching cross examination.

As I did not condemn Russian communism out and out and defended Russia, where I thought Russia was right, Agnes became furious and refused to believe my evidence as true and ultimately declared me to be a communist agent. I protested vigorously and the position of Biren Chatto became embarrassing. She soon left the conversation and also the room in a temper. Chatto explained that she had been treated very harshly by the communists and she was very bitter against them.

After she left, Chatto and myself talked for hours. Though my transit visa was for only two days more, he arranged for my stay for one month non-officially. Not only this, he arranged my stay with a German landlady, where another Indian student had been staying and who had gone to the seaside on the Baltic for a change. To stay in an hotel or even with a land lady, so many formalities of registration etc. were needed but thanks to Chatto, I had not to go through anything, I just shifted from the hotel to her place and lived there (I think Hobit was her name). It was wonderful. The weekly charge for bed and breakfast was also very cheap, as is usual with land ladies. I told Chatto, that if the trick was found out, both the land lady and myself might be in trouble, but Chatto assured that nothing would happen and nothing did happen.

That night Chatto and myself talked long about the revolutionary attempts of Indian revolutionaries, the world war and how Germany was defeated, what was his attitude to Russian Communist Revolution, what help we could get from Germany and Russia, what I should do in India etc. etc. It was nearly midnight, and then we realised that it was very difficult for me to reach the hotel where I was staying. On top of it both of us had no dinner. Agnes had retired long ago and was

fast asleep, Chatto went to the kitchen without making any sound and produced some bread, butter and marmalade and we ate that together with some coffee which Chatto made for us.

I slept on the divan in the drawing room and he stealthily and noiselessly went to his bed, so that his wife would not wake up. Next morning I left the house before Chatto or Agnes got up.

Many years later I learnt that they had separated.

Indian Revolutionary Committee.

I used to go in the evening to the office of the Indian Revolutionary Committee where I met many Indian Revolutionaries and talked with them and compared notes of our experiences. Dr. Dutta with whom I was in correspondence while in Moscow stated that he was also trying to go to India and had applied already to Mac Donald, the first Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain. He actually reached India before I did. Many other revolutionaries were also planning to come back to India as there was very little to do in Europe then, unless one joined the Communist Party. They were ardent Nationalists and very few of them joined M. N. Roy and the Communist Party.

Dr. Subodh Mitra

One evening I went to see one Indian student, but learnt from a sweet girl of 12 or 13 that he was out. But she was very intelligent and guessed I was Indian and asked whether I would like to meet Herr Mitter, I guessed Mitter must be a Bengalee and I requested her to call Mitter. In a minute or two Mitter came and both of us were dumbly looking at each other and the next moment we were in deep embrace with each other. Both surprised beyond measure and we started asking question to each other. We studied in Hooghly Branch School in 1912

and passed the Matriculation together in 1914. We were very intimate. He was a devout disciple of Swami Vivekananda. We parted company afterwards as he went to the Medical Line and I continued to study general science, but our relations were very friendly. He quickly dressed up and we went out, strolled in Berlin streets and told each other how we spent the past ten years. He had come to study Gynocology, with a scholarship. He was thrilled to hear my romantic story of Kabul, Bukhara and Moscow. He invited me and we had a substantial meal together in a restaurant. He came to a Ry. Suburban Station and our trains went in opposite directions. It was symbolic to a degree.

Land Lady.

My land lady was a middle aged widow about the same age as my mother was then, 45 years. She had three sons and three daughters all married and well placed. None of them lived with her. She had a house where she kept about 7 or 8 paying guests and she made a living by serving them. She had about 200,000 Reichsmark but due to unprecedented inflation, one could not even buy two cups tea with these Marks.

I told her that such a situation was unthinkable, that if any man or woman had sons who were earning decent salary or income that the mother would be compelled to earn her living by keeping paying guests. She was full of praise for the Indian social system. But systems are changing in India and finding such instances are becoming more uncommon, rather in the nature of exception even in India.

Shoe Polish by Land Lady

I did not know that one of the tasks which the land lady, performs is to polish your shoes. So I kept my shoes inside the room at night and next morning she asked me why I did not keep the shoes out side the room, so that she

could polish them. The hotel boys do it but I felt a little shy to allow a respectable German lady to do it for me. When I spoke to her of my embarrassment, she was amused and told me that as she was doing it for all other paying guests, I should have no hesitation to get this service also. Supplying bed and break fast included polishing the shoes also. From next day, I also fell in line.

Sight Seeing in Berlin.

Apart from going regularly to the office of the Indian Revolutionary Committee in the evening and meeting the Revolutionaries whose names even I can not recall now, I made acquaintance of many Indian students and was rather surprised by their non-political attitude. I made it a point to see the palace of the Kaiser, which the Republic, after the fall of the Kaiser and the hereditary monarchy, had turned into a Museum. The Kaiser himself was in exile and was chopping wood to keep himself physically fit in the Netherlands. The Tiergarten was my favourite resort, alone or with friends, when the vast expanse of the Tiergarten (Animal garden or the Zoo) with innumerable benches for visitors to sit on or read or court or dream or simply doze, attracted me and I spent hours and hours in observing the German people, mostly middle class, and in planning and dreaming of the task ahead of me in achieving independence and socialism in India. I soon

become quite familiar with the streets and the river, which is really a small canal. I did not use the underground Tube Ry. much, though it was faster and cheaper. I preferred the Buses or Trams, so that I could see the town and streets and suburbs better. The castle of the Kaiser, the big Brandenburg gate etc. became familiar to me in a short time.

The German People

The German people, whom I chanced to be introduced to or met casually in the streets, were very courteous to Indians and sympathetic to our struggle for independence but their aggressive nature become apparent when they spoke of the French, or British or Americans. They would assert their superiority to them though they were presently in a bad position, their big empire torn to pieces and crushed down by the economic depression and the huge compensation they had to pay. They used to say, we shall rise again and dominate the world. "Germany above all countries" was their National song. They believed that their intellect as well as their capacity for labour were super human. Though very polite to Indians, one could read from their contemptible expressions for the French and British, how they must have been thinking of us Indians, inspite of their keen interest in Indian struggle and their keen desire to be sympathetic to India.



Current Affairs

Indo-Polish Economic Collaboration

Polish Facts on File has published the following :

Of Poland's commercial dealings with developing nations, trade with India occupies first place, accounting for approximately one-seventh of the Polish merchandise sold to these countries. Poland's principal export items are machinery and installations, industrial plants, ships, measuring instruments and chemical products, two large coking-coal mines, which Poland is presently building, a coal-washing plant as well as a thermal-electric power station in Barauni with two 50-megawatt turbogenerators. Polish flags in Sudamdihi and Monidih have become symbols of traditional Polish-Indian co-operation in the extraction of the "black treasure". In accord with a 1962 agreement, Poland is scheduled to build in India nine coal-mines which will increase India's coal production by 20-25 million tons.

In Maharashtra, at Paras, Bhusaval and in Madras, Polish specialists are associated with the installation of Polish-built boilers for power stations located there. At Nagpur a power station with a 250-megawatt capacity is being constructed. At Ennore a concrete plant is being built with Polish assistance. A similar plant is scheduled to be built in West Bengal. Polish specialists are, at present, also building cast steel & iron foundries at Bombay and Terikore. "Rajdoot" motor-cycle and "Ursus" tractors, assembled at a plant in Faridabad, were Poland's initial "industrial ambassadors" to India. For over two years now, Polish industry has been closely coope-

rating with Indian public sector undertaking, Heavy Engineering Corporation in Ranchi, in the production of drilling rigs for irrigation wells.

What can be said about the other half of these exchanges ? What goods are aboard Indian ships destined for Poland ?

Originally these were the "traditional" agricultural goods and foodstuffs including tea, coffee, linseed cakes, pepper, raw and semi-processed skins. In addition, Poland used to buy Indian ore, mica and cotton waste. As the Indian economy developed, however, new manufactured export items were added such as textiles, held in high esteem by Polish women, and heavier goods : metal and jute products, tools, tyres, inner tubes, railway wagons, steel pipes, machine tools. The offerings of Indian industry become more varied and are of better quality with each passing year. Poland, for its part, continues to realize the principle of "assistance through trade", and is constantly increasing the range of its Indian imports. Several months ago, the Indian daily, "Economic Times" emphasized that few countries other than the socialist nations,....."would be willing to purchase new Indian products and provide urgently needed machines and equipment, without demanding exchange currency in return."

The above statement furnishes an explanation for dynamic development of Polish-Indian trade. Between 1955 and 1966 it grew 29-fold rising to 400 million rupees in 1967 from a level of 76 million.

Apart from the necessity of further increasing bilateral trade, Poland and India are actively discovering new ways of developing

economic cooperation which would be in the best interests of both countries, and in line with contemporary trends in the field of international trade. Presently under consideration is the possibility of assembling railway wagons in Poland, 70 per cent of which would consist of Indian components. These would subsequently be exported to the countries of the Third World. Also in progress are talks on the possibility of importing from India Leyland chassis on which self propelled cranes would be mounted in Poland. Poland is already producing high-compression engines on a Leyland license, and several types of cranes are now fitted with such engines.

Polish economic circles are awaiting with a great deal of interest the final agreement on a textile-machine transaction. Poland plans to extend its own supply of such machines by importing from India and similarly, intends to export Polish-built machines of the type not produced in India. The satisfactory conclusion of such an agreement would pave the way for future cooperation in this area.

There are many more opportunities for Polish-Indian industrial cooperation. The 1966 agreement foresaw three major, promising areas of cooperation: the foundry and machine industries, the ship and fishing-vessel building industries (including fish processing), and the chemical industry (including chemical fertilizers.)

Nixon as Champion of Portuguese Colonialism

After Pakistan the US President is now backing Portugal's inhuman and oppressive imperialism in Africa. Basil Davidson writing in the *New Statesman* says:

"I've been taking a look at a small and shy treaty which the US has just concluded with Portugal about the US base in the Azores. And what comes out is not exactly reassuring. What emerge are a set of circumstances, and

a state of mind, which cannot but remind one of the Dulles era. Washington is once more in the business of waving its big stick, or, what comes to much the same in the context, its money bags. It is doing this, otherwise gratuitously, in support of a colonial status quo which it apparently identifies, all experience notwithstanding, with a guarantee against the spread of communism. Its action, in other words, betrays a positively Dulles-like initiative.

"Ten years ago the imperial government of Dr. Salazar embarked on policies of large scale armed repression in its colonies of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique. Three colonial wars ensued, the second beginning in 1963 in Guinea, the third in Mozambique in 1964. As the nationalist movements in these colonies have gathered strength and experience, so the cost to Portugal of carrying on these wars has continually risen. Even by official figures which conceal much indirect war expenditure, annual military security costs have steadily climbed from 4,794 million escudos in 1961 to 11,290 millions in 1969 (and higher since by all accounts), the latter figure representing about 40 per cent of all public expenditure. With nine-tenths of all its (Nato-armed) fighting forces in Africa—stretched to the limit by a four year conscription period—Lisbon now has armies there which, on a per capita comparison, would be equivalent of a British expeditionary force of 800,000 men.

"All this has had its necessary misery for the Portuguese people, about three-quarters of a million of whom escaped from it, during the 1960s, by smuggling themselves into the Common Market. Social services have had to be cut to the bone, non-military public expenditure of all kinds drastically reduced; and inflation is now rising at a steep rate. Expectably enough, the last year or so has at

last brought signs that the regime is finding the strain beyond its power to bear or contain. Even within the regime, men at the top have been arguing that Portugal should let the colonies go, especially at a time when the regime is seeking membership of a Common Market unlikely to accept Angola, Guinea or Mozambique as 'overseas provinces' or 'overseas states' of Portugal.

"This being so, there has flickered up the not unreasonable hope of an early and negotiated end to these infinitely painful wars. And this, in turn, has encouraged all those who see that majority rule in these colonies must greatly improve the prospects of African development throughout the southern half of the continent ; helping for example, to isolate and overcome white racism, and reducing the dangers which menace Zambia and Tanzania from the south. With a helpful push from the Western world, above all from the US, the wars might now terminate with another good instalment of African advancement. Yet this is the very moment when Mr. Nixon chooses to come to Lisbon's aid on an unprecedentedly massive scale."

America had been holding the Azores base since 1943 (when its lease expired) on an ad hoc basis without any official payment of rent. America has now chosen to renew the lease on the basis of various payments to Portugal which total up to \$436 million ! This is equal to "one year's total Portuguese military/security expenditure." One American professor has described this new lease arrangement in the following manner : "In addition to tailing Portugal out of war-born financial distress—apparently without even an effort to extract promises of political reform and self-government for Africans (as distinct from white settlers)—the American government

has gone far towards eliminating the financial pressures which have been building up in Portugal against continuation of the colonial wars."

The whole transaction is typical of Nixon's communist-phobia. The way the American President attempts to solve the problem which exists only in his mind, is now proved to be infructuous. But the US President does not change his approach to this alleged problem. The writer concludes with the following remark :

"Mr. Nixon's America has long been the friend of Salazar and his heirs. It now becomes their ally in the enterprise of Portuguese imperialism. Sad for everyone, saddest of all, perhaps, for them."

Pakistan's "War" of Murder and Rape

Pakistan carried on a campaign of cold blooded murder and rape in East Bengal for nearly one year before it got involved in a real fight with an army and surrendered in a couple of weeks. Martin Woollacott writing in **The Guardian** says :

"The world knew well enough that the Pakistan army was conducting a campaign of repression in Bengal marked by great brutality and viciousness. But it is only now that they have gone that the full extent of what they did can begin to be measured." He then describes what happened in the execution ground of Gullimari in Khulna where numerous civilians had been dragged and killed by bullets, bayonets and blows right down to the day when the Pakistan army surrendered. "Other such execution grounds have been discovered elsewhere in Bangla Desh.....several times a week, trucks came to Gullimari, usually at night : and (that) the occupants of the trucks were then killed, sometimes by shooting, usually by other means."

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

A Great Dutch Astronomer

The Netherlands has published on account of the life and work of Jan Hendrik Oort, who was awarded the Vetlesen prize in 1966. We are reproducing this account.

A colleague of Professor Jan Oort is said to have remarked "If you speak to him on the telephone, you have to listen very carefully because he speaks so softly. If the subject of the conversation is astronomy, listen twice as carefully and you'll hear one of the greatest experts of our time thinking aloud." It is also said of Oort in professional circles that he is so clever that he doesn't even know how many honorary degrees have been conferred on him; this is probably the only joke concerning the man which is in circulation.

Oort was twenty-six years old when he obtained his doctorate, and he had already spent two years as a research assistant at the Yale university observatory in Newhaven, Connecticut. In 1926, the year in which he graduated, he was appointed to an external teaching post at Leyden university. At thirty, he became a lecturer, and five years later, was Assistant Director of the observatory in Leyden. At the end of the last war he assumed the combined post of Professor and Director of that establishment.

In Holland, Oort was the driving force behind the development of a new science, radio astronomy. Luck and a love of walking among the dunes combined to make him the honest finder of the first piece of equipment used for observing signals from outer space : an abandoned dish aerial formerly part of a German radar station.

- In 1956, Queen Juliana conferred an

honour on Jan Hendrik Oort. The presentation was made in the small village of Dwingelo, in the East of Holland, the spot chosen for what was then the largest radio telescope in Europe. The observatory there was largely a result of his initiative and effort.

What else does humanity owe to this man ? It would be quite impossible to list all his achievements in a career spanning more than forty years. If we must choose one outstanding contribution, that must surely be Oort's work in unveiling the mysteries of the structure of the Milky Way.

Just as, four hundred years earlier, Copernicus put forward the theory that the sun, and not the earth, was the centre of our planetary system, and that the planets rotate around the sun in different orbits and at different speeds, so did Oort proceed to show that the Milky Way—of which the sun is but one of the hundred thousand million components—rotates around its centre ; and that the stars situated at a great distance from the centre travel at a slower speed than those closer to it. The Oort Constants is the name given to a certain combination of forces which govern the rotation of the Milky Way. Similarly, his work has made it possible to chart the spiral structure of the galaxy and to study it in detail. It is now possible, for example, to calculate that the sun and the planets in the solar system describe a vast orbit around the centre of the Milky Way—an orbit which takes two hundred million years to complete.

For his discoveries in this field, and his contribution to radio astronomy, Prof. Oort

was awarded the 1966 Vetlesen prize, an American award, which is regarded by astronomers as equal to Nobel prizes in other sectors of learning. Oort does not typify the modern scientist, bustling with efficiency and qualities of leadership ; equally, he does not conform to the outmoded vision of absent-mindedness, long hair, stained clothing and dangling shoelaces. His study at the Leyden observatory is a model of neatness. Its occupant is always attentive, but his quiet, sometimes hesitating voice suggests a lack of self-confidence : he is not, however, a man given to gesticulation. In his lectures, he frequently gives the impression that something he has said flashed into his mind like a spark a second beforehand. Tall in stature, his bearing is suggestive of the ascetic.

Jan Oort is a man of moderate habits. He was born in 1900 the son of a doctor. Unlike so many astronomers, he was not gripped by the wonders of the heavens as a boy. He was already a student of mathematics and physics at Groningen university when he was moved by his contact with another great Dutch astronomer, Prof. Kapteyn, to apply himself to studying the stars. He has frequently been approached with offers of a professorship on the other side of the Atlantic. But he has always declined. He is loyal to Holland, and to Leyden in particular. But his scientific reputation is not bound by any national frontiers. The American journal *Look* once published a list of the hundred greatest contemporary contributors to politics, science and art. There was only one Dutchman on that list, and his name was Jan Hendrik Oort.

Jerusalem

News from Israel publishes a short sketch of Jerusalem which we reproduce below.

Jerusalem has a population of 300,000 about three-fourths of whom are Jews, 61,600

Moslems and 11,500 Christians. For the past two hundred years, Jews have been the largest community. The "rights of the inhabitants", whether Jews, Arabs or Moslems, include the right to administer their own city, to develop it, and to repair the havoc of war. Jerusalem has the right to normal existence as a living city, its life and institutions must be allowed to grow in the interests of all its inhabitants, and it cannot be artificially frozen at the point which it had reached over four years ago.

Since 1967, all Jerusalem's citizens have had their due voice in the administration of the city. In the last municipal election under the Jordanian occupation in 1963, there were only 5,000 eligible voters in a total Arab population of some 60,000. Only males over 21, property owners and rate-payers could vote, no political parties were permitted. Irrespective of the results of the voting, the mayor was appointed by the Jordanian Government in Amman. On the other hand, in the 1969 election for the municipal council, universal suffrage for those over 18 years of age was introduced in the sector formerly under Jordanian occupation. The number of Arab citizens who actually cast their vote for the administration of the united city in that election was greater than the total of those eligible to vote in 1963, during the Jordanian occupation.

All the citizens of Jerusalem, both in the western and eastern parts of the city, have the right to normal municipal services. All the city's inhabitants now receive such services, which were non-existent or inadequate during the 19 years of illegal Jordanian military occupation.

Since 1967, compulsory education laws have been strictly applied. A system of kindergartens, which did not exist under the Jordanian conquest, has been extended to the eastern part of the city. Vocational training,

has been expanded, including the opening of a night-school for working boys. The network of free medical services for school-children, new mothers and babies, has spread to this section of Jerusalem. In a special programme carried out in 1967, all children in East Jerusalem were given thorough medical check-ups, including skin, tuberculosis and eye tests, as well as vaccinations against diphtheria, tetanus and second shots against small-pox. Trachoma and malnutrition have now all but been eliminated. A new 300-bed hospital on Mount Scopus, to serve the northern and eastern parts of the city, will soon be opened.

The eastern section has been connected to the Jerusalem water-mains, providing round the clock water supply for the first time in history. A Central sewage system has been introduced. The Municipality of Jerusalem has provided playgrounds, parks, libraries and youth clubs, where there were none before. An Arabic language theatre has begun performances. A developed social welfare system has been applied for the first time to this part of the city. The citizens living in Eastern Jerusalem have the services of a Government Labour Exchange, 40 per cent of the section's workers have joined and are protected by the Israel Labour Federation. There is no unemployment in Jerusalem, low cost public housing and generous mortgage opportunities are being provided by the Municipality to Arab residents.

Nothing therefore could be more inaccurate than to assert that the rights of the inhabitants of Jerusalem have been adversely affected by anything done or planned by Israel. Their rights to peaceful life and development, and to a voice in Jerusalem's affairs, have been fully respected and indeed advanced only since June 1967.

About Power Generation in Bulgaria

The following is reproduced from **News From Bulgaria**:

In 1970 the production of electric power per head of the population hit the 2,300 kWh mark; as regards this index Bulgaria is far ahead of her neighbouring countries—Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia—as well as certain European countries, as for instance, Italy.

Water sources are not numerous in Bulgaria—which made it necessary to put in maximum efforts aimed at their most rational utilization, so that now we actually use 33 per cent of the economically profitable potential of the country's rivers. The deposits of solid fuels are limited; almost three-quarters of all solid fuel deposits are now calorific lignite deposits in the Maritsa-Iztok Coal Basin. In it an industrial-power complex of the same name has been built, comprising two electric power stations (capacity—1.1 million kW) and a briquette factory (capacity—1.8 million tons of briquettes annually).

The shortage of local power sources is compensated by the import of liquid fuel and coal from the Soviet Union. The Rousse, Devnya and Varna thermo-electric power stations use calorific Soviet coal as fuel. The Varna Thermo-Electric Power Station (capacity—630,000 kW) is the country's biggest station of this type.

High development rates in power production will characterise the Sixth Five-Year Plan. During this period the country's electric power producing capacities will generate some 6.5 million kW of electric power; its consumption will hit the 33,500 million kW mark in 1975. It is estimated that the total volume of power consumption (all types of power and fuel) will amount to 41 million conditional tons a year.

Three hydro-electric power stations with a total capacity of 640,000 kW will be put into operation during this period.

The completion of the construction of the first Bulgarian atomic power station at Kozlodoui, near the Danube, will be a salient event under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It will have two reactors of the aqueous homogenous type, each one of them driving two 220,000 kW turbines—i.e. the total capacity of the atomic power station will be 880,000 kW.

In the period of 1975-80 it is planned that electricity generated by atomic power stations would make up 50 per cent of the total increase in electric power production. For this purpose the extension of the Kozlodoui atomic power station, to give it an additional capacity of 880,000 kW will be started, as well as the construction of a second atomic power station with a capacity of two million kW.

A New Treatment for Cancer

News From Israel gives us the following information :

Concanavalin-A, commonly known as Con-A, is a drug which was actually discovered 40 years ago. It is only for the past two years, however, that this drug has been experimented with as a possible cure for cancer.

Prof. Leo Sachs, who is the head of the Department of Genetics at the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot, calls this drug not a breakthrough, but a direction to the thinking about cancer treatment.

At the Weizmann Institute plans are presently under way to use "Con-A" on human tissues grown in test tubes. The drug, when used in the proper quantities and injected directly into the tumour, inhibits the growth in 70% of the cases. To date it has only been used on the subcutaneous "simple" types of growth.

The Montagnards of South Vietnam

The Montagnards are inhabitants of South Vietnam ; but they are really different from the Vietnamese. The **New Statesman** has

published an account of how these people are being oppressed and even destroyed by the American aided South Vietnamese. We quote portions from it.

"In the long and dismal history of the Indo-China war, there have been few more shameful episodes than the betrayal of the Montagnards. These are the 800,000 or so people of Polynesian origin who live in the highlands of South Vietnam. For thousands of years the various tribes have lived by hunting and growing upland rice, most of which would be used for brewing wine to drink at animal sacrifices. They lived in well-made long houses, raised on stilts and thatched with reeds. Their cross-bows and poisoned darts protected them from the Vietnamese who stayed in the long narrow coastal strip and the fertile Mekong Delta, from which they had chased the original Chan people. The Vietnamese call the Montagnards 'moi' or savage. The French however were fond of them and took their side against the aggressive Vietnamese.

"After independence, the Emperor Bao Dai maintained the French policy of protecting the Montagnards, although he built a hunting lodge for himself at the French resort town of Dalat. His successor Dien, however, colonised the highlands with Roman Catholic refugees from Communist North Vietnam and with adventurers from his own region of Hue. The Vietcong entered the highlands and won many recruits from the Montagnards, who also started their own movement, FULRO, demanding independence of all Vietnamese. The American advisers were welcomed at first by the Montagnards. The Special Forces, or Green Berets who were active in this highland region, were far more intelligent than might have been thought by those who saw the John Wayne film. They learned the Montagnard languages, wore friendship

bracelets of gold on their right wrists, drank rice wine by the vaseful, and shared the Montagnard's prejudice against everything Vietnamese. However, the Pentagon and American Generals in Saigon resented the Green Berets, whose methods were far from West Point. They were sent home, their Montagnard auxiliaries were disbanded and the government of the highlands passed to the army of South Vietnam. This army, during the last few years, has expelled hundreds of thousands of Montagnards from their villages, herded them into camps, and handed over their land to carpet-bagging Vietnamese. This policy of mass expulsion, amounting almost to genocide, has been approved by the American advisers, who do not wish to offend the ruling clique in Saigon."

The Americans therefore had some experience of chasing out the natural owners of the land of a geographical area with the idea of achieving a political objective. Iyahiya Khan's "drive the Bengalis out" of East Bengal was therefore nothing new to the Americans. The South Vietnamese had been chasing out the Montagnards from their hearth and home and the Americans were approving of it. When Iyahiya Khan chased out ten million Bengalis from their homes and killed a million or two, the Americans thought of their policy and not of the inhumanity of the outrage.

Nepal and India

T. D. Allman has written an article in *The Guardian* weekly and has found reasons

to expect the growth of closer relations between India and Nepal as a result of India's victory over Pakistan in the 14 days war. We all know how wholeheartedly the Gurkhas have fought in that war and how that made Nepal's bond of friendship with Pakistan rather make believe. Nepal's other friends, viz., China and the USA, have also not been active enough to make Nepal's friendship with India unnecessary. Now with East Pakistan dissolved and the new state of Bangla Desh developing into a very close ally of India, Nepalese isolation will be likely to push the Nepalese into closer relationship with India. We should remember that Nepal has a population of eleven millions "and about eight million other Nepalese live in India." Nepal's trade with the outside world is mainly through Calcutta. The attempt to use Chittagong as a port of entry and exit was not much of a success. If Bangla Desh attempts to develop Nepalese commerce, it can never succeed if Nepal adopts an anti-Indian attitude. There is, lastly, the question of Nepal being a monarchical autocracy with an ever-growing desire in the Nepalese to set up a democratic form of government. For that the Nepalese are likely to develop closer bonds of fellowship with the freedom loving peoples of India and Bangla Desh. The eventual emergence of Nepal as another associate state of India like Sikkim and Bhutan is a possibility that cannot be ignored.



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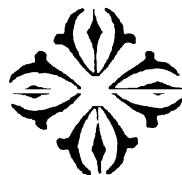
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NOTES

India-Bangladesh Treaty

India and Bangladesh signed a 25 year Treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace on the 19th of March 1972 at Dacca. Mrs. Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India and Sk. Mujibur Rehman Prime Minister of Bangladesh signed the Treaty in behalf of their respective countries. The 12 Article Treaty has been drawn up in the manner of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Each country guarantees to the other the fullest military support and assistance in case it is attacked by any power, internal or external, in order to overthrow its government established by law by use of force and violence. When two countries are in reality associated by common interests and similar ideology ; and have also participated in any joint endeavour to gain political liberty or freedom, they have good enough reason to join in a defensive alliance. The Warsaw pact, for instance binds the "Iron Curtain"

countries to assist and aid one another for the maintenance of their communistic political status and we have two instances of these states using warlike measures for the prevention of weakening the one party rule of the communists by participation of non-party men and women who command popular support. Both Hungary and Czechoslovakia attempted this sort of move towards democratising the one party rule of the communists and both had to face Russian Tanks which prevented any ideological changes that might have been planned by the reformers. In the case of the Indo-Soviet Treaty there is no question of similarity of political ideology. The two countries undertake to assist one another to maintain their governments in power. The Governments are established according to laws, rules and custom as in force in each country. The Indo-Bangladesh

treaty has been a great necessity for the reason that if any country suffered any great political upheaval or change it would affect the stability of the government in power in the other country too. For instance Pakistan, with the help of China or the USA might try to reoccupy Bangladesh. In such a case India's assistance will help Bangladesh to repulse the attacks made by Pakistan and/or China and/or the USA. If these powers attacked India in order to achieve their objective, the Soviet Russian forces would have to come to the assistance of India in terms of the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace. The chances are therefore that no power will attack Bangladesh or India.

Bhutto Upholds Pakistan's Rights

Pakistan was created by the British on the basis of a fictitious two nation theory which described the Moslem nation of India as a homogenous body which had a Moslem culture of its own, a Moslem language (Urdu) which all Moslems of India spoke and a Moslem background of history which was the history of the Moslem nation of India. Everybody knew that all this tale of two nations was a pure figment of British imagination and that Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was acting in collusion with the British imperialists for reasons associated with the growth and development of his political party the Moslem League. For the Moslems of India were as various culturally, linguistically and in point of their history as were the Hindus. When Pakistan was formed by linking up the Moslem Majority areas of the Punjab, Sindh, the North Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and East Bengal, the people of Pakistan spoke five languages, had different social habits and did not have a basically common history. There was trouble over language soon and Bengali had to be accepted

as a second state language in order to appease the Bengali Moslems. Pakistan could not be administered as a democracy either for the fundamental disunity that prevailed among its peoples. Martial law became, more or less, a permanent characteristic of the Islamic Republic and no Pakistani had any human rights as understood by the peoples of the free world. But with total absence of democratic rights pervading their land of Moslem freedom the people of Pakistan could nevertheless be induced to start holy wars in Kashmir or Cutch with a view to liberate the peoples of those areas from their alleged thraldom to oppressing Hindu overlords. In fact India gave equal political rights to all Indians irrespective of caste, colour, language or religion and the highest posts in the country were open to the Moslems in the same way as to Hindus. Moslems can be and had been Presidents or Vice-Presidents of India and so could they be and had been Ministers of Government or had held high posts in the army, navy and air force of India. Moslems had been ambassadors of India in foreign courts too. The Pakistani canards against India are therefore totally false and their talks about liberating any Moslem's anywhere in India could be best answered by telling them to "cure themselves". Their occupation of a part of Kashmir was achieved by getting support from the British and the Americans and should now be vacated for the reason that the people of "Azad" Kashmir are as much the slaves of the military rulers of Pakistan as are all other Pakistanis.

So when Mr. Bhutto sheds crocodile tears and says his heart bled for the Kashmiris or for the POWs of the Pakistan army who may be tried for their crimes against humanity in Bangladesh ; he should be told that the base acts of which Pakistani soldiers have been guilty have no parallel in human history,

and the less Mr. Bhutto talks about the injustice of such proposed trials the less he will expose his despicable soldiers to the civilised nations of the world.

Can Nationalisation Abolish Poverty ?

If in an industry or economic institution production is noticeably restricted in order to keep prices up and for making the maximum profit by a minimum investment ; in other words if the sales and employment potential of that industry or institution is not fully used for the greater exploitation of the public for private gain ; then the nationalisation of such an economic establishment would provide scope for economic growth and the removal of poverty. Nationalisation as such cannot remove poverty. In some cases where nationally owned economic units are run at a loss, state ownership may be source of increasing poverty through waste of national resources.

Assuming that the managers of the state would select only the most profitable industries for nationalisation, there would be no guarantee that those industries would progressively expand and provide employment to increasing number of persons. Quite often state management destroys the profitability of industries ; as we find in the case of state owned bus services in the city of Calcutta. A highly profitable business like road transport has been reduced to a condition where it cannot even run a fair proportion of its vehicles daily for the purpose for which the business was setup by the late Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of Bengal. Wasteful and corrupt methods of handling business can destroy all advantages which produce surplus values. There is also the question of negligence in dealing with urgent problems. State ownership therefore is not necessarily a means of expansion and the greatest source of profitable and fullest utilisation of resources. In Russia nationalisa-

tion was tried out and after many industries had suffered from the effects of centralised state management the Soviet leaders arranged to revert to private management through the appointment of experts on contractual terms. As a result of this decentralisation the state began to earn profits and the "contractors" also made profits in a big way. Our Government may find it necessary to decentralise too by creation of managing bodies which will not be bureaucratically controlled. We believe a move has already been made to manage the state owned steel factories of India by a special body of experts called a corporation.

The main idea is national economic development. If this is best achieved by introducing state ownership, that should be done. If, however, state ownership interferes with proper economic development, nationalisation should not be made a fetish of. For many countries like W. Germany, Japan, Sweden and the United States of America have made wonderful progress without nationalising economic institutions. Australia, Canada, Britain and many other countries have done so too. In the circumstances, blind adherence to the principle of state ownership may not prove to be a nationally gainful policy.

Political Immorality

There are many superstitions about the true value and significance of things connected with political matters that affect the life, economy and basic rights of the peoples of India. Old superstitions die hard and the birth rate of new beliefs is by no means very low. And these beliefs are not infrequently based on unreason and the evil designs of persons who definitely act contrary to the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number. The critics of government and of successful political parties have their superstitions in the same manner as have the party leaders in power. We constantly hear about the anti-social

nature of the issue of licences and permits by governmental departments. The economic development of the country apparently proceeds on lines which divert the flow of wealth into chosen hands and channels only. The people who believe in this interpretation of the undeclared economic policy of government call the existing political system Permit-Licence Raj. Licences and Permits are no doubt issued to selected persons who can convince government of their control over resources required for running industries or commercial establishments. Such persons normally belong to certain well known classes or groups. People who are not of these classes, but belong to other, less affluent sections of the population, cannot obtain licences or permits for the reason that they lack the assets required for developing economic institutions. Or, even if they got such permits or licences they inevitably had to hand over their acquisitions to other, more prosperous parties. The accusation, therefore, that the government were somehow guilty of favouritism and other corrupt practices cannot be proved by citing particular cases of granting permits or licences to wealthy capitalists. Poorer people do not either ask for permits or licences or are not granted the same for the reason that they cannot produce convincing evidence of their ability to make their schemes and plans successful.

When we come to governmental slogans like "garibi hatao" or about establishment of a socialistic form of government or economy, we find the same sort of prevalence of assumptions which cannot be proved by factual evidence. We do not yet know the correct and fullest dimensions of our "garibi" or poverty. The removal of poverty too requires a proper *blue print* without which the announcement has no meaning nor any basic guarantee that the government have really and truly under-

taken to remove or reduce the poverty of the peoples of India. We feel that the Government do not even know what they are talking about.

The next question is how *secularists* could a written constitution be permitted to be. All constitution makers think and believe that the constitutions they have made are infallible and must not be subjected to amendments according to their basic provisions. While one may accept the theory that there are facts relating to the origin and nature of a particular state which should not be changed without the revision given by as great a majority of the members of the legislatures as the people of the country are in a position to call up to express their opinion by votes; one cannot agree that succeeding generations of the people should be forced to obey the provisions of the constitution even if a vast majority of them did not wish to do so. A constitution which is fixed for ever can be like a chain of slavery allowed to weigh down the people's wishes and desires over decades. Social and political conditions change and so do economic circumstances. Constitutions therefore have to be progressive and no fanatical attachment to what was believed in or used as basic principles of political existence can be allowed to restrict the liberty and freedom of the nation and its right to amend a constitution. Rigid and fixed political ideas will subject the people to conditions similar to those existing in hard core communist states. The best of constitutions would be no substitute for the right of the people to settle their own affairs according to the wishes of the majority of their elected representatives. One may so arrange things that the majority required to effect constitutional changes will be fixed at two thirds or three fourths of the total number of representatives of the people. In certain fields of change, one may even provide for plebiscite or

relection of legislators. In matters affecting minorities the people who would suffer any loss due to the proposed changes should have the right to be specially represented before the changes could be effected. In short whatever precautions or safeguards may be considered to be effective as guarantees against sudden popular swings of opinion should be provided in full measure to prevent Parliamentary majorities from acting frivolously under the influence of any temporary emotional upsurge.

There are some beliefs relating to the fairness of elections too which have no basis in facts. Recording the names of non-existent persons as voters, impersonation, intimidation, bribery and plying tribal and unenlightened voters with liquor ; are widely practised by vote collectors at election times. These immoral practices are adopted everywhere by unscrupulous persons belonging to all political parties. So when defeated candidates complain loudly about unlawful methods used by their opponents, they forget what their own agents habitually do. When one comes to discuss the crimes that political party men commit in order to gain ascendancy over the followers of opposite parties ; we again find that these crimes are committed by the hoodlums attached to all parties. Some parties may have more hoodlums in their ranks and others fewer ; but that does not enable any party under to have a totally clear conscience.

High Level Crimes

In human society, particularly in the world politics, the highest of persons can descend to the lowest level of criminal activities. This has been found to be true throughout history. Palace murders, disappearance of newly born babies, decapitation of queens and killing of monks and priests of religion have been common things in monarchical establishments.

When the peoples of various countries found Monarchs to be instruments of suppressing human rights and the highest principles of social ethics ; they removed the kings by various means in which murder of persons of royal descent were also carried out quite often. When kings were removed and popular forms of government were set up, conditions did not change for the better. Violence continued unabated and the number of persons who were killed and injured for political reasons did not fall to a very low level. Communists fought communists, socialists tried to oust socialists from power, democrats felt no shame in trying to overthrow democratic governments which had come to power through elections. So that although modern forms of government satisfy some people who feel their liberty and freedom to be safe in the hands of elected or party chosen rulers ; many other people think that neither the single party system nor competitive elections really guarantee to the people their human rights and basic freedoms. Single parties usually practise methods of government which are tyrannical and autocratic. Where many parties function and elections determine which party would be holding the reins of the state : all kinds of illicit methods are found to be in use and nothing that the party leaders may aver or pretend to uphold can enforce fair play and justice in the world of politics. That is about human relations within the political community. In all types of government the individuals constituting the nation never try to be united, nor do they try to be selflessly attached to the interests of other people. Power hunting and the urge to exploit one another takes active shape quite often and these feelings are reflected in the party politics of the country. Immorality and a vicious disregard for other people's well being appear to be the dominating factors psychologically when one comes to

analyse the cross currents of thoughts that guide social conduct.

When we come to the conduct of persons who are not the nationals of the country but represent and control the interests of other nations, we discover very unexpected and strange deviations from the standards set for the behaviour of cultured persons of civilised communities. A recent press notice in India relating to restrictions put on a foreign diplomat who was suspected of photographing military installations from his own private plane, show up what illegal things foreign diplomats can do. There are many foreigners in India who masquerade as teachers, priests, artists, mendicants, hippies and members of other professions, who are really nothing other than informers and spies. These people not only carry on espionage themselves but they also engage many Indians to secure information for them. These spies therefore are doubly undesirable and should be sent out of this country. But most of the foreigners doing espionage work for other countries are not known to the Indian police and they therefore continue their nefarious activities without any difficulty. Some are suspected but the police cannot accuse them of any crimes against the state of India for lack of evidence. They also remain at large. Only a few are found out and are sent out of the country or imprisoned. They are not many.

USA and China re-arming Pakistan

While the USA speak of world peace and amity among nations and even step down from the high pedestal of international political superiority to stretch a hand of friendship to China, their shipment of arms continue steadily to Pakistan. More and faster war planes, numerous missiles and fleets of tanks armed more heavily than ever before, progressively fill up the military aerodromes and store yards

of Pakistan. There can only be one explanation for this large scale supply of arms to Pakistan by the USA. As Pakistan has been defeated in War by India and as the territories formerly known as East Pakistan have already seceded and become an internationally recognised independent state ; Pakistan can only use her newly gathered arms for the purpose of occupying Kashmir or some other part of India. The purpose therefore must be starting another war with India. The USA know it and approve of it too ; or the arms would not be flowing into Pakistan. The Chinese have been the declared enemies of imperialism and colonialism. Pakistan has been guilty of both colonialism and imperialism as well as of all possible crimes against humanity that one can think of. Inspite of these bad marks against Pakistan's reputation as a civilised land of free men, China has chosen to befriend Pakistan and has been supplying arms to that destroyer of human rights and the basic freedoms of civilised men. The reason again can be found in China's desire to share in Pakistan's loot. Pakistan has taken by aggression parts of Kashmir and has made a gift of some bits of these territories to China. The latter country too has walked into Indian territory here and there in the North Eastern Frontier region of India and they do not show any signs of vacating their aggression. In the circumstances it is of advantage to China if Pakistan fights India. The advantage will be greater if Pakistan can snatch away more land from India. China can then both consolidate her position in the lawlessly occupied areas of India, and may also expand such territories. So the idea behind the arms aid that Pakistan is receiving from the USA and from China, appear to have the same purpose—an attack on India by Pakistan. Such attacks had been planned by the USA and China on other occasions too. What happened in 1965 and in

1971 are well known to the world public. But the defenders of democracy and peoples liberties (USA and China) never give up hopes of success in their evil ventures.

Full Employment for Indians

We have said, time and again, that full employment for the people of a country is an essential part of a socialist type of economy. For, in an economy in which all persons would work for a living and unearned incomes would be reduced to a minimum, the only way to participate in the national scheme of distribution of wealth and incomes could be through employment. There could of course be doles and various other social security measures ; but the general public should not be made to base their life's economy on alms given to them by the state. That again one has to think seriously about employing most of the people of a country who are of employable age no matter whether one wishes to establish a socialist economy or not. A capitalist economy also requires full employment in so far as social security measures have now become a recognised part of enlightened capitalism and no capitalist state can maintain these measures properly unless the majority of the people of working age were gainfully employed. If one visualises a communist type of economy, even then vast numbers of unemployed persons would not be found easily supportable by those who have productive work to do. So that the problem of full employment retains its essential importance even in a communist state.

If most of the people of a country could be employed in producing goods and services which have a ready market within the country or which could be saleable by export, such economic arrangement should be advantageous for the country. An underdeveloped country like India in which the people have a very low standard of living and do not buy even

essential commodities in proper quantities should go in for producing essential consumer goods in increasing quantities and the people thus employed in productive work could then earn wages which they will spend largely on the goods they themselves produce. Food clothing, medicine, housing, transport and luxuries that have assumed the importance of essential consumer goods should be studied in detail with a view to discover what quanta of increased production would find ready sale and use. These studies will show that large numbers of small scale capital projects will be involved in any plans that will be framed for increased production of essential goods and services. Digging of wells, tanks, canals, road building, tree planting etc. will naturally be found necessary in order to make any progress along the lines suggested. As far as one can judge arrangements for larger production of commonly used food articles can be made by local authorities all over India without any risks of the extra goods produced remaining unsold. The capital projects associated with this will be permanent additions to the countries economic structure and should yield an income to the nation after paying for all expenses of production. One may assume that arrangements for a 50% increase in the production of common food articles will be justified. This ought to gainfully employ quite large numbers of rural workers. Some of the capital work can be carried out by mechanised means and the increased transportation and the distribution of the products in urban areas should employ many city dwellers too. One cannot make any estimates without proper studies being made but one may assume that these widely flung schemes of increased production of food articles should cut down the general unemployment by 10%. Coming to clothes we may be able to go in for a 25% increase in production which may

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lead to a reduction of 5% in unemployment. About half the number would be rural workers. People who know say that we need new houses everywhere in India and the total number of houses to be built would run to tens of millions. The building of these houses and their maintenance should employ hundreds of thousands of persons in various capacities. The trades and crafts connected with house building and maintenance should require about double the number of workers that they now engage. These extra hands should lower the number of unemployed persons in India by at least 5 to 10 per cent. Stimulation of production in the fields of education, medical treatment, transport, entertainment etc. etc. should create employment for more people. These new jobs ought to decrease the number of the jobless by at least 5 to 10 percent.

The above scheme of linking up production with distribution and consumption in order to arrange for the producers to buy up largely what they themselves produce can be tried out in selected zones before any India wide plans are set in motion.

Bhutto and Kashmir

If Kashmiris want Kashmir to be separated from India and to be joined to Pakistan by exercising their right of self determination ; it is the Kashmiris who should express such a desire. Mr. Bhutto has not been appointed as the keeper of the Kashmiri conscience. His advocacy of the alleged Kashmiri cause is the product of his own imagination and not the result of any authority that he has come to hold from the Kashmiris. Even the occupation of a part of Kashmir by Pakistan is by aggression and not by invitation of the people of Kashmir. More over self-determination

does not mean subservience to a Pakistani military dictatorship. No part of Pakistan has enjoyed the right of self-determination during the last fourteen years. In the circumstances joining Pakistan would mean the total end of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The Kashmiris know this and they have said so on many occasions. But Mr. Bhutto thinks Kashmir's self-determination must be declared from Peking, Washington and Islamabad and not from Srinagar.

Why Did Nixon Go To China ?

When President Nixon returned from his Chinese tour and was asked whether he had concluded any secret deals with the Chinese leaders, he denied that he had done any such thing. If that is the truth one naturally wonders why did the American President at all go to China. From his open discussions with Mr. Chu-en-Lai one would conclude that President Nixon went to China in order to announce America's withdrawal from Vietnam and Taiwan, as well as to give out, in an uncalled for manner, the Sino-US point of view relating to Kashmir. One cannot believe that the President of the United States of America would make his remarkable gesture to China in order to make some common place statements which can not be called epoch making by any stretch of the imagination. He need not have gone to Peking to reiterate his decision to retire from Vietnam. He could have made his pronouncement about Kashmir from the White House and about his wish to leave Taiwan in the lurch any time from anywhere. Why did he have to make such song and dance about his rapprochement with the Peoples' Republic of China ? What are the real and specific dimensions of this new born friendship with China ?

SARAT CHANDRA BOSE AND BANGLA DESH

DAVID M. LAUSHEY

The recent tragic rebellion in East Bengal and the subsequent Indo-Pakistani War calls to mind the unfortunate circumstances of 1946-1947 which resulted in the partition of the Bengali homeland between India and Pakistan. There were those in 1947 who cautioned against such a partition and who warned people of the possible future consequences. Among those championing the cause of Bengal unity was Sarat Chandra Bose, older brother of the famous Netaji. As soon as he realized that Congress would accept the partition of India, Sarat Bose resigned his position on the Working Committee and issued a strong protest which concluded with the following warning :

Any division of the country or of the provinces on a religious basis will not help us in bringing about amity, not to speak of unity, which the Congress has so long stood for. An overhasty surgical cure will involve us in confusion and disaster.

Sarat Bose died in 1950. But he lived long enough to see the communal carnage following partition, the refugee problem, the extreme difficulties of economic readjustment in the two halves of Bengal, and the development of hostile relations that have plagued India and Pakistan to the present day. Of course, he could not have known the precise details of the "confusion and disaster" that would result in 1971 for failing to heed his warning. Nor could he have envisioned that ultimately the partition of Bengal would intimately involve relations with China, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. or that the concerned attention of the entire world would be focused on the plight of millions of suffering

people in East Bengal and refugees in West Bengal. Nevertheless, he displayed remarkable foresight from the distant vantage of 1947.

Sarat Chandra Bose was born in Cuttack in 1889, was educated at Ravenshaw College, Presidency College, Ripon Law College, and finally was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn. On his return from England, he began practice in the Calcutta High Court and in 1918 joined the Indian National Congress. Beginning his political career under the guidance of C. R. Das, he soon became an influential Congress leader, not only in Bengal but in national politics as well. He held a number of significant posts: Managing Director of *Forward* (organ of the Swarajya Party, subsequently renamed *Liberty*), Alderman of the Calcutta Corporation at the same time Netaji was Chief Executive Officer, member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, member of the Central Legislative Council, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and member of the Congress Working Committee while Netaji was Congress president.

Bose often found himself in opposition to the mainstream of Congress politics. He began as a Swarajist, joined Malaviya's Nationalist Party in the mid-1930's in protest against the Communal Award, but the biggest split was yet to come. When Netaji was forced to resign the presidency in 1939, Sarat Bose joined with the younger brother in organizing the Forward Block within the Congress. Subsequently, both brothers were suspended from Congress for disobeying a resolution of the Working Committee which prohibited individual Congressmen from begin-

ning civil disobedience without first getting the approval of the respective Provincial Congress Committees. Both Sarat Bose and Netaji were demanding the immediate resumption of civil disobedience, but Congress policy, under Gandhi's firm leadership, called for cautious watchful waiting in the face of the impending international crisis on the eve of World War II. The Government placed Netaji under preventive detention in October 1940. The story of his escape, flight to Germany, and subsequent organization of the Indian National Army has become almost legendary.

Meanwhile, Sarat Bose was asked to become Home Minister in a new coalition government of Bengal headed by A. K. Fazlul Huq but was prevented from doing so by his own arrest, December 11, 1941, just four days after Pearl Harbor. The Government contended that he had been in contact with the Japanese. He was held under preventive detention for the duration of the war. This was his second arrest; the first was in the early thirties.

Upon his release after the war, Sarat Bose immediately patched up his quarrel with the Congress High Command. He was elected to the Central Assembly and became leader of the Congress Party in the legislature. In July 1946 he once again became a member of the Working Committee and briefly in September and October 1946 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Interim Government. He was perhaps at the pinnacle of his career. But unfortunately, his health was failing. Apparently his confinement for nearly four years during the war had done him serious harm.

However, it was not his health, but the question of the unity of India that caused Bose suddenly to give up his newly-regained position of prominence in national politics. When

it became apparent to him that the Congress Working Committee would acquiesce in the partition of the country, he tendered his resignation from the Committee in December 1946. And in March 1947 he resigned from the Congress Party itself in protest against a resolution of the Working Committee asking for the division of the Punjab.

It is evident that Bose felt very strongly about the unity of India, especially Bengal. His resignation from Congress is proof of this. With independence so near, and considering that he was a relatively young man (58 at the time of his resignation), was nationally known, had held important positions in the Congress, and certainly benefitted from the prestige and fame of his brother Netaji, Sarat Bose gave up whatever ambition he might have had for high office after independence. It is true that his health was poor, and from time to time he had serious differences with the Congress High Command. Furthermore his developing socialist views were certainly more radical than the Congress left wing or even the Congress Socialist Party. Nevertheless it seems reasonably safe to conclude that he would have been rewarded with some position of prominence in the post-independence government had he not again broken with Congress over the issue of partition. He thus made a tremendous personal sacrifice for the lost cause of Bengal unity.

Between March and August 1947, Bose carried on a vain campaign in statements to the press against the partition of India and especially of his home province. He warned of the problems that would develop between Hindu minorities in East Bengal and Muslim minorities in West Bengal. He utilized the *argument reductio ad absurdum* when he questioned whether India would be further divided into Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian, Parsee, and other religious-based states if the

precedent were established in Bengal. He stressed that the notion of religious or theocratic states, though an old idea, had been rejected by all the modern states of the world. He emphasized that if partition were accepted, communal harmony and social progress would suffer a serious blow. He felt certain that the partitioned provinces would become easy prey for what he called the "imperialists, communalists and reactionaries." Clearly he felt that British imperialism would linger on in the newly-created, partitioned and weakened states, especially when he discovered that Congress was considering remaining within the Commonwealth. He raised the familiar cry of "divide and rule."

I feel more and more convinced every day that if Bengal is rent in twain, the two Provinces of Bengal will be exploited more and more by exploiters, white and brown. The Bengali Hindu and the Bengali Muslim will become quill-drivers of those exploiters.

As an alternative to partition, Bose proposed the creation of a Union of Socialist Republics. The first step toward such a Union would be the redrawing of the provincial boundaries of India and the creation of linguistically-based autonomous Socialist Republics. These sovereign Republics would then willingly co-operate to form an Indian Union. Referring specifically to Bengal, the Punjab, and the North West Frontier Provinces, he said :

I have all along maintained and still maintain that if the Indian provinces were reconstituted on a linguistic basis and converted into republics, they would before long demand in their own interests the establishment of an Indian Union. The British attempt to impose an Indian Union from the top has failed. I wish very much that an opportunity had been given to us

to work from the bottom and bring into being an Indian Union of our free choice.

Even after independence and partition had become facts, Bose persisted in his demand that the provinces of the new India at least should be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. He was concerned that Bengali-speaking minorities were included in parts of Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Specifically he argued that the Hindi-speaking majority of Bihar should be united with the United Provinces while the Bengali-speaking districts would join Bengal. Other Bengali minorities would be incorporated into an enlarged state of West Bengal and the remaining provinces of India would be redrawn on a similar basis. He did not believe that this would result in the creation of more than twelve provinces at most. Unfortunately, Bose did not live long enough to see Congress finally accept the general principle if not the details of the linguistic states he had proposed.

When it became evident that all his warnings and proposals were being ignored, Bose formed the Socialist Republican Party to give organized expression to his political views. The party was composed primarily of some disaffected members of Congress, some former terrorist party, the Bengal Volunteers. A journal, *The Socialist Republican*, and a daily newspaper, *The Nation*, were begun in Calcutta under Bose's editorship to propagate the party line.

From its founding on August 1, 1947 until its dissolution just after the 1951-1952 general elections, the party stood for communal harmony and religious freedom; anti-imperialism, including opposition to India's membership in the Commonwealth; creation of linguistic states especially the inclusion of all Bengali-speaking areas in an enlarged state of West Bengal; unity among the various leftist parties; democratic socialism; and

what was generally described as "the ideology of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." Sarat Bose's view of socialism included abolition of landlordism without compensation, ownership of the land being vested in the actual tillers of the soil, state ownership of basic industries, and planned economy.

In pursuit of his goal of left unity, Bose organized a Provisional Left Coordination Committee in April 1949 and subsequently formed a Leftist Consolidation Council. But the high point of left unity came in the summer and autumn of 1949. A bye-election was called to fill a vacancy in the Bengal Legislative Assembly created by the death of Satish Chandra Bose, another of the famous Bose brothers. Although his own health was bad, Sarat Bose announced in May 1949 that he would contest the election, and he soon won the support of a large coalition of leftist parties. The coalition supporting him was so strong in fact that both Nehru and Sardar Patel made personal appeals in support of the Congress candidate. Bose himself was in Europe to recoup his health at the time of the election, but his campaign was managed for him primarily on a platform criticizing India's membership in the Commonwealth, condemning alleged corruption in the Nehru government, and condemning the repression of civil liberties. This campaign was successful, for Bose defeated the Congress candidate by a more than three to one margin.

Bose returned to India in July 1949 and continued his efforts to create a larger front of leftist parties. These efforts met success in October 1949 with the formation of the United Socialist Organization of India (USOI). The United Left Front, an earlier coalition of leftist parties organized by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, agreed to merge with the new USOI, and in all some twenty-two parties sent delegates to the initial organizing conference.

Bose became president of the new organization.

The influence of Bose and the Socialist Republican Party was evident in the program of the USOI adopted by the conference.

The object of this Organisation shall be the establishment of a Union of Socialist Republics in India with a view to the establishment of a classless society in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, and the principle 'from each according to his ability to each according to his needs' shall be recognized.

The program also called for "territorial redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis." Whether or not these new states would have the right of secession from the Union was not explicitly spelled out, although the program did pledge the USOI to work to "ensure full autonomy for the constituent units of the Union." This could be interpreted to mean that the states would have the right to secede.

In spite of the obvious communist influence in the program of the USOI, the Communist Party of India (CPI) did not participate. Bose himself, while sympathetic to the Russian and the Chinese communist revolutions, was opposed to the Communist Party of India. On several occasions he expressed these dual feelings. He told the press in January 1949, "I am not going into Russian politics, but it is not true that in twenty years the Russians have developed their country in a way which no other European nation could have imagined?" And concerning China he said, "we have always had a great admiration..... for the Chinese Communists. My impression is that they are not all under the influence of Moscow." But regarding the CPI, he emphasized that "there is still a deep suspicion in the Indian mind that Communists do not think independently and take their orders

from elsewhere." He said that "these suspicions have to be removed completely before there can be any question of admitting the CPI into the proposed United Socialist Organization." While Bose hoped that the Socialist Party (formerly the Congress Socialist Party) would join the unity movement, negotiations with Jayaprakash Narayan never resulted in agreement.

Unfortunately for Bose's hopes of left unity, the USOI began to break up almost as soon as it was created. Considerable tension developed between Bose and leaders of several of the constituent parties, particularly Saumyendranath Tagore of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India and S. S. More of the Maharashtrian Peasants and Workers Party. Bose died in February 1950, just months after founding the USOI. Swami Sahajanand, the peasant leader from Bihar, became the new president and remained in office until his own death in June. These deaths within a period of four months of two of the most prominent spokesmen for left unity were undoubtedly severe blows to the USOI. The organization did continue to function under the leadership of General Mohan Singh of the Marxist Forward Bloc until just after the first general elections of 1951-1952, but then it dissolved completely, as did the Socialist Republican Party. Thus, Bose's dreams of left unity, like his dreams for Bengal unity, came to naught.

Less than an hour before he suffered a fatal heart attack, February 20, 1950, Bose completed an editorial for his party newspaper, *The Nation*. He was troubled by the continued communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims in both halves of Bengal. He proposed a solution which, however politically unfeasible at that time, nevertheless proved that he was a staunch champion of the interests of his homeland until his dying breath:

The solution I offer for the acceptance of the people of India and Pakistan is that East Bengal as a distinct and separate State should join the Indian Union and that the people of India and Pakistan should bring pressure to bear upon their respective Governments to bring it about as soon as possible.

He did not demand the immediate reunification of Bengal. He indicated that he did not want to disturb the partition that had already taken place. Rather, he said,

Let East Bengal live and flourish as a distinct and separate State, but in the interests of the future well-being of the communities living in the two Bengals which, as I have said before, are integral to each other, which are each other's bone of bone and flesh of flesh, let East Bengal live and flourish under the fostering care of the Indian Union.

Surely he must have privately believed that, under a common national government, the two halves of Bengal would eventually be reunited. He argued that his plan would be beneficial not only to the two Bengals, "but also to the peace and prosperity of India and Pakistan."

His solution was certainly not possible to achieve without war. No nation of modern times has willingly acquiesced in the alienation of one-half of its domain. The fact that Pakistan fought a desperate war twenty-one years later in a vain attempt to prevent the secession of East Bengal is certainly proof of this. Perhaps too, Bose underestimated the real tensions existing between the dominant religious communities of the two halves of Bengal. Yet, the 1947 plan for partition and the union of East Bengal with West Pakistan has certainly been proved a failure. There are those in Bengal today who might well question whether Bose's plan would have been

any worse. To achieve it, India would have had to wage war on Pakistan. But war has come between them three times anyway, and still there is no peace and no united Bengal.

The career of Sarat Chandra Bose illustrates a number of important generalizations about the role of Bengal in the Indian nationalist movement. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bengali leaders had been in the forefront of the nationalist agitation. But as new leaders emerged from other parts of India, especially after Gandhi came on the scene, Bengal's influence in national politics waned, at least relatively. There was then, a sense of having been bypassed and consequently a struggle to regain the prominence that had once been theirs, especially since the Bengalis had such important regional interests to protect. Perhaps this may explain why Bengalis were never much enthralled by the novel Gandhian approach. To follow Gandhi wholeheartedly would have been to admit that leadership in the nationalist struggle had passed out of Bengali hands.

Terrorism and Marxism--both anathemas to Gandhi--were more important in Bengal than in any other province of India. And communalism, though not exclusively a Bengal problem, weighed very heavily in their provincial politics. Many Bengalis demanded a more activist and a more forceful policy in the nationalist movement, and they demanded that more attention be paid to their peculiar regional interests. The Bengalis had a greater sense of regional identity than most other provinces. They had a proud heritage, a strong aesthetic and cultural tradition, especially their highly refined linguistic and literary tradition. There must have been a strong sense of frustration among many Bengali leaders as the independence movement moved closer to completion and it became

apparent to them that the interests of Bengal were to be sacrificed for expedient all-India political considerations. Sarat Bose epitomizes many of these regional characteristics. His demand for linguistically-based autonomous states becomes easily understandable, given this background of Bengali frustration with national Congress leadership.

It must be realized, of course, that for much of his career, Sarat Bose was not in the first rank of Bengali leadership. He began his career under the shadow of C. R. Das, and after the Deshbandhu's death in 1925 he played a subordinate role to his brother Netaji, even though Netaji was eight years his junior. It was only after Netaji was reported to have died in a plane crash in 1945 that Sarat Bose emerged on the national scene in his own right, really for the first time. But then came the issue of partition, and Sarat Bose chose to step down rather than to bear any of the responsibility for dividing his home province.

To a large extent the shadow of Netaji lingered even after 1945, for many believed him still alive and awaited his return. And Sarat Bose drew much of his support from among those who had been Netaji's most faithful followers. The Bengal Volunteers had supported Netaji's Forward Bloc in 1939. In 1947 they joined Sarat Bose's Socialist Republican Party, as did some former members of Netaji's Indian National Army. It is not surprising that "the ideology of Netaji" was loudly proclaimed in the literature of the Socialist Republican Party.

Sarat Bose's career certainly illustrates the lack of enchantment shared by many Bengalis with Gandhi's leadership. Bose was on opposite sides from Gandhi on many an occasion, on the question of council entry in the 1920's, on the question of supporting Netaji's second term as Congress president, on

resumption of civil disobedience at the beginning of World War II, on the whole general question of strategy and tactics in the nationalist movement.

Bose, like so many Bengalis, did not rule out forceful means to achieve his objectives. He was not terrorist himself, but he welcomed the support of former terrorists in the Forward Bloc, the Socialist Republican Party, and the USOI. And it is significant that he had defended the accused terrorists in the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid Trial in June 1931.

In other respects, Bose was certainly far to the left of Gandhi on questions of the future economic and political reform and reorganization of India. But ironically, on the last crucial issue, that of partition, he was at one with the Mahatma. But on that question, even Gandhi's voice counted for less in nationalist politics.

It is difficult to sum up in a few words the career of a man like Sarat Chandra Bose, who led a full and active public life during a critical period in the history of his nation. He was representative of the English-educated Bengali *bhadralok* lawyer, the class that for 150 years played such a large role in India's public affairs. He stood for many things and championed many causes: communal harmony, rigorous anti-imperialism, activism in politics, socialist economic and political reorganization, the philosophy of Netaji, linguistic states, provincial autonomy, and left unity. He was a Swarajist, Nationalist, Forward Blocist—all within Congress—and a Socialist Republican outside of Congress. But whatever else he may have stood for, he

consistently championed the cause of Bangla Desh in the broadest sense of that term.

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I wish to express my grateful appreciation to Sri Kali Charan Ghosh and his son Sibabrata for kindly supplying me with much additional information on their close personal friend, Sarat Bose. I wish also to thank Sri Tridib Kumar Ghosh of Calcutta for the inestimable assistance he rendered me during my research in India, 1964-1965. However, all opinions and conclusions about Sarat Bose expressed herein are strictly my own.

A NOTE ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY

GANGADHAR RAKSHIT

Much of the political and economic unrest in India today, is due to the problem of growing unemployment among the educated youths in the country. A solution of our unemployment problem is, therefore, a basic pre-requisite for the establishment of lasting peace in the country.

In the past, the Planning Commission used to put forward estimates of the backlog of unemployment at the beginning of the plan and of the estimated increase in the labour force during the plan period. According to these estimates the Fourth Plan was to have started (on 1.4.69) with a backlog of 160,00,000 unemployed and new additions to the labour force during the Fourth Plan are expected to be about 2,30,00,000 in all amounting to 3,90,00,000 by the end of the Fourth Plan.

In view of the widespread differences of opinion regarding the definition and measurement of unemployment in the urban and rural areas in India, the Planning Commission appointed, in August 1968, a Committee of Experts to enquire into the estimates of unemployment in the country. In the opinion of the Committee, the data available to the Planning Commission for estimating unemployment in the past have not been adequate and that the conclusions based on them were, therefore, subject to an unknown margin of error. The Committee further states that the concept of

labour force as adopted in the developed economies is unsuitable for an economy like ours with its preponderence of self-employment and production within the household enterprises. Here the main problem is that a sizeable proportion of labour input in household enterprises is provided by some members of the family who have only a partial attachment to the labour market. In all probability they would neither seek work, nor be available for outside work. Thus their inclusion in the labour force and in the calculation of unemployment, in the opinion of the Committee, becomes misleading.

It is no use debating upon the extent of unemployment in the country. Unemployment problem is a reality in India today and its solution brooks no further delay. Not that India did not have unemployment problem during the pre-independence days, nor that Government of India did nothing for its solution after independence. Central and State Governments, in fact, created a large number of employment opportunities, since independence. But probably never before in the history of India such a vast number of people did rightly or wrongly believe that all persons who obtain a bare pass degree of the college or university will necessarily be provided with jobs. The unemployment problem in India today is, therefore, largely^a

crisis of ambition of the enlightened Indian youths.

At any rate, a large army of unemployed youths in India today is pregnant with serious social, political and economic dangers. As such, if we want to maintain our present social, political and economic fabric in the country, a solution of our unemployment problem is urgently called for.

A few suggestions are put forward in this regard : (a) Switching over into a job oriented, system of education. The present system of imparting general education beyond the secondary stage to all and sundry should be discouraged. A large number of students of mediocre intelligence should be trained according to their aptitudes in technical, vocational and professional schools. A sense of dignity of labour should be infused in them so that they should be ready to accept any kind of job either manual or mental.

(b) Granting of liberal credit by the fourteen nationalized banks/co-operative banks to the unemployed persons who could organise themselves into some consumer/marketing co-operative societies.

(c) Unemployed youths should be encouraged to adopt farming, small scale industry and trade as their occupations. Government should help them in the form of liberal credit and subsidized seeds and fertilizers.

(d) Imposition of an 'employment tax' on the new upper-classes-sector, e. g. Government contractors, rich peasants and business community. The sum collected in this way should be used as an 'employment benefit'. The recipients of employment benefit should be put to work under a social/moral/physical welfare programme. The district should be taken as a unit. The task of implementing the programme should be vested in a district committee consisting of a band of dedicated

souls. Non-political men of integrity should be entrusted with the task. They are not to be elected and therefore, not answerable, to the electorate. That is to say, employment should be kept above party-politics. Services of the ex-principals/headmasters/teachers/professors or retired officials of integrity who have no connection with politics should be requisitioned in this regard. A state plan for employment should be prepared on the basis of the district plans.

(e) Wage or salary freeze in both private and public sectors and a ban on retrenchment or lock-outs for five years.

(f) Creation of extra army units for recruitment of the unemployed youths. This will help preservation and channelling of much of our youthful energy towards a rational and meaningful goal.

(g) Greater emphasis on labour intensive programmes in the basic strategy of Indian planning which is highly capital intensive. The objective of using more labour need not necessarily mean a return to the antiquated system of production. The Government should encourage the setting up of efficient, labour-intensive small sector units which can be fitted into the more capital intensive industries and projects. In a recent report of the World Employment Programme the International Labour Organisation argued for the integration of employment-creation to economic development through the maximum possible productive use of available labour to accelerate economic growth and more particularly to substitute labour for scarce capital. The I. L. O. suggested that this could be attained through a strategy of development involving comprehensive programmes of rural development and labour-intensive public works programmes, e. g., construction of roads, bridges, dams, canals, public buildings and afforestation.

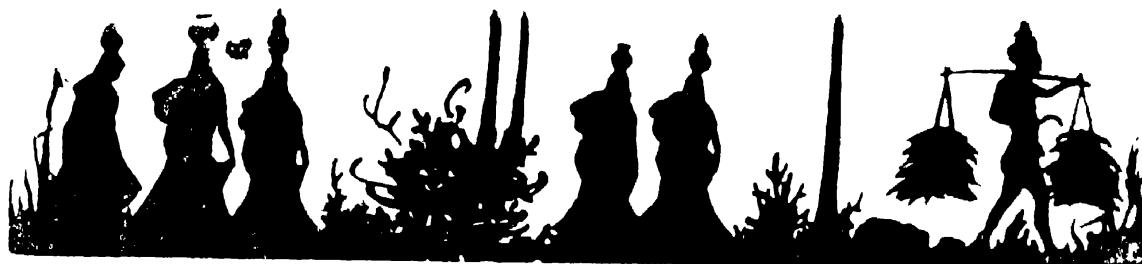
There is nothing new in these types of programmes. The States Governments, in India incur a lot of public expenditure on these items every year. But rural work in most States are performed on an ad hoc basis and mostly in the form of relief works which has little lasting impact on the life of the community. Political leaders very often reap large dividends out of these rural development works. A switch over into some concrete and permanent rural development programme manned by some non-political men of integrity is, therefore, urgently called for. The programme under the Dandakaranya Development Authority is worth emulating in this regard.

(h) Age of retirement in both private and public sectors should be fixed at 55 years and

work on a part-time basis by a whole-timer elsewhere should be discouraged.

(i) The main objective of the Fifth Plan should be 'employment for all' who satisfy a minimum educational standard. For five years other objectives, though important, should be given a secondary role. The Fifth Plan should be designated as a Plan for full employment. The employment policy should be based on a job-oriented education policy, rural development, public works, encouragement of farming, co-operative societies, small-scale industry and trade and creation of extra army units and a general programme for social/moral and physical upliftment.

In the opinion of the present writer, implementation of all or some of the suggestions as stated above will go a long way in the direction of solving the problem of unemployment in India today.



INDIAN DEMOCRACY - A CHALLENGE FOR THE INTELLIGENTSIA

PREM NARAIN

The working of democracy in India provides many informative and interesting lessons. As we embarked on a constitution which theoretically claimed to be the most democratic, it was feared in 1950 that the ship of state might founder on the rock of cultural and ethnic variety in a sub-continent that contained 300 languages and major religions. The working of democracy all these years has falsified many a prophet of doom. Inspite of their compromising with individual's liberty, neighbouring countries comprised of a more homogeneous stock are still at a distance from the stage of economic take-off, whereas major break-throughs have been made in India both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The stoppage of assistance by the aid-giving foreign powers in wake of Bangladesh operations has failed to arrest economic growth. Judged from normal historical standards, the success of democracy in India stands far from being questioned. R. R. Brooks, none-too-friendly disposed to India, in a much debated article in the *Saturday Review* terms the federal unity of this country as a 'miracle'.

The working of democracy in such a vast and varied country, however, provides a number of warnings, and, there lies considerable scope for a qualitative improvement of this biggest democracy. While making an assessment it has to be remembered that the democratic form of government carries some inherent defects which cling even to an electorate which is well-educated and underwent a long process of evolving a corporate national life. The literature of any general election in Britain as well as the United States teems with instances of perversion of facts,

amazing charges of unfair dealings and suggestive insinuations. With their eye on the next election, political parties whether in or out of government, are playing to the gallery all the time. Rather than speak, they shout and that too by using the hyperbole. Normal government plans are described as 'crash programmes', the V.I.P.s make 'air dash' rather than fly, every housecrash is a catastrophe and a delayed summer is a great calamity. Under the circumstances, some gap between the practice and the profession must be conceded. Elections are a costly business, more so in affluent societies. Mr Nixon's journey to the White House cost no less than Rs. 2 crores. The concern for the weaker section or the common man, therefore, remains more of an aspiration than a reality. Instances are not wanting when personal or party interests have been gratified at the cost of the nation or even international peace. If one is to believe Prof. James Thompson, former adviser to Ex-President Johnson, the reason of American involvement in Vietnam lay in the President's desire to prove winners before an electorate that felt chagrined at the loss of face in both Korea and China—the latter displaying violent anti-American sentiments. In India with 35 crore illiterates and per capita consumer expenditure of less than Rs 20/-per mensem (1969 figures), things should have been far worse than they turned out to be. This speaks volumes for our cultural heritage that lays emphasis on tolerance, search for truth and individual's freedom. Elections have been peaceful and political leaders have gracefully accepted the verdict of the ballot-box. The constitution has shown resilience and in

1970 the 26th amendment was effected. The judiciary upheld the rule of law and no less a person than the President personally appeared before the Election Tribunal. There has never been any apprehension of the army overstepping its limits and the civil authority has remained supreme. Viewed in the context of continuous sabre-rattling on our frontiers, this achievement speaks for itself. But all the same the 24 years of freedom have not been without avoidable lapses and it is worthwhile to take stock of the situation and identify the areas where improvement can be effected.

It is conceded at all quarters that substantial improvement in the quality of our democracy will have to wait till illiteracy is eradicated but this proposition in its entirety should not be accepted. To educate the 70% illiterates, an outlay of Rs 4,500 million will be required, which we can ill afford. Secondly, education, as we have seen, has not always been concomitant with the development of civic sense. Our unlettered countrymen have an exhaustive fund of ancient wisdom which formed the plank of Gandhi's appeal to the masses. We may well rely on the sound common sense of the average Indian provided the issues are explained to him. It is here that a great social responsibility lies on the educated elite that are fairly widespread in all parts of the country and have a stake in the free society that a democracy offers. So far the awakening of the man on the Indian streets has been left entirely to the political manipulator who would have no compunction in reducing the nation to a crowd. Truth will be victorious but only when a society develops a passion for it. Robert Guillain, a celebrated scholar of Chinese affairs, unhesitatingly praises the material progress of Mao's country, but lays his finger on the vulnerability of that system by observing that

liberty in China is another name for totalitarian indoctrination which is considered right because it leads to unanimity.

Let us consider the areas where progress has been impeded on account of democratic system. Unfettered and independent thinking is a prerogative of the youth which should blossom best in a free society. The sad fact in independent India remains that youth movement can claim little positive achievement to its credit. This is all the more regrettable in the context of pre-independence freedom struggle when the youth had provided most of the fire and drive. It is fallacious to argue it out as a part of worldwide phenomena of youth unrest. Firstly, a poor country like ours cannot afford the loss of valuable energy and material. Secondly, it is not like Japan's student power manifesting itself, on problems like Okinawa agitating the nation; it is a directionless and destructive movement that smacks of gangsterism. Developing countries juxtaposed with the present spurt in technology are facing a lot of imbalances, and students in India have a host of problems pertaining to curricula, books, libraries, laboratories, teaching personnel, hostels and the like. It would have been in the fitness of things if student ire were directed against obstructions on their way, but that is not so. According to a study conducted by the University Grants Commission (about the year 1969) it was found that out of the 234 notable cases of indiscipline, 60% emerged from non-academic issues. Since all agitation is directed against the few in authority, the demands of students carry a semblance of righteousness in a democracy which is conditioned to treat the majority view as the correct one. The hard fact is that an infinitesimal small number of students under the cloak of democracy are pressurising the large body of students. This is possible because the brilliant ones are too busy, th,

average inert or indifferent, and the sub-average eager to come out of their class rooms, are willing to listen to such advice. A small fanatical minority holding the large body of students as well as society to ransom, reminds one of Revolutionary France. After the first blaze of enthusiasm had died down, the French people in their anxiety for tranquility were content to leave politics to club men. According to an estimate by Prof. Fisher, only about 6% of the electorate took part in the elections to the National Convention which under the gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity unleashed the reign of terror, the guillotining of "the brave, the good, the beautiful, the innocent". Looked at from society's view point, it may be reprehensible to encourage such a clique of students as could assault a V. V. John in broad daylight in his own office, but it is only natural for the professional politician to patronise elements that have the potentialities of herding people. The remedy lies not in blaming any section or in legislation but in arousing the civic sense of the people to feel involved in the activities going around them. We would have to evolve, as M. Srinivasan, a noted sociologist, puts it 'a code of public behaviour' so that the person offending it may find things not for him both in and outside the campus. This studious scholar may gather the pluck to defend his right to study, and members of public prevent forcible collection of funds (euphemistically called 'subscription') or closure of markets. The politician would automatically trim his sails according to the variations of wind.

From very early times of our history, people have judged their ruler by the material prosperity that they could feel and see. This index stands as true as it ever was. Freedom from want remains the sine qua non for enjoying those rights that accrue to an individual in

a democracy. Inspite of the green revolution and significant advances in industry, we feel the tardiness of our pace in the context of phenomenal advances made by war-torn Germany or Japan. It will be worthwhile to identify the loopholes that require plugging.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish," said Goethe, and we have rightly chosen democratic socialism as our objective. The snag lies in our inability to project a clear image of our goal. Since ours is the first country to achieve socialism through democracy, it devolves on us to spell out our brand of socialism in as clear details as the Russians or the Chinese are doing. Although democracy provides the advantage of open and free discussion, yet we have failed to utilise it. As a slogan Democratic Socialism is attractive enough to capture people's imagination and no political party would jeopardise its popularity by sketching the details that might alienate some sections without pleasing any. Moreover; the emergent picture might not be sold to the average voter. Cryptic and ambiguous phrases pay rich dividends in elections everywhere, as was the case with 'Bonapartism' in France and 'New Deal' in the U.S.A. What makes it particularly painful in India is the fact that the uncertainty about Democratic Socialism is adversely affecting production and development. As far as industrial sector is concerned, the role of private enterprise has been described as that of 'industrial strike'. It is ostensibly chary of State interference in the form of controls on investment, debentures and sale price of commodities. Added to this is the hallucination which has nearly paralysed all its development plans. On the other hand the public sector has not shown an enviable or encouraging record for running the industries, and the government or public would think twice before entrusting more units or spheres to it.

This partly explains why 80,000 engineers are going unemployed. To the slow rate of industrial growth is added the phenomena of labour unrest which appears to be endemic. In a democracy based on universal suffrage, the trade unions are a force to reckon with. But like the students' unions, the trade unions too are neglecting their primary function. Rather than attending to labour welfare and increased production, labour organisations are more concerned with the political motivation of their members under a committed leadership which does not hesitate to use force or violence to achieve its end. The ordinary worker finds himself a captive of those who if necessary may brandish knives to the dissenting soul. Many a survey brings out the revelation that the striking worker often cannot explain the *RAISON D'ETRE* of his action except by attributing it to the call given by his leader. The salutary provision of having one union for one industry may bring about immediate results in the form of better deal for the labour and increase in production. President V. V. Giri himself has repeatedly recommended it, but the inertia of the average worker and the rivalries of labour leaders would not let it happen.

In agricultural sphere, our inability to spell out the implications of Democratic Socialism has failed to provide direction to land laws. We have to decide whether, in ultimate analysis, ownership and inheritance of land will be allowed under socialism, especially in a country which is teeming with landless people, and, whether ceiling on land is a temporary expedient or the final answer. No political party appears to be keen at answering these for fear of touching a hornet's nest. As a result of green revolution, those with big holdings have suddenly acquired undreamt of prosperity and a corresponding increase of political influence over the rest. On account

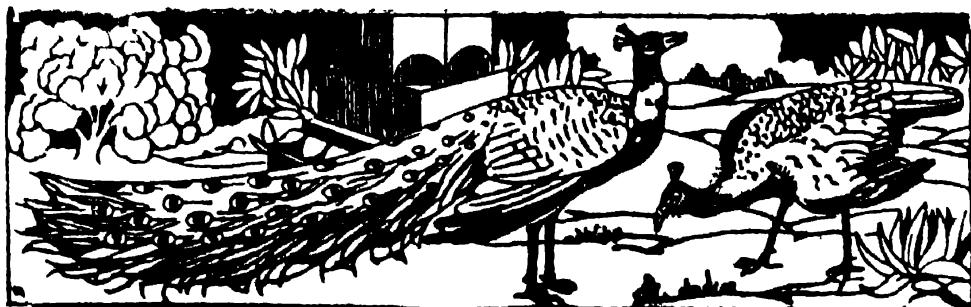
of expenses involved in the elections, and their frequency at different levels—central, state and local, political parties would like to patronise rather than antagonise influential sections in the sprawling countryside. This also explains the reluctance of States to levy income tax on agricultural earnings and the paucity of funds for irrigation, rural electrification, road building, housing and the like—schemes which are not only urgently called for but, being labour intensive, would go a long way to provide employment.

A clear perspective of the objective—Democratic Socialism—is also necessary to prevent dissipation of the nation's energy in wrong channels. Poverty and unemployment are the basic issues before all Asian countries (excluding Japan). According to an I. L. O. study, there might be 1016 million jobseekers in Asia by 1980, and out of these only 35 million may get employment if effective and quick action is not taken. An election manifesto in the country should be weighed in terms of its capacity to combat these prime evils. However, at the time of elections a large variety of distractions appear in the shape of boundary disputes, language problems, cowslaughter, regionalism, casteism and so on. It appears that our 'tryst with destiny' is going to be a tryst with triviality. In this respect, the most encouraging feature has been the mid-term Lok Sabha poll of March 1971, which was, by and large, contested on national issues, and the results of which belied the prophets, predicting the doom of Indian democracy. It is time we take up long term plans which were bypassed to make way for the schemes that could yield immediate political gain. Flood control measures provide the instance of such negligence. The seminar on water utilisation held in September 1971, woefully noted that there had been no enthusiasm in data collection because it would not yield visible results.

quickly. Similarly, our wasteful judicial system needs drastic overhaul and we have done pretty little in this direction inspite of the fact that through our freedom struggle we had been blaming the alien rulers for planting a cumbersome judicial set up. Most of the red tape and administrative inefficiency can be got over if we devise a system wherein a guilty person can be punished expeditiously. Inspite of its desire to extend credit to the needy cultivator, a nationalised bank would take six months because it would collect proof of land ownership, 12 years, revenue record, V.I.W.'s certificate of viability, B.D.O.'s endorsement, tehsildar's verification, signatures of two guarantors and yet finally another certificate to establish that the guarantors are themselves above reproach.

Gunnar Myrdal, while discussing Asia's backwardness, bewailed the softness of Indian democracy that could not enforce discipline at various level of democratic participa-

tion. Now after the 14-day war over Bangladesh, Indian democracy has assumed a chastened form. It was waged to vindicate a liberation struggle which led to the establishment of democracy in Bangladesh, our neighbour on the east. Towards the west, the collapse of the military junta, made way for the people's elected representatives to hold the reins at Islamabad. Most significantly it has shown that dictatorships are not necessarily more efficient in war. The future of democracy in the sub-continent is assured, but this increases the responsibility of Indian people more, as the quality of their democracy would be closely watched and emulated by the neighbouring countries. A heavy onus lies on the educated class from which leadership at all levels emanates. But for the indifference of the elites, the quality of our democracy would have gone up considerably. "There are no good or bad soldiers, there are good or bad officers" stands true not only for the army but also for a democracy.



NATURE AND IMAGINATION IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH POETRY

D. D. AGRAWAL

Nature and Imagination play an important part in the English poetry of the nineteenth century. Different critics advance different views. They speak of Nature more in relation to themselves than in relation to Romantic Poetry. Aldous Huxley, for instance, imagines that if Wordsworth had been born in a tropical country, he would not have become a poet of nature. Not only the critics and the literary historians but also the Romantic poets are responsible for confusing the role of Nature in Romantic poetry. In their letters, prefaces, essays and evaluations of others poets they express their views of Nature and its role in their poetry. Often there is no consonance between what the Romantic poets contend and what they create. We have, therefore, to be cautious in determining the role of Nature in Romantic poetry.

One common view is that Nature is the primary preoccupation of the Romantic poet and it is in the special view that the Romantic poets hold of Nature that there lies the fundamental difference between the Classical and the Romantic, and it is indeed this view which gives to the Romantic poet his place of distinction in English poetry. Never before in England was Nature (in which she is so rich and abundant) given such a prominent place in literature as in the age of Wordsworth and never with so much sincerity, ecstasy and penetration. Nature in Chaucer was just a casual caller, at most a background. In Spenser, it becomes a character, acquires an embodiment. To the Elizabethans, it is only a bag full of images; an inflated coffer of symbols. In Milton, Nature becomes remote and cosmic,

and divorced from human relations. To Pope, it is only an article of art. He takes it, prunes it, chains it and kills it. It is his mother, and nurse, friend, and philosopher, guide and God—a greater religion than Christianity. The cry of Wordsworth

Great God I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a Creed outworn,
proves this point.

Further, Nature in Romantic poetry has two layers of existence—the external physical, and the internal spiritual. The external nature gives rise to the sensuous passion of Keats and the internal awareness inspires the intellectual fervour of Shelley. The two layers of existence also meet and blend and then is born the "shivering conflict of passion and eternal law" symbolized in the poetry of Byron. The glory of the lake and the mountain, the moving procession of daffodils, the intoxicating song of the nightingale or the maddening and soaring one of the Skylark, the sea, "baring her bosom to the moon" and "the coil of the crystalline streams" are a few of the myriad profiles of the external layer. And the vision of the internal layer enables the poet to feel the breath of Autumn's being and have glimpses of the "fierce maenad" otherwise not visible. The unseen universe of the faery investing the lake and the mountain with the "light that never was", "the presence that disturbs with the joy of elevated thought" and the "unheard melodies" not meant for the sensual ear are but poetic manifestations of the internal layer of existence. The external layer gives to the Romantic poet

his vision of the visible things—a sensuous, empirical awareness of the physical universe ; the internal layer activates his imagination, shapes his fancy and brightens his insight into the life of things. The one gives him his social conscience and the other his idealism.

If Nature is the life of Romantic poetry, Imagination is its soul. It serves the Romantic poet in various ways. It gives him ability to view nature and life in different perspectives. It takes his vision into the corners of the universe hitherto unexplored. It heralds him to the presence of supernatural powers operating within and even beyond the natural to the presence of God. It allows him glimpses into such mysteries of life as had been hidden from the human eye. It gives him his fancy, his idealism, his transcendentalism. It gives to his poetry the depth and profundity of thought and philosophy. Through Imagination he sees in the objects of nature the reflection, nay, the physical presence of Dryads and deities whom the ancient mythologists could only imagine. Imagination shapes his mind, gives him his myths and symbols. It makes him touch the fringes of eternity, border upon the reality beyond, but it does much harm too. It makes him ludicrous through fancy not controlled by judgement. It pushes him beyond the context of reality. He escapes the responsibilities of the world and loves wandering into a realm realized only in dreams.

The Romantic poet believes that poetry is impossible without Imagination and he is right. It is Imagination which distinguishes literature from history, art from morality, and the creative writer from the mere historian. The Romantic poet also considers Imagination to be the child of mind and hence also the importance he attaches to the role of mind in the making of man and to the

influence of nature on the evolution and development of mind.

Critically much has been written on Imagination in Romantic poetry. It is not possible within the limited space at our disposal to discuss all that the critics and literary historians have said but we cannot resist the temptation of quoting one critic, namely, C. M. Bowra whose lectures on the Romantic Imagination form, to our mind, the best treatment of the subject ever attempted in English. He says—“If we wish to distinguish a single characteristic which differentiates the English Romantics from the poets of the eighteenth century, it is to be found in the importance which they attach to Imagination and the special view which they hold of it. On this, despite significant differences on points of detail, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats agree and for each it sustains a deeply considered theory of poetry.”

These words of Bowra are remarkable. He proves in two sentences what the Romantic poets could not do in their prolonged studies, essays and prefaces. Bowra's is perhaps the first sustained work, an organized study of the part Imagination plays in the poetry of the Romantic Revival. Imagination is the essential scene and setting in which the Romantic poetry is placed. Imagination is the aroma of Romantic poetry ; it sets its tone and makes its temper. It gives it colour and depth. It operates like a spirit and breathes into poetry a magic glow from which emerge the golden clouds of feelings couched in the rainbows of words of glory. By exercising his Imagination the Romantic poet “creates life and adds to the sum of living experience.”

In their theories of Imagination, not to talk of their practical application in poetry, the Romantic poets seem to differ from each other. Blake believes that Imagination is

"nothing less than God as he operates in the human soul." He says that each act of imaginative creation performed by judgement is "divine". Blake says : "One power alone makes a poet: Imagination, The Divine Vision." To Coleridge Imagination is "the living power and prime agent of all human perception." Wordsworth considers Imagination to be a blending of creative power and a special visionary insight. He agrees with Blake and Coleridge that Imagination is an attribute of God and its activity is divine. To him Imagination is "but another name for absolute power." It is the "clearest insight" and the "amplitude of mind". It is "equal to reason in her most exalted mood."

Also, the Romantic vision relates Imagination to truth and reality. Keats says in a letter to Benjamin, written on the 22nd of November, 1817, "I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the Heart's affections and the Truth of Imagination—what the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not."

The only Romantic poet who disparages Imagination is Byron. Keats criticises Byron

and says that the chief difference between them lay in their opposite views of the part played by Imagination in poetry. In September 1819, he wrote to his brother George, "You speak of Lord Byron and me.—There is this great differenc 'between us. He describes what he sees—I describe what I Imagine." Blake shares the view of Keats. He says in his dedication of "The Ghost of Abel" to Byron that Imagination is Eternity and regrets that when he should follow Imagination he followed only nature. Let us quote Bowra once again : "On the central article of the Romantic Creed, the importance of the imagination, Byron was regarded as a heretic by such good judges as Keats and Blake and he would not have denied the accusation. It is not surprising that among his contemporaries he was treated as an undesirable alien in the world of English poetry. But he worked for different standards and would not have been troubled by such criticism. In rejecting Imagination, he obeyed a deep conviction and that rejection inspired his best work and won him a special place among the poets of his time."



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA—A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

PRABAL KUMAR SEN

Aldous Huxley has called the human products of the ancient civilisations 'wise fools', and of the modern civilisation 'intelligent fools' and felt the urgent necessity of producing intelligent wise men. Just like Huxley Swami Vivekananda, whose whole constructive genius may be summed up as Romain Rolland points out in the two words 'equilibrium' and 'synthesis' could not remain blind to this significant truth, namely, the dichotomy of the human cultural heritage. Vivekananda visualized two distinct approaches to the problem of human development, one as nurtured by the East and the other by the West. These as Swami Ranganathananda points out in his book, the Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda, can be stated in the language of biology as stress on the 'environment' in the West and that on the 'Organism' in the East.

Since the beginning of the Greek and the Roman civilizations the West has been specializing in the manipulation of the physical and social environments of man for ensuring his growth and fulfilment. "The whole gamut of ideas and processes arising from the approach is conveyed to us by the rich modern words, 'positivism' and 'humanism' which in the wake of modern technological advances are often qualified by the word, scientific."¹ According to positivism it is only through understanding, control and manipulation of the natural and social environments that human development can be ensured. Positivistic philosophy believes that through socio-political processes and technology man suitably controls and manipulates his environment which ultimately results in his own self-expression. Thus with

this approach is integrally correlated a sense of fight with an external enemy. Hence, it necessitates on the part of the struggling man to cultivate and express the qualities of courage, faith and confidence, and the capacity for co-operation and team work. It provides man with a tremendous zest for life and an ever haunting hankering for action and achievement, which, in their turn, instil in him indomitable energy and unsurpassable practical efficiency. Vivekananda recognized this distinct philosophy of man as being the motive force behind Western civilization ever since the Greco-Roman times.

So profound had been the impact of this philosophy of positivism on the Western culture from the very inception of it that even religion did not escape its influence. The Greek religion—the precursor of all Western religions—was positivistic in its essential core. Mt. Olympus—the seat of Greek Gods—was a source of inspiration for worldly triumphs rather than for what is called, spiritual solace. This explains why Socrates as well as the Greek 'mystery religions'—which were all well above the positivistic plane—could not be accepted by the Greek society at large. Their own dictum, 'Man know thyself' was practised only to the extent it helped them manifest their social personality.

Unlike the West, the East and, especially India had since the beginning of civilization dwelt upon the 'organism'. This approach urges one to strengthen the 'within' and put up with the outside environment, and if strong enough, even to ignore it. In the wake of its pursuance man attains the virtues of patience and endurance in place of struggle and

adventure, and it helps to inculcate the spirit of renunciation and service in place of action and enjoyment. There is in this also a sense of fight but here the fight is with the 'internal enemy' of man. It gives him a standing where he realizes and proclaims his own immortality. Herein is reflected a philosophy of man, the philosophy of saintliness as they call it, which Vivekananda saw as the distinct message of the East.

Vivekananda measured the depths of both these philosophies of man and realized the urgent necessity of a synthesis between the two, for his desire for real welfare of the total human society to materialize.

Before he actually gave his message of synthesis to the world, 'he lived a life of that synthesis between East and West. His personality, his outlook, and his sympathies were international and human.'² The impact of the most modern of Western education on the one hand and the intimate contact with Sri Ramakrishna, the living embodiment of all that the East stands for, on the other, gave rise to a Vivekananda representative of the best in both the West and the East. He had both the 'philosophic calm' of the East and the 'philanthropic energy' of the West, ingrained in himself.

History has witnessed the insufficiency of either of the two philosophies—the philosophy of manliness and the philosophy of saintliness—taken by itself. Swamiji was apalled to see the bitter consequences of the eastern neglect of the environment on the one hand, and the western ignorance of the organism on the other. The man of the East by concentrating on soul alone and totally neglecting the body had come accross a situation where both his soul and body were in jeopardy. The western man on the other hand, through the 'rampling of his soul by worldliness had lost his mental peace, the first prerequisite for keeping himself in equilibrium. Further, the western mind remained altogether ignorant

of the spiritual dimension—over and above the sensate one—of man. Consequently physical death remained ever-frightening and ever-enigmatic an object for him.

This tragedy—the tragedy of the fear of physical death, which can be stated in other words, as the tragedy of the total neglect of the spirit or soul of man—had not gone unnoticed even by western thinkers.

When Vivekananda was busy preparing himself for the great task of the alleviation of this human malaise, Schopenhauer referred to the tragedy of the western mind in these words :

"Almost all men who are secure from want and care, now that at last they have thrown off all other burdens, become a burden to themselves."³

We have another thinker from the West, C. G. Jung, realising the utter fruitlessness of the modern man's pursuit of 'worldly achievement' alone. He says in his *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (pp 118-26) : "Achievement, usefulness and so forth are the ideals which appear to guide us out of the confusion of crowding problems. They may be our loadstars in the adventure of extending and solidifying our psychic existences—they may help us in striking our roots in the world but they cannot guide us in the development of that wider consciousness to which we give the name of culture.

"The nearer we approach to the middle of life, and the better we have succeeded in entrenching ourselves in our personal standpoints and social positions, the more it appears as if we had discovered the right course and right ideals and principles of behaviour. For reason, we suppose them to be eternally valid, and make a virtue of unchangeably clinging to them. We wholly overlook the essential fact that the achievements which society rewards are won at the cost of the

diminution of personality. Many—far too many aspects of life which should also have been experienced lie in the lumber room among dirty memories.....”

“The afternoon of human life must also have a significance of its own, and cannot be merely a pitiful appendage to life's morning. The significance of the morning undoubtedly lies in the development of the individual, our entrenchment in the outer world, the propagation of our kind, and the care of our children. This is the obvious purpose of nature. But when this purpose has been attained—even more than attained—shall the earning of money, the extension of conquests, and the expansion of life go steadily beyond the bound of all reason and sense? Whoever carries into the afternoon the law of the morning—that is the aim of nature—must pay for so doing with damage to his soul just as surely as growing youth who tries to salvage his childish egoism must for this mistake with social failure. Money-making, social existence, family, and posterity are nothing but plain nature—not culture. Culture lies beyond the purpose of nature.”

And then the thinker poses the question, “Could by any chance culture be the meaning and purpose of the second half of life?”

This remained practically unanswered till Vivekananda came to the forefront with his message of synthesis. He declared :

“India has to learn from Europe the conquest of external nature and Europe has to learn from India of internal nature (or ‘culture’ as Jung would like to call it—author). Then there will be neither Hindu nor Europeans—there will be ideal humanity which has conquered both the natures, the external and the internal. We have developed one phase of humanity and they another. It is the union of the two that is wanted.”¹

While the West was suffering from serious spiritual malaise, India and the rest of the

East were groaning under appalling poverty and abject misery. Swamiji was moved to see this state of affairs in his own part of the globe. He recognized it as being verily the logical consequence of the Easterners' absolute ignorance of the secular aspects of life for thousands of years. Therefore, the Swami prescribed for the East a ‘toned down materialism’. Said he : “Yet, perhaps, some sort of materialism, toned down to our requirements, would be a blessing to many of our brothers who are not yet ripe for the highest truths. This is the mistake made in every country and in every society, and it is a greatly regrettable thing that in India, where it was always understood, the same mistake of forcing the highest truths on people who are not ready for them, has been made of late.....But for that, a good deal of the poverty and the misery that you see in India would not have been.”²

Swamiji was a believer in healthy assimilation rather than in outright superimposition of one culture on the other. He, therefore, while asking the East to “sit at the feet of the West” to learn the secrets of material progress, took care to warn it against the giving up of its own life-force, namely the spirituality.

* * * * *

The religion Vivekananda sought to preach to both the East and the West and which he specially enjoined on the West to assimilate along with its own materialism bore the unmistakable marks of his wonderful genius of synthesis. Declaiming on his theory of the new religion, he said in one of his addresses to the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago :

“It will be a religion which will have no place for persecution or intolerance in its policy, which will recognize divinity in every man and woman and whose whole scope, whose whole force, will be centred in aiding humanity to realize its own true, divine nature. Offer such a religion and all nations will follow you.”³

Serious research has shown that the Swami's message to the West on the Universal Religion has significantly contributed to the later liberalization of the church all over the world, and to a process of changes and modifications in the existing world religions in the direction of an unorthodox, and true universal religion. One such researcher, Dr. C. R. Pangborn, Professor and Chairman of Department of Religions, Rutgers—The State University : New Brunswick, N. J., U. S. A., in an article, "American Protestant thought and Eastern faiths" in the Swami Vivekananda Centenary Volume (p.287) measures the impact of Vivekananda's dispensation of a universalistic religion eighty years ago, in the following poignant words :

"The new cultural reciprocity between East and West has as one of its consequences the emergence of a fresh theological stance for many American Protestant Christians. This stance is hardly new among Asians. It was a characteristic one for Sri Ramakrishna and his great disciple Swami Vivekananda. An attitude they articulated so well in the 19th century is now, translated into Christian terms, finding expression in the West in the 20th century. It is the stance or attitude of willingness to combine commitment to God as He is understood within one's own traditions with openness to the insights, claims, and values of commitments made in the contexts of other traditions. To define more exactly the element of this stance is the contribution to the Vivekananda Festschrift....."

* * * *

Vivekananda in his study of the Eastern and the Western social structures found the crux of the problem of imbalance between the two social fabrics mainly in the varying degree of emphasis laid on the spirit of organization by the two sections of humanity. He visualized the West having benefited by its marvellous sense of organizational spirit, and the East having incurred great devastations

and social malaise due to the phenomenal lack of organizational capacity there. The God of harmony in the Swami, therefore, cried out to the Indians :

"Can you become an occidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work, and energy, and at the same time a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts ? This is to be done and we will do it. Have faith in yourselves, great convictions are the mothers of great deeds."⁷

While recognizing the emergent necessity for the East to cultivate the spirit of organization, he was not blind to the limitations of the same. He has condescended in a letter to Mrs. Bull (complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. VI, Page 301) that "organization has its faults." He, therefore, always warned the West against the dreadful consequences of its soul being surpassed by organization.

Referring to the Swami's crying zeal for a synthesis of the East and the West, especially on the social plane, Sister Nivedita says in her masterly study of Vivekananda, 'The Master As I Saw Him' (p. 45) :

"His view was penetrative as well as comprehensive. He had analyzed the elements of the development to be brought about. India must learn a new ideal of obedience..... The energy which had hitherto gone into the mortification of the body, might rightly, in his opinion, under modern conditions, be directed to the training of the muscles.

"To the western mind, it might well seem that nothing in the Swami's life had been more admired than this. Long ago, he had defined the mission of the order of Ramakrishna as that of realizing and exchanging the highest ideals of the East and of the West."

* * * *

As Swami Ranganathananda points out in his book entitled The Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda (p. 89), "it is specially in his ideas and programmes relating

to the education of the Indian people that Vivekananda reveals his spiritual kinship with the finest of the traditions of the East and the West."

Though Vivekananda very much decried the western attempt at equalizing education with assimilation of ideas he did recognize it to be an integral part and an important objective of education. He did not stop there. On the contrary, he expanded the scope of the whole concept of education by calling for the inclusion of such Eastern (precisely speaking Indian) institutions as "Brahmacharya" (celibacy) and "Gurukula system" within the purview of a nation's education system. Now that the significance of some kinds of Brahmacharya and Gurukula system as part and parcels of an education system is being increasingly felt by the western people in general, and the students in particular^(a) it is quite clear that it was not an ulterior sense of patriotism but certainly something far greater than that—the desire to see a happy world—that prompted the great Swami to make such a novel overture about education. Moreover it would be a sheer blasphemy if one calls as spiritual (not in the sense of being an ardent follower of a certain religion) a person as Vivekananda himself a mere patriot. Only a truly spiritual person who has in fact transcended the bounds of race and nationality can say :

"Doubtless I do love India. But everyday my sight grows clearer. What is India, or England, or America to us. We are the servants of that God who by the ignorant is called man."

"There is but one basis of well being, social, political or spiritual, to know that I and my brother are one."^{*}

* * * * *
Irresistible indeed had been the impact of the Swami's message of harmony on both the East and the West. Marie Louise Burke, the

authoress of the book, *Swami Vivekananda in America—New Discoveries*, says :

"Knowing as we do that everything that concerned man was of deep concern to him and knowing of the vast knowledge he possessed of human life in all its phases, we can be sure that he studied and understood modern civilization with the combined insight of a sociologist, psychologist, historian, philosopher and mystic. As was said of him, he acquired greatest familiarity with the institutions of this country (the USA)—religious, political and social. Nor was this familiarity acquired through contact with the intellectual, alone, as he said, during the course of his mid-western tour he spoke also with labourers and farmers ; his finger was on the pulse of the nation."

We have yet another western thinker^(b) saying of how the Swami's message tallied with his own western aspirations and thought.

"I shall try to show how clearly allied is the aspect of Vivekananda's thought to our own, with our special needs, torments, aspirations, and doubts urging us ever forward, like a blind mole, by instinct upon the road leading to the light. Naturally I hope to be able to make other westerners, who resemble me, feel the attraction that I feel for this elder brother, the son of the Ganges, who of all modern men achieved the highest equilibrium between the two forces eternally warring within us : the forces of reason and faith."¹¹

On the other side of the globe, Rabindra Nath Tagore, himself a man of universal vision declared the Swami a bridge-maker between the East and the West. He said :

"That great soul whose death occurred a few years ago in Bengal, that, Vivekananda also rose keeping the East to his right and the West to his left and himself standing in between. The purpose of his life was not to contract India for all time to narrow thought-moulds, by excluding the West from

Indian history. To accept, to mingle, to create was verily his genius. He sacrificed his life to open up a communication line by which the achievements of India may be given to the West and the achievements of the West may be accepted in India."¹¹

* * * *

Today when on the one hand, mankind cherishes more sincerely than ever the hope more irresistible than ever of a truly universal life—free from all strifes and scorn—and when the relations between man and man, and between nation and nation on the contrary, are far from conducive to the materialization of this hope, it is interesting to remember a few words of Swami Vivekananda, pronounced by him seventyfive years ago. He had said in no uncertain terms, "International organisations, international combinations, international laws are the cry of the day".¹²

Foot Notes

1. Swami Ranganathananda, The Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda (p. 101).
2. Ibid., (p. 5)
3. Schopenhauer, The World as Will and Idea (translated by Haldane, and Kemp, Vol. I), p. 404.
4. Complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. V.
5. Ibid., Vol. II, pp 149-50.
6. Selections From Swami Vivekananda, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta (1970) p. 16.
7. C. W. of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. V (p. 30).
- 7(a) Western educationists, though slowly, are realizing that the incidence of such phenomena as the Hippie movement in the U. S. A. and the Beatle and the underground movements in Europe have their origin in the sensual overtones of the western society in general, and in the absence of spiritual training (which might make the western students appreciate the importance of psychic controls) in their education system.
- As regards the Gurukula system the principal trait of which lies in intimate and pure relationship between the teacher and the taught, its importance (admittedly not in its original form) is also being more and more recognized in the West of late. In his book Higher Education : Demand and Response—"Perhaps the most perceptive analysis yet made of student unrest in Britain" (Brian Macarthur in the Statesman of November 20-21, 1969);—Prof. Richard Hoggart, the then Director of the centre for contemporary cultural studies at Birmingham University, writes (see the Statesman, Calcutta edn. of Nov. 20-21, 1969) :
- "They (the British students) are disappointed. They find most teachers interested in their subject and not in the life or the mind and most teaching simply dull rather than a dialogue."
- "They are angry because they dream of a University as a 'moral community' (inverted commas are my own—author) and they find that most members of the staff, although they may say this themselves on platforms, do not live it out."
- C. W. of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. VIII, pp 349-50.
- Romain Rolland, the French Nobel Laureate.
10. Romain Rolland, The Life of Vivekananda.
11. Rabindra Rachanavali, Vol. XIII, p. 55
12. Swami Vivekananda, Lectures from Colombo to Almora, p. 139.

ROMAIN ROLLAND ON BRAHMOISM

PRAFULLA KUMAR DAS

India during the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century.

India presented a dark and dismal picture in her social, religious, political and economic life during the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. Indian life was at a very low ebb and her potency for creative impulse was lost. Vices in the social and religious life were so glaring that they impeded progress in every step. Castes with its divisions and sub-divisions, worship of innumerable gods and goddesses with their attended deities, immoral social practices such as polygamy, child-marriage, infanticide, burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands, utter mass ignorance etc. destroyed the texture of society and deprived life of its fuller realization. The little education that was imparted in the Pathsalas and Madrasas was of the most rudimentary kind. Education, at that time, was a mere mechanical process and was not conducive to the moral or even mental culture and development.

Religion with its innumerable forms of worship stood in the way of the realization of higher truths in life. Idolatry formed almost a 'second nature' of the Indian character. The supremacy of the priestly class among the Hindus aggravated the situation. They used religion with unaccountable deities as a source of their income. "All the accidents and business of life—the revolutions of the heavenly bodies—the superstitious fears of the people—birth, sickness, marriages, misfortunes, deaths—a future state—every form and ceremony of religion—all the public festivals, etc., have been seized upon as sources of revenue to the

Brambhuns....."¹, and 'the tribute paid to them, arising from multiplied idolatries, was far more than the revenues of the monarch'.² Raja Rammohun Roy, the Father of Modern India observed : "Idolatry, as now practised by our countrymen, and which the learned Brahman so Zealously supports as conducive to morality, is not only rejected by the *Sastras* universally, but must also be looked upon with great terror by common sense, as leading directly to immorality and destructive of social comforts.....".

"It cannot be passed unnoticed, that those who practise idolatry, and defend it under the shield of custom, have been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of a little convenience or to promote their worldly advantages."³

The government at the hands of the Mohamedans, observed Charles Grant, was undoubtedly 'a violent despotism' and the delegated administration of it was a severe oppression. From the government and inter-mixture of Mohamedans, the Hindus had certainly derived no improvement of character.⁴ The inevitable consequence of such 'oriental despotism' as Charles Grant thought, was either abject submission to the ruler or flattery, falsehood and narrow selfishness. This robbed man of integrity, intrepidity of character and veracity.

In economic life, for two thousand years there was no change. Invention seemed wholly torpid among the Indians.

"On such a hopelessly decadent society," wrote Jadunath Sarkar, "the rational progressive spirit of Europe struck with restless forceEducation, literature, society, religion,

man's handiwork and political life, all felt the revivifying touch of the new impetus from the west."

The foundation of the Brahmo Samaj

The regeneration of India and the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20th August, 1828 were the outcome of some socio-economic forces that were emerging in India from the close of the 18th century down to the second decade of the 19th century.

The impact of the European skill, capital and enterprise brought about a revolutionary change in the economic life of the people of India in the 19th century. Self-satisfied village economy was destroyed. The reforms in agriculture, in land revenue systems, law and in civil, military and judicial administration introduced by the British East India Company had radically transformed our society. External peace, internal security of property arising from a regular administration of justice, increased facilities to trade, the permanent settlement of land revenue—all these contributed to raise up a middle class which played a dominant role in the regeneration of India.

Diffusion of western liberal education also brought a radical transformation in social and religious outlook of the Indian people. Raja Rammohan Roy, the father of Indian Renaissance advocated the cause of the teaching of science and western philosophy and wrote a letter to Lord Amherst date 14th December, 1823, to this effect.

Indeed the introduction of European liberal education was marked by the growth of a rational outlook and critical spirit of inquiry in place of naive credulous acceptance of facts. The teaching of Natural Philosophy, i. e., Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, History etc. helped to dissolve the old traditional beliefs and remove gross religious superstitions.

While dissemination of western liberal education in India created intellectual ferment for social and religious reformation, proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries of various denominations created great alarm among the educated people of Bengal who fell great concern over the future of Hinduism. Raja Rammohan Roy thought that if they were allowed to freely proselytize the people, Christianity one day would devour Hindu society. The Raja's apprehensions about and reaction to Christian missionary activities had been expressed vividly in the preface to the first edition of the Brahmanical Magazine, Calcutta, 1821. So he endeavoured to form a society to counter-act the evangelical mission of the Christian missionaries in 1815 called Atmya Sabha which took final shape in the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20th August, 1828. Thus the Brahmo Samaj is the cumulative product of those religio-socio-economic forces operating in India.

Basis of Brahmoism :

The cardinal principle of the Brahmo Samaj is Monotheism, i. e., the Unity of God-head. Brahmo means one who worships 'Brahma' or the supreme spirit of the universe and 'samaj' means a community of men. So the Brahmo Samaj means a society of the worshippers of One True God.

"Brahmoism directly owes its origin to the contact of two different schools of thought. The Hindu as represented by the traditions of the country and the Jewish as represented by the Bible.....The Hindu God is an impersonal essence, a sublime and grand existence exceeding all limits of thought and comprehensiveness.....The Jewish God, on the contrary, is a personal deity endowed with almost all the human passions—mingling with the daily lives of the people, leading their armies and personally superintending their acts of charity or deeds of vengeance.....By virtue of its inter-

mediate character, Brahmoism seeks to represent in moderate proportions both these features.”⁶

Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, had a universal mind. His Brahmoism drew its inspiration and principle from the teachings of the unity of all souls and of the world, from vedas, vedanta and upanishads of the Hindus, from Islamic thought of divine government a militant equality of man with man, and from Christianity's ethical and social guidance to peace and happiness of life. The Brahmo Samaj does not believe in polytheism, idolatry, prophets as the mediators between God and man, and Book-revelation. The infallibility of the scriptures of all religions is also denied in Brahmoism. Their God is Unique, Immutable and Omnipotent.

Mission of the Brahmo Samaj

Monotheism professed by the Brahmo Samaj, had not only a religious mission but a social one as well. It sought to reconstruct society on principles consistent with a theistic system of beliefs. The Brahmos held that “when we renounced Hindooism for Brahmoism, we did so on the firm conviction that Brahmoism is a religion not only of the Soul, but of the Mind, the Heart and the Conscience. We renounced a religion which not only worshipped a myriad of Gods and Goddesses, and failed to satisfy the higher craving of the soul, but which was also a hotbed of superstitions, social evils which stunted and hindered the growth of healthy social and religious customs and habits among our countrymen, for one which was capable of satisfying, not only our spiritual aspirations, but our purer social and intellectual wants too.”⁷ Thus the Brahmos consider both religious reforms and social reforms intimately associated with each other. They observed that “the relation between religious

and social institutions in Hindu society has been so deep, practical and inseparable, that it must influence the action of everyone who wants to purify the faith, and elevate the morality of the people. The social organisation of the Hindus is the strictly natural outcome of the Hindu religion.”⁸ So to effect social reformation Raja Rammohan Roy started religious reformation which was believed by him to be the groundwork of reform in all other matters. Thus “retaining therefore as much as possible of Hindu usages and institutions, entering into, and truly sympathizing with the spirit of the nation, speaking and acting, so far as desirable, in strict conformity to Hindu ideals of social prosperity and progress, the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj are infusing their reforms into the very heart of Hindu society.....It is hoped the regeneration of the Brahmo Samaj will prove the regeneration of the whole Hindu race.”⁹

Thus the mission of social reform constitutes a distinctive feature of Brahmo monotheism, which marks it out from traditional Hinduism.

Mission work of the Brahmo Samaj

In pursuit of the social reform programme, the Brahmo Samaj attacked caste-system in India. Caste-system had been a great hindrance to the natural growth of the Indian nation for long centuries. It sapped the foundation of national strength. “All the virtues and vices of a race become confined in a line. There is no importation of new blood, no blending of the strength and excellence of others. Consequently the nation degenerates in point of strength both moral and physical.”¹⁰ They also vehemently condemned polygamy, infanticide, child-marriage, burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. On the other hand, they advocated widow-remarriage, education for the women and acknowledged their rights to enjoy paternal properties which were for long centuries denied

to them. In short, the Brahmo Samaj inaugurated all round social reform programme to purge society of its dangerous evils and fought for the cause of female emancipation.

Naturally, the movement created great interest among the scholars of the different nations of the world. The great French orientalist Romain Rolland saw with absorbing interest India's triumphant march to progress in the 19th century. "For a century in New India", observed R. Rolland, "this has been the great target at which all the archers have shot their arrows—the sea into which have flown in one Ganga-like stream all the torrents of personalities which have surged up from the antique energies of the land.....Their goal is the same. Unity of mankind through God." Mr. Rolland saw in the movement of regeneration a unique synthetic approach between the west and the east. Rationalism of the West and faith of the East—both sought a fusion in the movement of new India. "From the beginning to the end," observed R. Rolland, "It is the question of co-operation, on a footing of equality, of the East and of the West, of the power of reason with those—not of faith in the accepted uncritical sense with the world has come to bear among exhausted nations in a servile age—but of an intuition vital and penetrating, like the eye on the forehead of the cyclops which completes, but does not render unnecessary the other two eyes."¹² In the awakening of India, Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) stood in the forefront. "Though a Bengali of orthodox family," R. Rolland wrote, "nurtured in Islamic thought, well versed in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, a Rajah and ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi in England, an energetic reformer in perpetual conflict with the religious and social prejudices of his own people—he left, after sixty years of heroic labour,

deep in the furrow the ploughshare of his famous Brahmo Samaj."¹³ The great French orientalist marked a new era inaugurated by the Brahmo Samaj in the following words :

"This universal church, the abode of the One Almighty, open to all without distinction of colour, caste, nationality or religion, is the Magna Carta Dei, the Divine Magna Carta which has inaugurated a new era for Asia and India.....In their Brahmo Samaj they claimed to unite, while dominating over them by virtue of their grand idealism, the purest aspirations and the bluest bloods of the religious thought of Europe and Asia."¹⁴ In Rammohun there was no orthodoxy. Rolland observed : "Roy was no more to be chained to orthodox Christianity than to orthodox Hinduism.....He remained an independent theist, essentially a rationalist and moralist. He extracted its ethical system from Christianity, but he rejected the Divinity of Christ, just as he rejected the Hindu incarnations. He attacked the trinity no less than polytheism, for he was a passionate Unitarian."¹⁵ Raja Rammohun Roy sought to establish a universal religion, taking into consideration the essential tenets of all religions professing unity of God. Romain Rolland could not accept the term "Universalism" in its full and literal meaning ; because "Roy excluded from it all forms of polytheism from the highest to the lowest. The man, who wishes to regard without prejudice the religious realities of the present day, must take into account that polytheism, from its highest expression in the Three in One of the Christian Trinity to its most debased, hold sway over two-thirds at least of mankind."¹⁶ To Rolland, "The theism of Roy claims to rest on two poles, the 'absolute' vedanta and the Encyclopaedic thought of the XVIIIth century in Europe—the Formless God and Reason."¹⁷ Whatever may be the limitations of Roy's universal religion, Rolland highly appreciated

'his vigorous campaign for social reform'. "His patriotism had nothing parochial about it. He cared for nothing but liberty and civil and religious progress. His newspapers were impassioned in the cause of liberty on behalf of all the nations of the world, of Ireland, of Naples crushed under reaction, of revolutionary France in the July days of 1830."¹⁸

The life of Rammohun was dedicated to the cause of humanity—a life of constant fight against the shackles of medievalism. Thus Rolland paid a high tribute to Rammohun in the following words : "This man of gigantic personality, whose name to our shame is not inscribed in the Pantheon of Europe as well as of Asia, sank his ploughshare in the soil of India, and sixty years of labour left her transformed.....And out of the earth of Bengal has come forth his harvest—a harvest of works and a harvest of men".¹⁹

After the death of Rammohun Roy on 27th September 1833 at Bristol, the Brahmo Samaj fell into a moribund condition and ceased to attract people to its theology and principles. Only the weekly services by Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagish, a disciple of Rammohun, and monthly financial assistance rendered by Prince Dwarakanath Tagore, a friend of the Raja, kept some-how the light of the Samaj aflame. The next prominent leader of the Samaj, Debendranath Tagore, the illustrious son of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore, infused a new vigour and energy into the Samaj. He established Tattwabodhini Sabha on 6th October 1839. The ultimate aim of the Sabha was to preach "True Religion as expounded in the Vedanta". In 1843, he started Tattwabodhini Patrika as the main organ of the above mentioned Sabha to propagate Brahmoism. He also compiled a Brahma Dharma Grantha (The Religious book of Brahmo Samaj) which became a religious guide book for his followers.

- Moreover, there was no constitution, no

covenant, no pledge in the Samaj upto this time (1843). Debendranath undertook the task of remedying the deficiency in the organisational set-up of the Samaj and soon provided the Samaj with a Brahmo Covenant. He also repudiated the infallibility of the Hindu scriptures as a result of Akshoy Kumar Dutta's (the then editor of the Tattwabodhini Patrika) teachings. Rolland opined that "the attitude of Debendranath to the Holy Books was not always consistent. Between 1844 and 1864 at Benares he seemed to consider that the Vedas were infallible, but later he gave up that idea after 1847, and individual inspiration gained the upper hand."²⁰ This, however, appears to be a little inconsistent with Debendranath Tagore, but this marks a gradual progressive development of the thought of Debendranath. Reason and not blind faith began to dominate his mind and in his repudiation of the infallibility of the holy scriptures, rationality triumphed over uncritical acceptance of them. The faith of the Brahmo Samaj was the faith in One God. Rolland expressed his doubt as to its pure Hindu conception with Debendranath. He wrote : "I have no means of judging whether this is as purely a Hindu conception as Debendranath thought it to be. But it is interesting to note that the Tagore family belong to a community of Brahmins, called Pirilis, or Chief Ministers, a post occupied by its members under the Mussalman regime. In a sense they were placed outside caste through their relations with the Mohammedans. It is, however, perhaps not too much to say that the persistent rigour of their theism has been due to this influence. From Dwarakanath to Rabindranath they have been the implacable enemies of all forms of idolatry."²¹ To Rolland, "Brahmo Burg was the stronghold of the great dualism of the One and Personal God and Human Reason, to whom God had granted the power and the right to interpret the Scrip-

tures". Rolland thought that in the case of Debendranath this Reason had a tendency to become confused with religious inspiration. Later, "he bestowed upon the Brahmo Samaj a new liturgy inspired by the Upanishads and impregnated with an ardent and pure spirituality."

The next important leader of the Brahmo Samaj was Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884) who was drawn to the Samaj by Debendranath Tagore. This man belonged to a middle class Baidya family of Bengal. "Instead of being a great aristocrat like Roy and Debendranath," wrote Rolland, "he belonged to the liberal and distinguished middle class of Bengal, who were in constant intellectual touch with Europe."²² The mission of Keshub Chunder, Rolland believed, was to introduce Christ into the Brahmo Samaj, and into the heart of a group of the best minds in India, and in this mission of life he had to suffer much till his death. Here lies the real significance of his life, Rolland thought, which has been obscured even by the Brahmos, "for they were offended by the heresy of their Chief and tried to hide it."

In pursuit of the mission of social reform, Keshub thought that the evils of the country arose out of 'hyper-individualism' and that 'India needed to acquire a new moral conscience.' In his 'Young Bengal : This is For You', June, 1860, he diagnosed the causes of the Indian's national inertia and the absence of their patriotic fervour. "Evidently my friend," he said, "there is not the heart to work. Alas ! the moral nature is asleep : the sense of duty is dead. There is lack of moral courage--want of an active religious principle in our pseudopatriots." Again, "if in our country intellectual progress went hand in hand with religious development, if our educated countrymen had initiated themselves in the living truths of religion, patriotism would not have been a mere matter of oration and essay,

but a reality in practice ; and native society would have grown in health and prosperity." "This conception," Rolland rightly observed, "uniting the aristocratic unitarianism of Roy to the Indian masses, put Keshub into fellowship with the most ardent aspirations of the rising generation. Just as Vivekananda in after days Keshub believed religion to be necessary for the regeneration of the race...Hence religious reform within the Brahmo Samaj was to bear fruit in action. The active and daring hand of Keshub was therefore to be seen casting a handful of fruitful seeds into the soil of India, which in turn were to throw Vivekananda upon a country already awakened by the thunder of his words."²³ Rolland was of opinion that Keshub came before his time and some of his reforms even came up against the traditional spirit of the Brahmo Samaj. To Rolland the conflict between Debendranath and Keshub Chunder was not due to the question of inter-caste marriages, but there were reasons far more important. To quote him, "However open Debendranath's mind might be to the great ideal of constructing the harmony of humanity through the Brahmo Samaj, he remained deeply attached to the Indian tradition and her sacred writings. He could not be blind to the Christianity working in the mind of his favourite disciple, and at whatever personal cost, he could no longer remain in association with a coadjutor who based his teachings on the New Testament."²⁴

It is to be noted here that though the Brahmos did not ignore the above difference of outlook cited by Rolland between Debendranath and K. C. Sen as one of the important factors of conflict between them, they, however, attached much importance to the difference between them in respect of social reform programme. They held that "the real cause underlying this dissension was the distrust and want of confidence with which the

venerable chief of the parent Samaj viewed the progress of the new and radical ideas of social and religious reform introduced by the younger party. This distrust was created by the rapid strides the younger party were making in the path of social reform."²⁰ Hence the fatal rupture took place and the Brahmo Samaj was cleft asunder into two camps in November 11, 1866,—the Adi Samaj headed by Debendranath Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj of India led by K. C. Sen. At length Rolland has traced the leaning of the mind of K. C. Sen towards Christianity and also the process of his intellectual discipline to accept the ethics of Christianity. He thought that "Keshub was attracted by the morality of Christ and his two principles of pardon and self-sacrifice. Through these principles and through him he maintained that Europe and Asia may learn to find harmony and unity."²¹

His discourse on Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia, followed by another discourse upon "Greatmen" created great uproar in the Brahmo Community. To Keshub, God manifests Himself through Greatmen. They are his apostles and missionaries. Like Carlyle Keshub also believed that history is the biography of Greatmen and like Emerson he took Greatmen as the representative men. Thus Keshub inculcated hero-worship which was not consistent with Brahmoism. The Brahmos did not accept any mediator between God and man and advocated persistently the direct communion with God. The National Paper, January 2, 1867 (edited by Nabagopal Mitra, a member of the Adi Brahmo Samaj) wrote: "This is a new phase of Avatarism and has a tendency to lead mankind to render divine homage to men. It has the evil effect of creating in men's mind an anxiety to look up to great souls as models of all moral and religious actions and induce indirectly a belief in mediation, for what would the phraseology God-man otherwise indicate.

Brahmoism favours notions none of this kind."²² To this Rolland thought that Keshub "had made Jesus come into line among the messengers of God, each charged with his own special message, and each to be accepted without special attachment to any single one. He threw open his church to men of all countries and all ages, and introduced for the first time extracts from the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta into the manual of devotional lessons for the Brahmo Samaj."²³

In 1870 Keshub went to England and stayed there for nearly seven months (15th February, 1870 to 12th September, 1870). During his visit, he came in contact with different personalities. He also delivered a large number of lectures on religion, politics and social reformation in different institutions. His visit was fraught with far-reaching consequences both for England and India. "The enthusiasm he raised," wrote Rolland, "was equal to that inspired by Kossuth.....He was compared to Gladstone. He was greeted as the spiritual ally in the East."²⁴

In 1873, Keshub took a missionary tour all over India with the object of bringing about new unity among the brothers and sisters of the faith. This tour, to Rolland, "was the forerunner of the great voyage of exploration undertaken twenty years afterwards by Vivekananda in the guise of a wandering sannyasin." Rolland thought that this tour opened new horizons as it produced a great change in the religious outlook of Keshub Chunder who 'had found the key to popular polytheism' so repugnant to the Brahmo Samaj, and that he could make an alliance between it and pure theism.

There is, however, good ground to observe this change that took place in K. C. Sen's religious outlook. "Symptoms were visible that many individual members of the Samaj already looked upon their leader as the repository of all truth and almost as a way to

salvation. Persons were seen prostrating themselves at the feet of Baboo K. C. Sen as 'Saviour', "the Sinners' way", and so forth...."²⁹

In 1871, after the foundation of the Bharat Ashram, K. C. Sen introduced two doctrines. The first was the doctrine of special Dispensation, and the second of Adesh or Divine command. Special Dispensation with the followers of K. C. Sen meant the system of religious beliefs and practices propounded by their leader. His doings and teachings would constitute the special providential agency for the salvation of man. As such it was the bounden duty of all who sought the welfare of their souls to implicitly submit to this guidance as Adesh or divine command. The Brahmos observed that from that time may be traced the absence of freedom of thought and discussion in Brahmo Samaj and they also thought that the doctrine, if acted up to for a long time, would bring spiritual death and moral degeneracy.³⁰ To R. Rolland, "this meant a great step forward in religious intercourse leading to the inclusion of the greater part of mankind."³¹

From 1875, Keshub Chunder began to preach and practise asceticism and advocated the necessity of practising severe austerities. Towards the end of 1876, he introduced a four-fold classification of devotees to represent four types of religious life—the Yogi, the Bhakta, the Jnani, the Shebak.³² All these developments took place, Rolland thought, when K. C. Sen's relations with Ramakrishna grew. And he rightly observed that "the result was that in 1878 a new schism took place in the Brahmo Samaj and Keshub found himself the butt of violent attacks from his own people who accused him of having betrayed his principles."³³ This schism led to the foundation of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj on May 15, 1878. From that time, Rolland thought,

Keshub was more and more drawn to Christianity. "But Keshub was debating", said Rolland "with himself. He professed Christ but he denied that he was a Christian."³⁴ There was, however, a prolonged struggle and oscillation in his mind which at last took its final shape in the code of his "New Samhita", September 2, 1883 containing what he called "the national law of the Aryans of the new church in India.....God's moral law adapted to the peculiar needs and character of the reformed Hindus, and based upon their national instincts and traditions". This code, Rolland characterised as 'national unitarianism' and opined that 'his code is a purely abstract one for an India that had not yet come into existence.....'³⁵

The call of K. C. Sen could not deeply impress the Indians and all his works were not destined to live long. The reason, Rolland thought, was that "He was in fact too faraway from the deep-seated soul of his people. He wished to raise them all at once to the pure heights of his intellect, which had been itself nourished by the idealism and the Christ of Europe. In social matters none of his predecessors, with the exception of Roy, had done so much for her progress, but he ran counter to the rising tide of the national consciousness, then fervently awakening. Against him were the three hundred millions of Gods of India and three hundred million living beings in whom they were incarnate—the whole vast jungle of human dreams wherein his western outlook made him lose the track and scent. He invited them to lose themselves in his Indian Christ, but his invitation remained unanswered."³⁶

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ON SPIES AND PATRIOTS

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Mr. B. N. Mullik was the Director of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India during 1960-65. In that capacity he was not only in the know of much information not available to others, he was also to a large extent, an executive agent of the Government. In this volume Mr. Mullik has allowed the citizens a glimpse into the knowledge that he as an official of the Government possessed of the developments in Kashmir. By doing so he has rendered a great public service and has strengthened the roots of democracy in the country. It is too often forgotten by those who rule this country and even by those who profess to champion democracy that the only basis of democracy is the freedom of information. Unfortunately there is a great and almost overbearing disincentive to the dissemination of truth in this country where conformity to the powerful has been glorified as a virtue. Therefore while the *New York Times* of the USA is praised for its boldness in publishing the secret military documents of the US Government, the cry for blood goes up against anybody who in this country dares to expose the official acts of dishonesty.

In this country it is not the guilt but its exposure that is sought to be punished. Lt. Gen. Kaul was threatened with prosecution when, four years ago, he had come out with some sensational facts regarding the India Government's bunglings with regard to its policy toward China. Few criticized the persons whose liability was exposed. The same threat has now been meted out to Mr. Mullik for having written his memoirs. Could there be a greater irony of fate that the person, on whose integrity and ingenuity the

country depended during the most crucial period of its existence, should now be sought to be punished for having threatened the security of some guilty politicians! The undeveloped state of public morality makes such absurdities possible. The end of the British rule in the country did not mark the end of authoritarianism because it was succeeded by a one-party rule for nearly a quarter of a century. Neither the bureaucracy nor the politicians in power have ever felt the need to depend on public understanding to remain in power. The conformist press sees to the rest of it. So that an atmosphere has grown in the country where in a republic the spirit "The King can do no wrong" prevails and the most perverted acts of the bureaucracy assume legitimacy. All that the erring officials have to think of is to give a bad name to those wronged by them: Until about four years ago the word "communist" was sufficient to damn a person; now it is "naxalite". Any number of persons can be beaten up or killed without any explanation simply by labelling them "naxalite". Whether they are naxalite or not is, of course, irrelevant in this calculation. The sacredness of human life loses all significance in this calculation. When a system makes man expendable without any trial it is but a question of time when the brand of unpatriotism would fall on the former General or the former Director of the Intelligence Bureau, when they seem to threaten the complacent world of the ruling politicians and the corrupt bureaucracy!

The truth is that most of the official "secrets" are not secrets in the genuine sense,

of the term. They are dubbed "secrets" to keep the public in the dark about the misdeeds of the officials and the politicians in power. Both General Kaul and Mr. Mullik have given out some samples of governmental bunglings. It is this exposure which makes them the object of official wrath. But the public can have no interest in shielding the guilty persons. The need to remove the lid off the official secrets is all the more urgent as the officials play a crucial role not only in the administrative sphere but also in the political sphere. Indeed Mr. Mullik's account provides an object-lesson in this regard. Mr. Mullik was not only carrying on the intelligence operations, he was setting up and removing Chief Ministers and other politicians. Before reading Mr. Mullik's account I had no idea that the succession in Kashmir after Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's resignation from the position of Chief Minister, in the wake of the Kamaraj Plan in 1963, was so much dependent on an official's (Mr. Mullik's) efforts! (P 113.)

Mr. Mullik's is a straightforward account of the alienation of Kashmir from India through the confusion and corruption of Sheikh Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir, and the intellectual paralysis of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress leaders governing the country. It was a double tragedy. The first tragedy was the degeneration of Abdullah who was transformed from the defender of Kashmir against Pakistani aggression to the unabashed agent of Pakistan and the enemy of Hindu-Muslim unity and India. Mr. Mullik's reading is that Abdullah's turning into an agent of Pakistan was not so much of a transformation as an unfoldment of the essence of Abdullah's intrinsically communal character. If this is true, then, of course, it is less of a tragedy than a blunder on the part of others to allow this unfoldment to take place. Mr. Mullik writes, "As is well-

known, the Sheikh had started his political life as a Muslim Conference worker and it was only at a subsequent stage, probably due to the influence exercised on him by Gopalaswamy Iyengar, the then Prime Minister of the State, and also persons like Bakshi and Sadiq, that he converted his organisation into the National Conference in 1938. His own proclivities, however, remained communal. I mentioned this to Pandit Nehru and he was surprised. It seemed to explain many things which he had so far found inexplicable in the Sheikh." (Pp 28-29.) Again discussing specifically the cause of change in Sheikh Abdullah's stand on Kashmir, Mr. Mullik writes, "What were the causes which brought about these changes in Sheikh Abdullah? Was there a change at all or was it the reappearance of some basic trait in him which had been kept subdued for the time being due to the exigencies of the situation? Some observers have suggested that the bait offered by some foreign dignitaries of an independent Kashmir worked on him. It is true that the solid support he had so far given to India had foiled the designs of the imperialists to detach Kashmir from India and make it a playground for their power politics. So, unless the Sheikh could be subverted, there was no chance of the imperialist game succeeding. But, the Sheikh was not such a simple person as to be taken in by a vague promise, even if it had been made. The cause was much deeper. The attitude of the members of his family, who were against India, exercised much influence on his mind. We have it from Joseph Corbel that when the United Nations Commission was in Kashmir, Begum Abdullah sent a message to it to the effect that 'even if her husband would not make a firm stand for an independent Kashmir, she would'. But an even stronger reason was Sheikh Abdullah's basic commu-

nalism. He had subdued the external manifestations as long as he needed India to prop him up. As soon as he found that he could do without India, his strong instinct of communalism and opportunism raised its head and he reappeared in his true colours. Sardar Patel had sized up Sheikh Abdullah correctly when he had warned me as early as in 1949 that I would soon be obliged to change my favourable opinion about him." (Pp 196-197.)

The second tragedy was the abject surrender by the Indian leaders to the forces of disruption and treason in Kashmir. By 1953 Sheikh Abdullah had come to pose such a threat to the integrity of India that, much against Mr. Nehru's wish, Abdullah had to be put in prison. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had advised Prime Minister Nehru to dismiss Sheikh Abdullah before he had committed any further mischief. (P 37.) Mr. Mullik has very conscientiously traced the developments leading to the arrest of Abdullah in August 1953. His account shows how unequal everybody from Prime Minister Nehru downwards was to the task of the day. Not until they were left with no alternative other than to arrest Abdullah did they take the step. Here is Mr. Mullik's account of how Mr. Nehru had agreed to the deposition of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953. "On 31 July (1953)", writes Mr. Mullik, "Mehra (Mr. D. W. Mehra, at that time Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau stationed at Amritsar) and I met the Prime Minister in his house and he talked to us for nearly two hours, giving us the entire background picture of Kashmir from the earliest times to date and finally he came to the point that there was no other alternative but to remove Sheikh Abdullah and install Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed in his place. He hoped that the change would be effected peacefully, but he warned that we must be prepared for the woes, because the Sheikh

undoubtedly had a large following in the valley and over this matter the pro-Sheikh group would be supported by the pro-Pakistani elements also. Mehra should be prepared to assume control of the Jammu and Kashmir Police Force and was to take over as the Chief Executive under the Sadar-e-Riyasat, if that became necessary. At this point Pandit Nehru was nearly overwhelmed by emotion. Both of us, who had known him for some years, had never seen him in such disturbed mood before. We realised that he was on the point of uprooting a plant which he had nursed with great care. At the end, he wished Mehra good luck and wanted to be kept informed regularly. For this purpose, we could call him up even in the night." (P 42.) Mr. Mullik has also provided a vivid description of the events in the night of 8-9 August 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested for the first time. Even at the last moment Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was hesitating to take over the Kashmir Administration from Sheikh Abdullah and it was not until 4 o'clock in the early morning of 9th August 1953 that Bakshi was sworn in as the Prime Minister (as the office was then called) of Jammu and Kashmir—four hours after the order for the arrest of Abdullah had been issued by the Sadar-e-Riyasat." (P 45.)

But even after his arrest the Government of India was not sure about what it wanted to do with Abdullah. To quote Mullik, "Rules regarding visitors were not observed strictly in respect of Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg, and it was possible for visitors to go and meet them without being subjected to a search and Begum Abdullah was even allowed to stay with her husband on more than one occasion. Letters from the jail used to be smuggled out by such visitors and delivered to the Plebiscite Front leaders in Srinagar and other places and these gave them detailed directions about

how to proceed with their organisational and agitational work." (P 67.) By October 1957 the Intelligence Bureau had gathered sufficient evidence against Plebiscite Front leaders like Mirza Afzal Beg, Pir Maqbool Gilani, Begum Abdullah, etc., to haul them up before a court of law (p 70). Four months later, in January 1958 "the entire range of the conspiracy became apparent and we had built up a formidable case against all the accused mentioned in the FIR (drawn up in October 1957) and also against Sheikh Abdullah and several others whose names had not been included in it." (p 71) "It was clear that the range of this conspiracy was wide. Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg were the directing heads and Begum Abdullah formed one of the important links with Pakistan for receiving money and directions.....By 1957, on the basis of the information received from the conspirators, Pakistan considered that the ground was ready for a revolution and sent large groups of infiltrators (code name *gardeners*) who carried out a series of explosions and sabotages, in which several lives were lost. Some of these attempts were foiled because of timely information received, but in other cases, the infiltrators got through and, before they could be trapped, the mischief had taken place. There is no doubt that these frustrated Kashmiri leaders, in conjunction with Pakistan, had conspired to bring about a state of utter anarchy and disorder in Jammu and Kashmir by propaganda and by large-scale acts of violence and killing with a view to overthrowing the lawfully constituted Government of Jammu and Kashmir. That they did not succeed was not due to any want of preparation on their part but because the Kashmiri people were unwilling to be hustled into any irrevocable course of action", writes Mr. Mullik. (Pp 75-76.)

With all this knowledge of Sheikh

Abdullah's complicity in anti-Indian acts in league with India's arch-enemy, Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah was released by Prime Minister Nehru in 1958 after four and a half years of detention. This is how Mr. Mullik describes how he had received the news of the release of Sheikh Abdullah in 1958. Mr. Mullik writes, "The Prime Minister had never reconciled himself to Sheikh Abdullah's arrest and detention for a prolonged period without trial. The democrat that he was, he could not tolerate detention without trial even of his confirmed enemies. So, he used to press the Kashmir Government every six months or even oftener either to place the Sheikh on trial or to release him. Our investigation received a severe jolt when on January 8, 1958, Sheikh Abdullah was released. At that time we had pieced together a great deal of evidence against him and it was apparent that he was the main conspirator and if he was left out it would be difficult to proceed against other accused persons because they could always disavow the Sheikh. Moreover, the question would always arise in a subsequent trial as to why the Sheikh was released at a time when the prosecution had collected sufficient incriminating material against him to warrant a charge sheet, and it could always be argued that even by that time the prosecution did not have enough material against him and any evidence subsequently produced could be looked upon with suspicion. However, our only hope was that, intoxicated with his newly found liberty, which he must have ascribed to his strength in Kashmir valley and which ultimately the Government could not ignore, the Sheikh might stick his head out too much and in that process expose himself further, and bring to light more incriminating evidence against himself; and this is what happened." (P 77.) The misplaced leniency of Mr. Nehru did not make Abdullah repentant; on the other hand it encouraged him

to continue to indulge in anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani activities with renewed vigour with increased public support since the public could pardonably view Abdullah's unconditional release as a sign of his rehabilitation in the political life of the country as an honest citizen. Abdullah's increasing appeal to the religious sentiments of the Muslims to fight India created a most dangerous situation forcing the Government of India to pass orders for the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah within four months of his release. Mr. Mullik writes, "As things were coming to a climax and it was apparent that the Sheikh was doing everything possible to join hands with Pakistan and by creating disorders in the State to give an excuse to Pakistan to intervene directly, he was re-arrested on April 30, 1958. At the time of his arrest, a draft of the Plebiscite Front resolution, dated April 7, 1958, which gave a clear call for breaking the ties with India and more or less accepted accession to Pakistan as the aim of the Front, was recovered from his house. The draft had many corrections in Sheikh Abdullah's own hand, proving clearly that he had taken part in its preparation." (P 85.) All these documents were subsequently produced as exhibits in the abortive Kashmir Conspiracy case filed against Sheikh Abdullah and others. The prosecution case opened in April 1959 and closed on 17 June 1960. After the Defence had put up its case the magistrate passed orders on 25 January 1962 committing Sheikh Abdullah and his co-accused to the court of sessions where the trial started in August 1962. Yet there was always a secret desire on the part of persons in authority to release Sheikh Abdullah. Mr. Mullik recounts that the delay in the trial was due to the filibustering tactics of Sheikh Abdullah and his friends in the court. So far as the merit of the case against Sheikh Abdullah was concerned, Mr. Mullik quotes eminent lawyers like Mr. G. S. Pathak,

Mr. Nageshwar Prasad and others to say that it was a foolproof one (P 171.) To follow Mr. Mullik's account, "Pandit Nehru again became impatient at the delay and wrote a letter to Bakshi Saheb in September, 1963, suggesting that the case should be withdrawn. After issuing the letter, he showed it to me. I again protested and said that when the case had been committed to the Sessions, to withdraw it without completing the trial would amount to the Government's showing lack of confidence in the Prosecution itself. I reminded the Prime Minister of the letter which the Sheikh had written to him during the Chinese aggression and told him that the Sheikh had shown no disposition to change and, in fact, he was now even more bitter and hostile than he had been at any time in the past." (p 104) But the manner of the announcement of the decision to release Sheikh Abdullah on 5 April 1964 was still more remarkable as the decision was taken by the Chief Minister of Kashmir without consulting the Government of India (Pp 171-172.)

One result of releasing Abdullah unconditionally a second time was that he was made a hero before the people of Kashmir. Mr. Mullik writes, "All his erstwhile opponents fell head over heels in welcoming him back called him the Lion of Kashmir, and even the Praja Parishad, his avowed enemy, welcomed him. After a few days' stay in Jammu he went to Srinagar and revived the Plebiscite Front immediately and started delivering anti-Indian speeches." (P 175.)

Curiously enough, having written a whole book to expose the weakness of the politicians in their dealing with a wily anti-Indian individual like Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. Mullik, like a true civil servant, says that the decision to release Abdullah was correct. Mr. Mullik writes, "I am not in any way criticizing the decision. I had myself moved for it. In the

changed circumstances there was no other alternative. The Prime Minister's analysis of the situation in Kashmir was no doubt correct, and having seen the situation in the valley that winter I had independently come to the conclusion that something radically new and revolutionary had to be done in Kashmir to win over the people to India's side. A mere change in the Government, in my opinion, was not the solution. President's Rule was no solution either. It would exasperate the people further and widen the breach between the Government of India and the people of Kashmir. One had to come to the inevitable though extremely unpleasant conclusion that a new ground had to be prepared and Sheikh Abdullah brought back to the picture to see once again whether a lasting solution of the Kashmir problem could be found with his assistance." (P 174.) How far correct was Mr. Nehru's decision has to be seen in Mr. Mullik's own observation that after Mr. Nehru's death "Sheikh Abdullah went back to Kashmir and soon afterwards resumed his anti-Indian propaganda." (P 176.) To make the irony more prominent it was left to a later Prime Minister (none other than Mr. Nehru's own daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi) to pass orders for curbing the freedom of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg six years afterwards! Perhaps like Mr. Mullik and his master Mr. Nehru somebody would again come forward to give Mr. Abdullah and his collaborators another chance to wreck this country by their anti-Hindu and pro-Pakistani acts of sabotage !!

Mr. Mullik's account reads like an adventure story—more so when one goes through the four chapters 10-13 recounting the story of disappearance of the Holy Relic (Moe-e-Muqaddas) from Srinagar on 27

December 1963 and its recovery by Mr. Mullick on 5 January 1964. The Holy Relic was deliberately removed by pro-Pakistani elements with the active connivance of the custodians of the Holy Relic (Pp 140-141) to create chaos and violence in Kashmir and the rest of India. Pakistan had largely succeeded in its game. It was the courage and patient work of the intelligence officers headed by Mr. Mullick that foiled the Pakistani game by recovering the Moe-e-Muqaddas (Holy Relic). Mr. Mullik writes "that from the spectacle that I had seen from December 31 (1963) till the Moe-e-Muqaddas was recovered, it had seemed to me that Kashmir was not a part of India." (P 164). True, if anti-Indian elements receive public encouragement from the Government of India it is only natural to find anti-Indian sentiments accentuated at a time of crisis which was what it was following the disappearance of the Holy Relic.

Recently Syed Badruddauja, a former M.P., and Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, a former Minister of West Bengal, were arrested under the newly enacted detention law on charges of spying for Pakistan. Under the law the Government need not have announced the specific charge of spying to detain the two individuals. Even then it was announced with fanfare that they were Pakistani spies without making any arrangement for their immediate trial. On the other hand Sheikh Abdullah, Begum Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and others, against whom, according to the top intelligence officer of the country, there is ample proof of acting on behalf of Pakistan, are freely moving in India and even in Kashmir from where they are formally extered! Is there any surprise in spying on behalf of Pakistan and other countries in unabated manner in India ?

SHARE-CROPPING (BARGA) SYSTEM AND ADOPTION OF FARM INNOVATION IN INDIAN VILLAGES

NIRMAL KANTI SAHA

Abstract :

As communities differ in their rate of accepting changes or innovations, so also do the individuals within the same community. Some individuals are far ahead of others in matters of trying out and using new things while there are others who accept change slowly or resist it altogether. Like-wise all innovations are not accepted at the same rate in all communities, while others find it difficult to get acceptance. It is commonly accepted that the share-cropping system put an economic strain on the share-cropper as he had to pay a heavy rent in kind. And at the same time it is believed that the standard of cultivation of a share-cropper (bargadar) is lower than that of an owner cultivator. A study was therefore carried out in some districts of West Bengal to find out the extent of share-cropping (barga) system and how it influenced the adoption behaviour of the farmers.

Introduction :

It had been estimated by various authorities that no less than a quarter of the cropped area in West Bengal was being cultivated on the share-cropping system. It was also commonly accepted that the share-cropping (barga) system put an economic strain on the share-cropper (bargadar) as he had to pay a heavy rent in kind. And at the same time it was believed that the standard of cultivation of a bargadar is lower than that of an owner cultivator.

Pursuing this line of argument a study was therefore undertaken by the Socio-economic

and Evaluation Branch of the Department of Agriculture, West Bengal on the following specific objective :

- (i) to find out the nature and extent of share-cropping system ;
and
- (ii) its influence on adoption of farm innovations among the farmers.

Area and Design :

This study was carried out in 27 villages in 6 districts of West Bengal, e. g., 24-parganas Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Birbhum and Bankura. The study was of complete enumeration type and all the 3635 households in the 27 villages were interviewed. A very simple schedule was used for the purpose. Field investigation was carried out by four trained investigators of the Socio-economic and Evaluation Branch of the Department of Agriculture, West Bengal.

Analysis and Findings :

- (a) Nature and extent of share-cropping system :

On analysis (Tables—I, II and III) it was thus observed that 85 percent of the households were depending on land fully or partially. Of these, 5 percent were non-cultivating owners and about 20 percent were landless labourers. The rest 75 percent were farm operators belonging to cultivating owners and different categories of share-croppers. Amongst these farmers 65 percent did not take any land on barga and 35 percent took some land on barga, 10.5 percent of the operators were share-croppers without having any land of their own. The persons giving

out land on barga was however 420. Out of these 186 were non-cultivating owners and 234 were cultivating owners lending out part of their land. These 420 farmers formed about 19.77 percent of the total land owners.

On the basis of area it was found that 6039.91 acres were being cultivated by self and 1401.51 acres on barga, i.e. about 19 percent of the total cultivated land reported by the respondents were being cultivated on barga system. It may, therefore, be said that not less than 19 percent of the total cultivated land reported in 27 villages included in the study were being cultivated on barga system. There were, of course, some variations in the percentage of land cultivated on barga in different districts. The figures are as follows : Nadia 24.18 percent, Burdwan 23.26 percent, Hooghly 21.22 percent, Birbhum 16.53 percent, 24-parganas 13.52 percent and Bankura 13.06 percent. It is seen from the tables that the extent of share-cropping on area basis is considerably higher in the districts of Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly. It is also seen that 35 percent of the operators took land on barga which was lent out by 19.77 percent of the land owners.

It was found that the average size of the farm (land) operated was the smallest (2.06 acres) in case of the farmers who were "share-croppers entirely". The size of the farm was the highest (4.37 acres) in case of the cultivating owners mainly and share-croppers partly". Farmers belonging to the rest of the categories, viz., "cultivating owners entirely", "cultivating owners and share-croppers equally", "share-croppers mainly and cultivating owner partly", were having farms of nearly the same average size which varies from 3 to 4 acres.

To Share-cropping system and adoption behaviour of farmers :

The relationship between tenure categories and adoption of improved practices was

studied. For this purpose percentage of farmers within the categories adopting chemical fertilizers was taken as an index of adoption for that particular category. On analysis (Table-IV), according to this standard, the adoption index of the category "share-croppers only" was found to be the lowest as it could be expected. But the adoption index of the category "cultivating owners entirely" was found to be not the highest. Contrary to expectations, adoption index of this category came fourth in order of merit. Amongst the five categories, the category "cultivating owners mainly and share-croppers partly" was, however, found to have the highest percentage of farmers adopting chemical fertilizer. Further probe into this paradoxical problem revealed that the order in which the adoption indices of the five categories stood, was in full agreement with the order in which "the percent farmers having agriculture as their main occupation" was distributed amongst those five categories.

The category "share-croppers entirely" had the lowest proportion of farmers (58.33 percent) having agriculture as their main occupation and its adoption index was also the lowest 59.65. These two figures for the category "cultivating owners entirely" were 65.70 percent and the adoption index 71.16 ; for the category "cultivating owners mainly and share-croppers partly" 92.8 percent and 77.43 ; for the category "share-croppers mainly and cultivating owners partly" 87.79 percent and 74.18 ; and for the category "cultivating owners and share-croppers equally" 80.00 percent and 73.33.

From these figures it may possibly be concluded that it is not merely the right on land that is important for adoption of improved practices, but the extent to which the farmer depends on agriculture as his means of livelihood, definitely has a bearing on his adoption

behaviour. Thus it is seen that even amongst the purely share-cropping farmers, about the same number of persons who held agriculture as their main occupation were also the adopters of chemical fertilizer. In the same way it explains why the proportion of adopters was not the highest in the "cultivating owners entirely" category.

Summing up :

This study points out for the first time about the possible existence of a new factor or variable in the adoption phenomenon. This factor is "extent of dependence on farming as a means of livelihood", or "percent total income earned from farming". The next step in research will throw more light on this paradoxical problem.

Table—I

Distribution of the households in different categories of six districts of West Bengal (N 3635).

Sl.No.	Categories of households	Number	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Farming households	2166	59.75
2.	Non-cultivating owners	186	5.15
3.	Landless agricultural labourers	740	20.30
4.	Landless non-cultivators	543	14.80
	Total	3635	100.00

Table-II

District-wise distribution of the households in different categories according to nature of operation of the farm and area under cultivation in six districts of West Bengal (N=3635).

Districts	Total households	Farming households	Area Under cultivation			Land less	
			self (acres)	Barga (acres)	Total (acres)	ag. labour	Non- cultivator
(1) 24-Parganas (5 villages)	(2) 790	(3) 529	(4) 1031.87	(5) 161.25 (13.51)	(6) 1193.12	(7) 79	(8) 133
Burdwan (7 villages)	842	407	1274.17	386.16 (23.26)	1660.33	222	173
Nadia (3 villages)	503	334	1020.87	325.53 (24.18)	1346.40	76	57
Birbhum (7 villages)	777	434	1551.04	233.04 (13.06)	1784.08	220	103
Hooghly (4 villages)	585	384	917.62	247.15 (21.22)	1164.77	100	64
Bankura (1 village)	138	78	244.34	48.38 (16.53)	292.72	43	13
Total	3635	2166	6039.91	1401.51 (18.83)	7441.42	740	543

*Figures within brackets indicate the percentage of Barga land to the total area under cultivation.

Non cultivating owner	Cultivating owner		Cultivating owner mainly and share-cropper partly	Share-cropper entirely	Share-cropper mainly & culti-vating owner partly	Cultivating owner & share-cropper equally
	entirely	lent out part of land on barga				
(9) 49	(10) 298	(11) 79	(12) 79	(13) 31	(14) 40	(15) 2
40	213	22	73	48	49	
36	118	36	80	46	47	7
20	329	11	29	28	36	1
37	171	73	57	56	34	3
4 186	45 1174	13 234	4 302	9 228	7 213	— 1

Table—III

Distribution of different categories of farming households according to the operation of the farm in six districts of West Bengal (N=2166).

Sl.No.	Categories of farm operators	Number	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. (a)	Cultivating owner entirely	1174	54.20
	(b) Cultivating owner entirely but letting out part of their land on barga	234	10.80
2.	Cultivating owner mainly and share-cropper partly (25 percent land obtained by barga).	302	13.85
3.	Cultivating owner and share-cropper equally (.0 percent land obtained by barga).	15	0.69
4.	Share-cropper mainly and cultivating owner partly (75 percent land obtained by barga).	213	10.00
4.	Share-cropper entirely (100 percent land obtained by barga).	228	10.46
	Total	2166	100.00

Table—IV

Rank order and Adoption index of the percent farmers belonging to different categories in six districts of West Bengal. (N=2166)

Sl.No.	Categories of farm operators	Percent farmers having agriculture as main occupation	Average Adoption index	Rank order
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Cultivating owner entirely	65.70	71.16	IV
2.	Cultivating owner mainly and share-cropper partly (25 percent land obtained by barga)	92.38	77.48	
3.	Cultivating owner and share-cropper equally (50 percent land obtained by barga)	80.00	73.33	III
4.	Share-cropper mainly and cultivating owner partly (75 percent land obtained by barga).	87.79	74.18	II
5.	Share-cropper entirely (100 percent land obtained by barga).	58.33	59.65	V



Current Affairs

America and China Plans

World Domination

The ethics of human relations or the high ideals which guide the progress of civilisation play little part in the foreign policy of the powerful nations of the world. The reason for this is that most powerful nations have a background of unrighteous misdeeds by which they achieve power and importance in this world. When, therefore, two or more states come together to discuss the formulation of a common policy in regard to their mutual relations or their attitude or plans of action concerning other nations or human affairs in general ; the conferring nations naturally have intentions and desires which relate only to their own material advantages and gains. Each nation considers first its own interests before going on to any questions of common profitability. The basic principle of international deals is that whosoever achieves any advantages does so at somebody else's cost. Every gain has a corresponding loss. When two or more nations meet to decide their plans of action in the international sphere they look for other nations which can shoulder the losses that would naturally arise in order to facilitate the creation of gains for the planning conclave. The gains that are aimed at are not necessarily money gains. Territories, spheres of influence, military bases, naval centres, aerodromes, roads, railways and economic institutions-all play a part in the broad calculation of the gainfulness of new alliances or alignments.

The United States of America had been planning to dominate the world since the end of the first world war though the various

international organisations that they had set up for achieving their objectives. The USA possessed vast territories with tremendous natural resources and had developed an industrial network of unrivalled magnitude which enabled the rulers of the USA to control the affairs of almost all nations. The exceptions were only the so-called "Iron curtain" and "Bamboo curtain" countries of Europe and Asia. The communist states neither considered the USA as a desirable friend nor thought it ideologically permissible to accept gifts, aid or assistance from that land of capitalistic inequities. The USA too thought the states which put their faith on Marxist dogma as enemies of the American way of life and of the democratic world. There was therefore an active antagonism between the USA led countries and the communist states which found expression in wars carried on by the allies and proteges of the two groups ; though the principal major powers maintained peaceful relations in so far as they avoided open and direct warfare. Over long years the USA and their allies have waged indirect war against the allies of the Communist Powers in Korea, Vietnam and other countries which the communists had been planning to conquer. In some cases of such conquests the Americans took no action against the communists, as, for instance, in the case of Tibet. The Chinese committed a great human crime by destroying Lamaism in Tibet and by taking genocidal action against all Tibetans who opposed the establishment of communism in that theocratic state.

The Russians and the Chinese have chosen to take direct military action at times to

protect their interests in some countries ; but have not acted quite so ruthlessly in certain other cases. The military action taken in Hungary and Czechoslovakia by the Russians can be cited as examples of suppressing popular movements against communist dictatorship by armed force. Marxist attempts at overthrowing lawfully established governments in other countries had been aided by the communist powers ; but no direct action had been taken by them in certain other cases. Malay, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon provide instances of unsuccessful attempts by Marxists to overthrow governments by armed revolution. The major communist powers did not, in any of these cases, send their own armed forces to assist the revolutionaries. On the other hand, the Americans had landed their own soldiers in very large numbers and used their air force in full strength with a view to suppress the communists in Vietnam. The American efforts, however, did not prove so successful and the Americans admitted their failure and began to withdraw their forces in a planned fashion.

During recent years there have been developments in the political world which induced the big powers of the democratic as well as of the communist group to reconsider their reliance and dependence on each other and on the accepted facts or assumptions which determined international political relations. The emergence of China as a world power and the increasing tension between the Chinese and the peoples of the USSR slowly took shape as a highly disturbing fact of communist politics. Non-communist states, particularly the USA were not slow to take active notice of this imbalance in the Marxist world. China began to manufacture nuclear weapons and made no secret of her plans to establish a world-wide hegemony of socialist states under Chinese overlordship. The

possible outcome of a world war in which nuclear weapons would be freely used was also considered by Chinese experts who believed that when as a result of the mass destruction of centres of population the world would have few survivors of non-Chinese races, the Chinese should still have 200 million people left who would repopulate the world exclusively by Chinese men and women. The Chinese began intensive propaganda against their erstwhile allies the Russians and continued their tirade against the Americans, the Indians and all others who were considered to be possible obstructors of Chinese plans of world conquest. The Chinese occupation of certain areas within the Himalayan boundaries of India also made Sino-Indian political relations uncertain. The warlike activities of the Americans in Vietnam did not concern the Chinese directly : but as the Chinese were indirect supporters of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong revolutionaries, the Chinese considered the presence of American armed forces in South-East Asia as damaging to Chinese interests.

The Chinese also made territorial claims on certain places in Asiatic Russia in the same manner that they had made claims on Indian territory and had even occupied fairly large tracts of Indian areas in an illegal manner. These acts of aggression were not met by counter acts of forceful reoccupation by India on grounds of maintaining peace and in the hope that the Chinese would vacate their aggression peacefully when Sino-Indian relations were reestablished.

The changed international political circumstances therefore showed the following outstanding features. The Russians became "revisionists" in the eye of the Chinese who took up the stance of bellicose hard core Marxists and made claims on other peoples territories in the same outrageously aggressive

manner as they had displayed when they chased the Dalai Lama out of Tibet and killed off more than a million Tibetans in order to make Tibet an integral part of Communist China. The Russians did not hesitate to meet force with force and drove the Chinese out of Soviet territory wherever they found it necessary. The Americans found it progressively impossible to liquidate the Vietcong or to cut North Vietnam off from the battle fields of South Vietnam. They tried to make it appear that the real fight was between South Vietnam and the revolutionary Vietcong. The Americans were assisting the South Vietnam Government as a temporary measure only and were progressively withdrawing their forces from South East Asia.

The Americans have found that their plans of securing a strong foothold in Asia were unworkable. They had lost heavily in money and human lives and have achieved nothing of permanent value. They had to change their tactics if they wanted to remain, on top in the economic sphere and in military strength. Their greatest allies the Western European powers were forming a European alliance of nations in order to shake off American control over Europe. They were even planning to make up with the USSR. The Japanese in the Pacific were no longer satisfied with the overlordship of the USA. They too would be trying to recover control of the islands they had to give up after the second World War. So the USA should now play off China against Russia, Japan against China and the European nations against other groups by use of forces of race, colour, religion, economic gain and so forth. They had to take into account the various antagonisms like anti-semetism, white Africa against African Africa, pan-Islamism and other such urges which arise out of human folly and unreason. The attempts made by China and Russia to win over the newly freed

nations of Africa and Asia were also cited as grounds for anti-communist activities by non-communist nations.

This new outlook in the field of international relations induced the USA to seek new approaches to the realisation of plans of world domination. The idea that there can be a Sino-American rapprochement which will lead to the eventual downfall of both the communist giants was born out of this new outlook. That is how President Nixon's Political expert Dr. Kissinger came to visit Peking to discover ways of bringing about collaboration between, the Chinese and the Americans. President Nixon's visit to Peking was arranged by Dr. Kissinger for purposes which were never made fully public. In fact although President Nixon had meetings with Chairman Mao t'se Tung, they did not publish any joint communique. His discussions with Prime Minister Chu-en-Lie were given the fullest publicity and a joint communique was also issued by them. It is rather strange that although the two heads of states met and discussed matters, they found it unnecessary to publish anything about what they said to one another. The matters discussed must have been Top Secret of the topmost and utterly secret variety. President Nixon found it necessary to issue a joint statement with Premier Chu-en-Lai, but they differed on many points. They also discussed matters which did not concern them, such as, the Kashmir question as seen through Pakistani eyes. It would appear that China and America buried the hatchet so that they could restore to the Kashmiri people their imaginary loss of political freedom. The Tibetans who lost their freedom and got half their total population massacred by the Chinese were not remembered. Fifteen million Taiwanese were offered as a sacrifice at the altar of Marxism. Many million South Vietnamese

would also follow the Taiwanese after the American armed forces no longer stood guard over the state of South Vietnam to save it from the onslaughts of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. In fact the international importance of the USA has suffered a great decline. The USA are no longer dictating to China to contain their activities within their boundaries. China is even putting in words in their joint communiques relating to what third parties like India should do to adjust their internal political order to suit China's wishes and desires. The Chinese may have agreed to help America when war broke out between Russia and the USA, but nothing is known

about any such undertaking as the Nixon-Mao talks had not been published. The Americans are no longer planning to fight the enemies of democracy. Their plans are now to appease one of the Communist Giants in order to make use of its might to subdue another of the giants. The appeasement may involve the surrender of the human rights of many democratic nations, but the USA have to choose between the achievement of major objectives as against what are considered less important. The democracies of the world do not occupy a place of highest priority any longer in the scheme of American foreign policy.

ARE THERE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN INDIA ?

TEJ NARAYAN TIWARI

As a student of science, I have discussed the question of scientific research in India with many Indian students and professors of science, both in India and U.S.A. I was surprised to find that the majority of them believe that there are no opportunities for scientific research in India and a person interested in science should either sacrifice his research career or emigrate to foreign countries like U.S.A. and Canada. These people are quick to point out the examples of some eminent Indian scientists like the Nobel Laureate Prof. Khorana or the brilliant astrophysicist Prof. Chandrasekhar, claiming that these scientists could not have achieved what they achieved if they had stayed in India. Do these beliefs have any factual basis, or are they merely an excuse for not doing research in India and emigrating to foreign countries? Recently I became interested in this question and did a little research to find out the facts.

The results of this research were very unexpected, even surprising to me. They are described below in this article.

A Small Research Project

As a starting point, let us consider the hypothesis that there are little or no facilities for scientific research in India. How shall we test this hypothesis? One simple method is this. We make a list of all eminent scientists born in India. We divide this list into two groups. The first group, called the "Indian Group" contains the names of those scientists who achieved their eminence by staying in India and working in Indian research centers. The other group, called the "Foreign Group" contains the names of those scientists who emigrated to foreign countries with better facilities and achieved their eminence there. Now if our hypothesis is correct, then it follows that most of the names should belong to the Foreign Group and the Indian Group.

should contain extremely few names. On the other hand, if we find that the Indian Group contains the majority of names, it will prove that our hypothesis is not correct and the belief that India has no facilities for scientific research has no factual basis.

Recently I did some preliminary research along these lines. As a source of reference, I used a recently published biographical encyclopedia "World who's who in Science", published in 1968 by Marquis—who's who, Inc. of Chicago. The editor of this book, Prof. Allen G. Debus, is the professor of the History of Science at the University of Chicago. This is a large volume of about 2000 pages in small print and contains the biographical data of all the eminent scientists of the world from antiquity to the present. From this book I prepared a list of all Indian scientists and divided them into two groups discussed above. The results were very surprising even to me.

The Surprising Results

When I started this project, it was my guess that both groups might contain a roughly equal number of entries and, perhaps, the foreign group might be 5 to 10 percent larger than the Indian group. When I asked some friends, they also expressed similar feelings. But the results are quite opposite to our expectations. The list contains a total of 224 names of distinguished Indian scientists whose achievements merit world-wide attention. The Indian Group contains 177 names, while the Foreign Group contains only 47 names. Thus the Indian Group contains 79 percent distinguished scientists, while the Foreign Group has merely the remaining 21 percent of them. Thus we have a very strong evidence that the belief that there are no opportunities for scientific research in India and one can do important research only in foreign countries has no factual basis. It is merely an excuse used by people unwilling to exert the necessary

effort to conduct scientific research in India, or wishing to emigrate to more prosperous foreign countries.

A close examination of the Indian Group shows that the Indian scientists have distinguished themselves in all major and minor fields of scientific endeavor. An interesting and important fact is that the majority of them are in the field of physics where the question of apparatus and facilities is most critical. And, perhaps, it is not an accident that of the 18 Indian fellows of the Royal Society of London, 8 belong to physics, and Raman brought the 1930 Nobel Prize for physics to India while working in an Indian Institution. If the Indian scientists can distinguish themselves in physics, scientists working in other fields have no good reasons to complain about facilities. They can develop in India whatever facilities they require.

The Foreign Group

When we examine the foreign group in detail, we find some very interesting facts which show once again that the better research facilities are not the main factors behind the braindrain. For example, 5 scientists out of the 47 belonging to the foreign group emigrated to smaller countries like Pakistan and Singapore. Certainly, these scientists could have found as good or even better facilities in India. Of the remaining, who settled mostly in the U.S.A. and Canada, there are 4 mathematicians, 3 theoretical physicists, 10 biologists, 4 physicians, and two geographers. Since none of these fields require very elaborate facilities, these scientists could very probably undertake their research in India. The group contains 13 experimental physicists, but the majority of them are working in fields where experimental facilities have become available in India during the last decade or even earlier. Only two of these physicists are using large particle accelerators not available in India at present.

Sources of Error

In the above investigation, there are two sources of error, both against the entries in the Indian Group. The first error comes from the fact that the above mentioned encyclopedia was published in U.S.A. and the entries were included on the basis of recommendations by American scientists. Now if an Indian scientist works in an American institution, then his papers will be published in American journals and come to the attention of his American colleagues very easily. He will attend most scientific meetings and many colleagues will know him and his work personally. So his name would be recommended more easily. On the other hand, if some scientist works in India, he will publish his work mostly in Indian journals which are not read widely in America. Few American colleagues will know him personally. So he will have to be very brilliant indeed in order that his name is included in the above encyclopedia. This is evident from the fact that of the 18 Indian fellows of the Royal Society of London, only 11 are included in this book. Among the 7 brilliant scientists who have been left out, there is Prof. S. N. Bose, whose researches in theoretical physics have been so brilliant that a group of fundamental particles in nature have been named "Bosons" after Prof. Bose. Thus if this encyclopedia gave as much attention to foreign scientists as it gave to American scientists, it must have included many more names belonging to the Indian Group.

The other source of error is that the scientists who emigrated to foreign countries were naturally among the most brilliant. So if they had decided to stay in India, they could have found the best scientific facilities available in India at their disposal. Thus it is very likely that most of them could have achieved eminence even in India. Thus the better facilities of the foreign countries were not the

main factors in the scientific achievements of many scientists included in the Foreign Group. Thus, in order to correct this error, we should reduce the number of entries in the Foreign Group.

It is not possible to make the precise corrections for the two errors mentioned above. But if we could make these corrections, it is my guess that the Indian Group will contain at least 90 percent scientists.

Chandrasekhar on India

Prof. S. Chandrasekhar was born in India in 1910 and graduated from Madras University. He has been at the University of Chicago since 1937. For the last three decades, Prof. Chandrasekhar has been one of the world's most distinguished astrophysicists. Recently an article was published about Prof. Chandrasekhar in the November, 1970 issue of the magazine "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists : Science and Public Affairs." In this article, Prof. Chandrasekhar gives some very significant reflections about India. Under the guidance of Prof. H. J. Bhabha, the Indian scientists built the first nuclear reactor in Asia outside the U.S.S.R. in August, 1956. About this, Prof. Chandrasekhar says, "The late Homi Bhabha was able to demonstrate to India and to the world that there are technicians in India who are capable of successfully building an atomic reactor. It is a matter of national pride, and Indians can now believe that they have the potential to do anything that any other country can do". Yes, Prof. Chandrasekhar is right. We do not have any lack of talent in India. Then what do we lack ? It is the belief of Prof. Chandrasekhar that an accomplishment in science is ultimately more a question of character than of ability. He says, "Two people with comparable scientific ability can accomplish very different amounts. The factors which make the difference are

motivation and discipline, and this is what is lacking among Indians at present."

Bhabha and Chandrasekhar

It is very interesting to consider the similarities and differences between the careers of Bhabha and Chandrasekhar. Both were contemporaries, Bhabha being one year older than Chandrasekhar. Both had very brilliant academic careers in Cambridge. Both were awarded the Adams Prize and elected fellows of the Royal Society. Both selected the field of theoretical physics ; Bhabha specialized in particle physics, while Chandrasekhar specialized in Astrophysics. Here the similarity ends.

Chandrasekhar went to the University of Chicago and became one of the most distinguished astrophysicists in the world. Bhabha returned to India around the same period, and worked towards the development of atomic energy in India. As a result of his efforts, India was able to build the first nuclear reactor in Asia outside the U.S.S.R. in August 1956. Today India is one of the most advanced countries of the world in the field of atomic energy. India is one of about half a dozen countries in the world who can produce their own nuclear fuel. Bhabha was a very brilliant scientist and if he had continued pure research either in India or some foreign country, it is very probable that he might have won the Nobel Prize. But Bhabha sacrificed his personal career for the sake of India and that was a tremendous gain for the country. Bhabha brought India to atomic age.

Professor Chandrasekhar is quick to acknowledge that his own personal career advanced much further as a result of his choosing to stay in the USA. He might not have done as well in India. But this was certainly a great loss for India, as pointed out by Chandrasekhar himself. He guided some 40 Ph.D. students. He says, "I know that 40

students may not have made much difference to this country. But if I had 40 Indian students, what a difference it would have made to India ? Yes, Chandrasekhar is right. Had he decided to stay in India, it is very likely that India would have made as much progress in the fields of astrophysics and astronomy as she has made in the field of atomic energy.

Thus, it is upto the Indian scientists to decide for themselves whether they should advance their own personal career by emigrating to foreign countries, or they should contribute to the development of India by staying there, though it may mean some sacrifice of their personal career. Of course, all of us cannot hope to achieve as much as Bhabha or Chandrasekhar did. But all of us can repeat, in our own ways, on a small scale what these great men achieved on such a large scale. The choice is ours.

A Challenge to Indian Scientists

During the last quarter of the 19th Century the director of the Harvard College observatory was Prof. E. C. Pickering. When people visited this observatory, they asked Prof. Pickering if the observatory possessed the largest telescope in the world. Prof. Pickering replied, "No, but we have the smallest telescope in the world that is doing useful work." The telescope he was referring to had the object-glass with a diameter of merely two inches. This instrument was used to measure the light of bright stars. During the period 1880-1882, this smallest telescope in the world was used to make about 100,000 measurements of 4,000 bright Stars.

That is the challenge facing the Indian scientists today : to achieve significant results using the most modest facilities in the world. Many people believe that the era of modest equipment is over and modern science requires two-mile long accelerators

which only countries like U. S. A. can afford. This view is not correct. Consider the example of an important discovery in modern nuclear physics, viz., the Mossbauer Effect. This was discovered by Rudolf Mossbauer of Germany in 1958 and won for him the Nobel Prize in 1961. This discovery required so simple apparatus that it might have been discovered in any nuclear physics laboratory in India. This is evident from the fact that within a short time after the discovery of the Mossbauer effect, several Indian laboratories set up the apparatus and now they are engaged in further research on the Mossbauer effect.

It is a matter of pride that many Indian scientists have accepted this challenge. When our Nobel Laureate Prof. C. V. Raman passed away last year, the "Time" magazine noticed in the obituary that though Prof. Raman was a National Professor and the best scientific facilities available in India were at his disposal, he

liked to work with the simplest possible equipment. In fact he worked with such simple apparatus that the whole of his equipments could be contained in the bottom drawer of his desk. Yet he was able to win the Nobel Prize with these modest equipments.

As Prof. Chandrasekhar has noted, the scientific achievement is ultimately a matter of character. If the proper facilities are available easily, they can be helpful. But the lack of proper facilities cannot completely suppress a person determined to do scientific research or anything else. Such a person will overcome the most insurmountable obstacles and achieve his goals. For such a person, a free translation of a verse in the "Panchatantra" applies very well :

"Mount Meru is not very high,
The Hell is not very low,
The sea not shoreless, if a man
Abounding vigour show."



THE 24TH AMENDMENT OF OUR CONSTITUTION

SUKUMAR DAM

The Twenty-fourth Amendment of the Constitution is intended to undo the impact of the verdict of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's Case (1967) on the working of the Constitution of India. A narrowly divided (six to five) Supreme Court has decided in this case :

- (a) that Parliament has no power to amend the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the Fundamental Rights enshrined in Part III of our Constitution .
- (b) that the amending power of Parliament does not derive from Article 368 of the Constitution, which deals only with the procedure of amendment . and
- (c) that amendment is law within the meaning of Article 13 of the Constitution, which provides that the State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the Fundamental Rights, and, therefore, if an amendment takes away or abridges the Fundamental Rights, it is void.

The decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case, to borrow the language of H. M. Seervai (1), "places a judicial veto on any legal amendment of Part III and denies to a sovereign people acting through its freely elected representatives in Parliament, the power to implement policies demanded by and in the interest of the people, should they require the abridgement of part III." In

short it has not only made the Fundamental Rights in effect immutable and thereby the Constitution unduly rigid, but has also disabled Parliament from fulfilling the pledges incorporated in the Directive Principles of States Policy.

In this context, it is worthy of note that before Golaknath's case, the Supreme Court considered the scope of the power of Parliament to amend the Fundamental Rights in the cases of Shankari Prasad (1951) and Sajjan Singh (1965). In these two cases, the Supreme Court held that the power conferred under Article 368 was wide enough to amend the Fundamental Rights contained in Part III of the constitution. Needless to say, in Golaknath's case the Supreme Conrt has reversed its earlier view.

It should be remembered, in this connection, that of the total number of 21 Judges forming the benches on the three occasions, 13 were in favour of vesting the power in Parliament to amend Part III of the Constitution, only 8 were against. Hence, it may not be improper to say that the majority in Supreme Court admitted Parliament's authority in this respect,

Does not the above fact tend to suggest that the decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case is not a proper interpretation of the Constitution ? That the decision is not in consonance with the intention of the framers

of the fundamental law of the land is evident from the following statement of Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly (2) :

"No Supreme Court and no judiciary can stand in judgment over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the will of the entire country. If we go wrong here and there, it can point it out, but in the ultimate analysis, where the future of the community is concerned, no judiciary can come in the way..... Ultimately, the fact remains that the Legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the courts of law in such measures as social reform."

It should not be forgotten that the Constitution is for the people and not the people for the constitution. The doctrine of amendability of a constitution is based on the doctrine of sovereignty of the people. Therefore, any restriction on the power of amendment of a constitution impinges upon the sovereignty of the people. Laski has rightly pointed out that the constitution „is a growing organism and there should be no encroachment on Parliament's right to amend the constitution." (3)

The Twenty-fourth Amendment of our Constitution has come with a view to nullifying the undue restrictions imposed by the Supreme Court's judgment in Golaknath's case. It has the purpose of reverting to the status quo ante, i. e., the position that obtained before the judgment in Golaknath's case. Its net effect is that Parliament, notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, may in exercise of its constituent power amend by way of addition, variation, or repeal any part of the Constitution, including Part III thereof; that Article 13 shall have no application to laws passed under the Twenty-fourth Amendment; and that the President "must" assent to a constitutional amendment. In short, by

rewriting Article 368 of the Constitution, the amendment has restored to Parliament the power to amend any provision of the Constitution, including those dealing with the Fundamental Rights.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that before the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill, Nath Pai's Constitutional Amendment Bill (4) came in order to counteract the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case. The Bill was intended to restore to Parliament the power to amend the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the Fundamental Rights. It goes without saying that the scope of the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill is wider than that of Nath Pai's Amendment Bill.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill was passed by a massive majority by the Lok Sabha (384 to 23) as well as by the Rajya Sabha (177 to 3), and was subsequently ratified by more than half of the State Legislatures. It has now been incorporated into the organic law of the land after receiving the assent of the President. Needless to point out, by assenting to the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill, the President has signed away his (and his successors') right to withhold assent to any future constitutional amendments.

This historic amendment is indeed pregnant with immense possibilities. It is intended to accelerate the progress of democratic socialism, the declared goal of the nation. By removing the judicial road-block created by the judgment in Goloknath's case, it has restored the power to Parliament, which is necessary for opening the way to radical social change with a view to fulfilling the pledges enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy. In a word, the amendment aims at bringing about peaceful socialist revolution in the country.

However, the Twenty-fourth Amendment is momentous in its implications—legal, consti-

titutional, social and political. The implications may now be considered.

The first and foremost implication is that the amendment opens up the possibility of an undesirable confrontation between Parliament and the Supreme court, if the amendment is declared void by the Supreme Court. There is no denying the fact that a legal provision is always capable of more than one interpretation. Hence, the amendment may not be saved from being declared void on the plea that it has been only to remove the lacuna in the light of the verdict of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case, which does not contain anything that precludes Parliament from amending Article 368 so as to enable it to amend any part of the constitution, including part III thereof.

The other implication is that, a blanket declaration to the effect that Parliament shall have the power to amend each and every part of the Constitution is fraught with danger. Such wide powers to quote the words of Madhu Limaye (5), "open the door for putting further restrictions on the already restricted rights of free speech, expression, demonstration and assembly." In fact, Parliament has now the power to deny the Seven Freedoms guaranteed under Article 19 and even to abolish the Constitutional Remedies available under Articles 32 and 225. It is neither proper nor wise to place the basic freedoms of the citizens at the mercy of a temporary political majority in Parliament. A critic (6) has rightly pointed out: "An amendment intended to accelerate the progress of socialism may well be utilised by a future Government for establishing tyranny based on the denial of citizen's basic rights..... In empowering the present Government to do what the people want Parliament to do may be giving a blank cheque to future Governments less democratically inclined."

Another implication of the amendment is that it has a tendency to establish the Supremacy of Parliament in place of the Constitution. As has been pointed out by an observer (7): "Indeed, the 24th Amendment goes beyond nullifying the restrictions imposed by the Golaknath case and turns Parliament, a creature of the Constitution, into a creator." The amendment has made Parliament so much powerful in the matter of amendment that the Constitution has become almost its plaything. While in theory the Constitution still remains supreme, in fact Parliament has come to be supreme.

Incidentally, it may be questioned: Where is the guarantee that Parliament will not abuse its sweeping powers? "Assurances that Parliament will not abuse its powers cannot be taken at their face value because past assurances have been repudiated with impunity....and because no Parliament can legitimately commit itself on behalf of future Parliaments." (8) Such assurances have no legal value, and in any case the present Parliament's commitment cannot bind its successors. Moreover, there is no guarantee that Parliament will not use its sweeping powers on political grounds.

It may also be questioned, "What will happen to the rights guaranteed to the religious linguistic and cultural minorities? There is nothing to prevent Parliament from taking away the rights of the minorities. As a measure of abundant caution, there should have been statutory safeguard for the rights of the minorities and other weaker sections of the community.

Lastly, it may be questioned: is not the amendment a move towards subordinating the Judiciary to the Legislature and thereby changing the very character of our polity? This amendment paves the way for the Twenty-fifth Amendment, which provides inter alia

that no law, containing a declaration that it is in furtherance of the Directive Principles of State Policy, shall be called in question in any court of law despite a violation of any of the rights conferred by Articles 14, 19 and 31 (all Fundamental Rights). The Supreme Court cannot acquire proper respect and public confidence if its wings are clipped in this way. Needless to mention, further limitations have been put on the already limited power of judicial review of the Supreme Court. The role of the Supreme court as interpreter of Constitution and guardian of Fundamental Rights can, therefore, be easily imagined.

In conclusion, it may be said that if the Twenty fourth Amendment of the Constitution is utilised in a right spirit, it will make our democracy real in true sense of the term, and,

if not, it will pave the path for the rise of a totalitarian regimented state only.

- 1). H. M. Seervai—Constitutional Law of India, 1968, p. 1117.
- 2). C. A. D., Vol. IX, pp. 1195-96.
- 3). QUOTED BY N. Arunachalam in his article on Fundamental Rights and Parliament in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of January 15, 1969.
- 4). Bill No. 10-B of 1967, vide the Gazette of India Extraordinary of July 22, 1968.
- 5). Vide his article on Need for basic changes in the Constitution in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of August 15, 1971.
- 6). Vide Editorial in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of July 30, 1971.
- 7). Vide Editorial in the Statesman of November 9, 1971.
- 8). Vide Editorial in the Statesman of November 9, 1971



SMRITI AND BISMURITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Zeppelin.

The reparations were still being paid and one of the items to be surrendered was the Zeppelin, which was a air monster in those days, which could carry enormous number of soldiers and huge quantity of arms. One was surrendered when I was in Berlin. Scarcely any German eye, be it of a woman or man, was dry when the Zeppelin glided over the Berlin sky, to be flown to America as part of reparations. Many sobbed without restraint. A few confided to me, the American Engineers have been trying to fly it to America for months and months and failed to master the mechanism and make it fly and ultimately, they had to request the German engineers to fly it to America. Not to mention, about inventing such an airship, even when it is given to them they cannot learn how to use it even in months. "They" meaning, "the French the British and Americans", have no brains or skill or stamina, compared to the Germans. "We shall rise again to the top of the World". It seemed to be an idle boast or a false consolation to their bleeding heart. But no, Hitler was already on top in Germany and soon on the top of the world for a short while.

Nazi Rise.

Chatto had suggested to me to go to Munich where some Indian youth were being trained along with the Germans on national socialist lines. It was the rise in the offing. I was not interested and instead, proceeded to Austria via Dresden and Budapest. The parting with the land lady was like leaving a friend. I invited her to come to India as my guest. I knew it was meaningless, but still it made her

happy. I went to Berlin 22 years later in 1946, but could not find her as I had lost the address.

Dresden.

Dresden is a miniature Berlin : with the Palace, turned into Museum and parks and Art galleries etc. etc. I spent only one day, to have a birds eye view of South Germany. I had apprehended some trouble at the Austro Hungarian border from the German officials as I had prolonged the 3 days transit into 30 days, but nobody seemed to notice or bother.

Austria.

In Moscow, after I secured an Afghan Pass Port, through the help of Sardar Abdul Aziz, a brother of General, later Ksng Nadir Shah, my next hurdle was to get a visa. Germany refused, even after hearing all about me. It was a rude shock from a Social-Democratic Govt. of Evart. General Hindenberg was the President of the German Republic. I tried several other countries, but failed. At last the German Social Democrats, gave me a visa. It may be, I judged German Social Democracy rather harshly. There had been communist attempts in several places in Germany to set up communist Govts. or Soviets, the attempt at Hamburg was a very serious one and it needed much bloodshed to liquidate it. So, Germany did not wish to take a chance. After all, the communists infiltrated into Germany, by so many legal and illegal subterfuges and the Soviet leaders and Germad communist leaders proclaimed from house tops that Communist Revolution in Germany was round the corner. So, I don't blame the German Social Democratic Govt., if they took my honest story with a

big lump of salt. Austrian Social Democratic Govt. was more progressive and more stable and there had been no revolutionary attempt to seize power by the Communists. Hence I got visa from Austria more easily. If Austria had also failed, my attempt would have been to go to Switzerland, which with its neutrality in the 1st World War had no communist upheavals. But my preference was Germany and next Austria, as there were Social Democratic Govts. there. Chatto had assured me that to secure visa for Germany from Austria would be easy. I would have done so, if I did not secure my visa to go to London, by a subterfuge.

Night Travel

I usually travelled at night and passed the nights in trains and thus saved the hotel bills at least for some nights. Day travel is more interesting, as you can see the people and the countryside more but a slender purse played a decisive role in the choice.

Vienna.

I reached Vienna in the morning and as usual took a room in a cheap hotel. Then I proceeded straight to the residence of Miss Violet.....a French Artist, who was a friend of Prof Baraganza of Bombay a Professor of economics who had gone to Moscow to study the Soviet economic system. He knew French and German and of course English, but no Russian. He was staying in the foreign Professor's Hostel. He came and met us, the Indians and we had many interesting discussions with him. He became very frank and friendly with me. He had many doubts whether the Soviet system would work. I had none, my only difference with the orthodox communists was whether the Soviet system could be established by the Democratic process or ballot or whether Revolutionary seizure of power was absolutely essential. I thought then, it was not, I still

think so, even after the experience of Russia and then of China, and Indonesia for the last 45 years.

Prof. Baraganza had given me an introduction letter to Miss Violet who was in her middle thirties, and an artist with refined manners and appearance. She was very happy to receive the introduction letter and welcomed me warmly. From her talks it appeared to me that she was the lady love of the Professor. She asked me about her joining the Professor in Russia. She enquired about myself and where I was staying, etc.

I said I would like to stay in some family as a paying guest. She said she had a vacant extra flat and if I liked I could stay there. It was a bargain indeed. She wanted to learn Russian and I would get bed and breakfast free. She treated me like her younger brother and my stay there was very comfortable, cheap and useful.

Schloss Shon Brune.

The place was in an apartment just outside the palace, named Schloss Shon Brune (Beautiful Brown Fortress). Before the revolution of 1918, when Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved and Austrian Republic formed, this was the Palace where the Austro-Hungarian Emperor lived with his family. It was now a museum where I went by a queer turn of luck. I was living near the palace, within the palace compound, a very spacious one and very beautiful, with the statue of Maria Thanesa, placed on a high mound facing the Palace inside the palace ground. The tall trees were pruned and made into green walls, down the lanes and bye lanes of the garden. The former grandeur was no doubt not there, but what remained was also, very impressive indeed.

Miss Violet was a good student and picked up Russian quickly. The time for her study was at the time of breakfast and soon after. For the rest of the day, I was free to

roam about, but there was one restriction, namely, the garden gate was locked at 10 P.M. It was a very nice arrangement in all other respects. On Sundays and other holidays, she would often invite me to lunch in some restaurant outside and there she would ask me all kinds of questions about Russia, her economy, politics and social aspects. She was a typical artist and also an intellectual and found it difficult to accept the Soviet system. But the discussions showed how keen she was to understand, if not agree with the Soviet system. I myself did not agree cent percent, While talking or discussing or learning Russian, the medium was German and thus I got practice of talking in German and understanding German conversation better and was thus benefitted both ways.

Social Democratic Govt.

I got acquainted with the leaders of Social Democratic Party and also the Editorial Board of Arbeiter Zeitung (workers news paper) of which I was a regular reader. I enquired whether I could get a job and was assured that it would not be difficult. I wanted a job in the S. D. party office so that I could learn their working for practical experience. I was even prepared to work there without any remuneration in the beginning. I was keen to earn some money as my finances were running low, however economically I was living, by cutting out a regular lunch or dinner and in its place would take "hot dogs" or 'Wurst' and bread and a cup of tea or coffee. These cheap meals were substantial for the appetite and nutrition, though not for taste.

British Ambassador.

I was more keen to go to London and then to India, than just making a living or even making money by service in Austria or Germany. One day I went to the British Ambassador in Vienna and told him frankly of my peculiar predicament. He

apparently believed my statement. And after we talked for about half an hour, about India, Britain and Russia and the rest of the world, he suddenly brightened up and said if you apply to go to the Wembly Exhibition (1924) of Great Britain, I can give you visa for six weeks only, immediately and without any further enquiry. It was a great relief to me, almost a "wind fall". I decided to apply immediately and did so and in three days time I had the visa to go to great Britain for 6 weeks, to see the Wembly Exhibition.

Sri Bapat.

A few days back, a Bengalee, named Mazumdar came to Vienna and was lecturing about Tagore. I had met him in the office of the Socialist Party there. He was touring European cities, raising money by delivering lectures on Tagore by the sale of tickets. He was making enough money for his travels and even more. We became very friendly and he even invited me to join in his tour as his helper or manager. I attended two of his lectures and they were fairly well attended. I told him if I failed in my attempt to go to London, I might join him for two or three months. He had spoken about my adventures to his acquaintances and friends there and one of them happened to be a high Indian military officer, who was in Vienna for medical check up and treatment. Vienna was then considered to be the most advanced in medical science.

He expressed a desire to meet me and I did so. He was very eager to know about myself and my journey through Afghanistan and Central Asia and the details about these regions. He lauded me to the sky and also other Bengalees. He wished that Maharashtrians had shown such daring and spirit of adventure as the Bengalees. I pointed out that when Maharashtra has produced Shivaji, then Tatia Topi and even now Savarkar, Pingle etc he need not speak disparagingly of Maharastrians. He did not approve of Russian Social System

or economy and attempt at world domination by communism and all the rest of it, but he was a sterling Nationalist. He enquired from me what my future plans were. I said that I wanted to go to London and from there to India to resume the struggle for Independence and after Independence for Socialism. He was keen for independence. He wanted to know how I proposed to go to London and whether I had enough money for my living. I said frankly that I had very little funds left. He volunteered to pay £30/—which was my estimate of my need to reach London. I was grateful to him for this, and wished to take it as a loan. He said it was his contribution to my spirit of adventure and if I paid such sums to other Indian Revolutionaries, placed under similar circumstances, it would be repaying him. Such noble sentiments, I had never heard either before or after, though I have taken help or loan from so many Indians and foreigners. He said he was a Govt. servant and a Military officer to boot. If it was known that he had such relations with a rebel like Sibnath Banerjee, he might not only lose his job but even may be put in prison. So I must not try to find him out in India. He gave me £ 30 in Austrian marks immediately and asked me to forget about it. I know only that his name was Bapat and nothing further. I kept my word with him till 1947, the time of achieving Independence. After that I enquired and learnt he had retired and died and could not find any trace about his family. All honour to Bapat, the Maharashtrian Nationalist and people of that sort of high spirit.

3 months in Austria

I spent about 2 months in Vienna and was living on my own, spending the evening in the beautiful open air restaurants with beautiful music and nice cheap food and drink and highly intellectual talks with charming compa-

nions, if not walking in the streets looking at sights worth seeing.

The people were open, much more open to conversation and ready to open their hearts, than the Germans in Berlin, though both are of German stock. In a particular restaurant I frequented I developed a kind of friendship with a group of intellectuals. I found in Vienna that on an average one out of four or of five spoke English and some very fluently. I went out for strolls with them, and they showed me round the rapid improvements made by Vienna municipality, in improving the slums and working class quarters etc.

Danube Restaurant

Once I was taken for a long stroll up the Danube river to a beautiful bend, where the sunset seen through an opening of the forest was indeed grand. It was worth walking 3 or 4 miles to enjoy the view. I was more moved by the widow who was keeping a fairly big restaurant. I was introduced by my friend to her and her daughter aged 20/22 years, who was suffering from T. B. She was a little pale otherwise she was as pretty as other Viennese girls of that age. She was a blonde with wide eyes. The daughter was most interested to hear about India and Indian people and the Indian struggle, about which she had heard so much. She did not speak much English and our conversation in our table continued in English through my friend, who acted as the interpreter. After an hour, I wished to return, but she held us back for another hour. She said, I was one of the very few Indians she had met who was willing to converse seriously with her and expressed her gratitude to me. She requested me to come there frequently. I agreed with an if, i.e. if I found time. I invited her to come to India where Indians would cure her and restore her to full health. She thanked and smiled and said it was her dream, but circumstances hardly favoured such a course.

We had our evening meals in the Restaurant, but when we offered to make payment of the bill, they refused to accept payment. It was rather embarrassing. The daughter asserted that we were her guests of honour and she thanked my friend for having brought me, for taking the trouble of coming and sparing so much time for her in conversation. I honestly and feelingly replied that it has indeed been a rare pleasure for me. Moreover if I had been invited to her house, it would have been a different proposition. But she insisted on non-payment of the Bill and I reluctantly agreed on condition that when she came to India, she would be my guest. Addresses were exchanged but no letters not even one was exchanged. When we exchanged addresses, we both were sincere, and meant seriously and even after the lapse of 45 years I still remember the incident and can even see or imagine the glow in her pale cheeks and big bright eyes, while talking to me. Circumstances stood in the way of correspondence, which none of us could envisage at that time.

Switzerland

After thanking and bidding good-bye to the Austrian Socialist Party comrades and my hostess Miss Violet and last, though not the least the British Ambassador whose brain wave, opened up the route for me to London from Vienna, I left Vienna.

I had some apprehension that going to London may be easy, but coming out of London may not after all be as easy as going there. So I wished to finish my visits to Switzerland not for sight seeing mainly, but to see the League of Nations, which in the Soviet Union the comrades always called League of Robbers, and also the I.L.O. or the International Labour Organisation. In the I.L.O. I was glad to find that the name of the Late N.M.Joshi was well known and was spoken with great respect. The League of

Nations had been replaced by the United Nations, but the sound principles which were accepted in forming the I.L.O. are being still honoured and followed.

The spacious, and imposing buildings of the League of Nations are being used for various international purposes, one of the important activities being the rehabilitation of refugees from different countries. I had not much time or money for sight seeing in Geneva. I spent one day there and then went to Paris.

Budapest-Paris

"Paris is called a paradise on earth". I reached Paris as usual in the morning by train and after having hired a room in a cheap hotel, I went out for a stroll. My first attention was the Eifel Tower. It is many times the height of the Shahid Minar (Octolony Monument) (165ft) in the Calcutta Maidan. Whenever I go to a new town or city, I try to go up the highest building and have a bird's eye view of the city and surroundings. I did the same in Paris also. There are two lifts and one has to pay a small sum to use it. One lift takes you to four-fifth of the height and there you change to a smaller one. At the very top there is a Restaurant, where you can look around Paris and 20 miles of the suburbs over a cup of tea or coffee and snacks. There are telescopes fixed and on payment in the slots, you can use the telescope and see distant buildings and villages, but only for five minutes. If you wish to use the telescope longer, you have to put more coins in the slot.

Post Office

There is a post office, where you can buy stamps and picture post cards and post them there to your near and dear ones. Like others I took coffee and sent several picture post cards, sitting comfortably on 'top of the world.'

Budapest

I had learnt in Moscow that Prof. Suhrawardy, a brother of the Ex-chief Minister of undivided Bengal and Sahid Surhawady, ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, had been for a long time in Austria and was studying Russian art and theatre. I tried to contact him in Moscow, but learnt that he was in some provincial town of U.S.S.R. Later on I learnt that he was in Budapest. On my way from Germany to Austria, I went to Budapest. With great difficulty I found out the address which I had got from Moscow. It was a very foggy day, the speed of buses and trams was very slow, because of low visibility. But to my bewilderment, when I reached the place I learnt that he had changed his address to some other part of the town. I wanted to give up the attempt to find him as I had nothing in particular to do with him. But being by nature obstinate and averse to admitting defeat, I made another attempt, but on reaching that address, I learnt he had returned to Moscow only a week previously. So I was not to meet him, anyhow that time. I met him later in Zurich, Switzerland, by the sick bed of Sahid, my staunch opponent on policy but very likeable personally and a good friend. Prof. Surawardy was well versed in all kinds of Dramatic arts of different regions of U.S.S.R. and also of Indian States. He was recognised in U.S.S.R. also as an expert. But alas, it was not my line at all.

Swedornia (B)

Though I failed to meet Prof. Suhrawardy in my arduous quest for him, I discovered that a group from Russia had established one University, called "Swedornia" meaning freedom. The people in different parts of U.S.S.R., with or without pass port or their bags and baggages, had started this centre for fighting to oust the communists from power in Moscow and get back their riches. There were about

a thousand young trainees, both male and female, emigrants from different parts of U.S.S.R. I posed as an emigrant, businessman from Bokhara, dealing in Persian carpets. I had lived in Bokhara and spoke a little Persian, also, along with Russian.

So there was no difficulty in posing as a merchant of Bokhara. I went there and found that a rich industrialist had offered his landed estate as an asylum for the emigrants to be trained there and sent back to U.S.S.R. to subvert the Communist Regime. I had a mind to stay there for a month or so to know what was being cooked up there. I had no fixed purpose, except to see U.S.S.R. from a different angle to which I was made familiar for the last two years. The usual word for addressing people as 'comrade' in U.S.S.R. was taboo there and I was addressed as Gospadin or 'sir'. I had to do the same. After a little while waiting in the reception hall, I was taken to the Principal and had half an hour's talk about the aims and objects of the training centre. It was a counter revolutionary organisation, planning to overthrow the Soviet Government. Though I did not agree with the Soviet Union in all aspects, I would resist any attempt of the Swedornia, where I would get lodging, boarding, dress, etc. free. I said I would think it over and report in three days. There must have been Soviet spies there and I did not like to stay there as an anti-Soviet agent. I never went back there, but was intrigued to learn how the opponents of the Soviets were working actively for the overthrow of the Communist Regime.

Notre Dame

One fine morning having no particular program in my mind I was standing in front of the historical, beautiful and imposing Church Notre Dame (Our Lady), I found a group of 10/12 Americans, mostly elderly ladies, enter the building and engage a youngish person as

a guide. Instead of hiring a guide myself, which was rather expensive, I often joined such groups at a short distance and heard the explanatory speeches of guides, when they explained in English. Often I found the speeches of guides to be too long and in great detail. Then I would proceed to the next such group and so on and finish the whole sight-seeing or getting a bird's eye-view in half or one fourth the time the others took. I stayed long with this group and this particular guide's speeches were short and to the point, and had also a touch of humour. After he had completed the round and got an usually large tip, near the gate, he saluted me also and I returned the salute.

I felt a little embarrassed, as I was not paying any tip. He said, 'you enjoyed the round? I could read it from you face' It is the effort of these guides to please the sight-seers. They study their faces and if they find them bored, they cut short and if they show interest or put questions, the guides countinuc with flourish. It is their daily task. I replied, "I really enjoyed, and you spoke very well, to the point and short." I still thought he was after a tip, perhaps he was. He entered into conversation with me and after learning I was an Indian Revolutionary on my way to India via London and was not sure what was in store for me there, he became interested and suggested "let us take a cup of coffee". I thought it was the least he wanted to extract from me. However, I agreed and had coffee and snacks together along with further talks about each other. He insisted to make payment for both. I suggested as a compromise, that let each pay his own share. But he did not agree even to that and paid for both of us. He said he had earned much that morning and wished to enjoy with me, a small part of it. He was 5/6 years junior to me and was a teenager of about 17/18. He had no University or hardly any school education. His

parents were living in a distant village and being poor he had taken up the profession of a guide to make a living. He was an assistant for a year or so.

He invited me to go to his hotel. I then thought, it was a trap and I did not go with him. But I invited him to come to my hotel, which was not far. He came and confessed that he acted also as a guide for sight-seers. He showed me stomach dance himself in which he was an expert. The young man took keen interest in me and showed me round, the under-world in Mont Martre. My fear of being traped by him remained up to the last but I moved about with him about two days and learnt more than what I would have learnt in two months or more. On the third day I found a note in the hotel, where I lived, that he was going suddenly to his home in the south as his mother was seriously ill and would like to meet me after his return in a week or so. I reckoned that he had spent much more on my food and transport than what I did for him. I could not and did not wait for him for a week. I felt sorry however that I did not trust him fully inspite of his sincerity and open hearted hospitality. I don't know what was his motive. It might have been patriotic, to help another patriot of India. He left his permanent address, but I lost it. Later on I have been to Paris half a dozen times within the last 40 years. I went to Notre Dame twice hoping against hope to meet that sympathetic young man, who must have also by now grown quite old.

Versailles

While I was young and was reading in 'Egol-Danga' Middle school, I had a teacher from Malda (name I cannot recollect), who was a great admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte. Whenever he spoke of Napoleon, he became emotional and spoke in hyperbole about his genius and his great achievements. He men-

tioned often about Abbot's life of Napoleon. I read it while a student in Hooghly College borrowing it from the College Library. I also became an admirer of Napoleon. Later on, when in Moscow, much of the halo about Napoleon in my mind was knocked out and I started looking upon him as an Imperialist, pure and simple. He had genius and his ambition knew no bounds. But still I could not check the temptation of going to Versailles about 20 miles from Paris and see the Palace where he lived and the famous Palace Gardens, where he roamed about with Josephine and later on with the queen, and planned his campaigns and dreamt his dreams. The impressions of early youth about the genius of this world figure inspired me even after Moscow teachings and I am not ashamed to admit it. His thoughts do even now draw admiration from me as a genius, though overshadowed by Marx and Lenin. To stay there longer I even took a room in a small hotel and spent the night and the next day also there roaming in the Palace and in the Palace Gardens. Usually people go there from Paris in the morning and return in the evening. I could have done the same, but Versailles kept me for two whole days dreaming and roaming.

Treaty Hall

In Versailles also lies the famous Hall of Marrot, where the Peace Treaty was signed in 1919 after the defeat of Germany in the first World War. It was no Treaty. It was an abject surrender. Twenty five years later in the same Hall, in 1943, was signed the surrender of France to Germany and two years later in 1945 surrender of Germany to the Allied Forces. These are ups and downs of History, full of pathos as well as deep lessons of history.

Waterloo-Panorama

Many years later, I was lucky to see the Panorama view of the battle of Waterloo, my wife was also with me. It was a semi-circular dome. Standing on a raised platform as if the real battle was going on. Napoleon's

famous Imperial Guards in their gorgeous dress repeatedly and furiously charging the small phalanx in square formation of the Iron Duke (Wellington). The tough British infantry with fixed bayonets, some standing and others kneeling on the ground, stood the furious charges repeatedly. The casualties on both sides were very high. The Iron Duke held on like a rock. Napoleon is seen, directing the operations, riding his white horse, from a village nearby. Many horses and riders were rolling wounded and dying nearby. Even the smoke and the embers of the village huts burning were visible. I have never seen anything so graphic and dramatic in my life. Much later I saw in Moscow the Panoramic view of the battle of Borodino. It was a copy of Waterloo Panorama made by Russians. It was a fairly good copy. In both instances the hero was Napoleon and in both cases the military genius had to eat the humble pie in the face of overwhelming forces against him.

Sylvan Levi

I had heard in India of the fathomless learning of Sylvan Levi and Mrs. Sylvan Levi. He and his wife were great admirers of Gurudev Tagore and spent much time in Santiniketan. When I went to meet Prof. Levy, I found him engaged in learning Chinese language in his study room filled to capacity with books on various subjects. He was over 60 years in age. I was struck with the sagacity of this scholar. People much younger fight shy of such an attempt as learning Chinese. It is one of the most difficult languages in the world. My admiration for that humanitarian scholar Sylvan Levi increased immensely by this single fact. He asked many questions about Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and Santiniketan. He relaxed, and spent one hour with me. I apologised for taking so much of his time, when he could have learnt many words of Chinese. I told him that I went to pay respects to one who loved India so deeply. He was pleased and I was glad that I could please him.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Are the USA Good Allies

Prof. Nadav Safran of Harvard has written in *News from Israel* about the implications of the Indo-Pakistan war for countries dependent on the USA, who may now find that the greatest of all military powers is inclined to be a fickle ally. He says :-

The Indo-Pakistan war suggests some interesting lessons and bears some important implications for the Arab-Israel conflict.

Observers in Israel have been particularly struck by the fact that Pakistan has been abandoned in its hour of dire need, and that the Chinese and the Americans allowed the Indians, backed by the Soviets, to dismember a state that was a friend and an ally without even making a serious attempt to save it.

Undoubtedly, there is a lesson to be learned here, but it is easy to misjudge its nature. It is tempting to rush to the conclusion that allies and friends are worthless, and that there is no substitute for relying upon oneself for one's own security. It is tempting but wrong.

It is wrong because it oversimplifies a number of complex issues. The United States was not a formal ally of Pakistan for purposes of the recent conflict. Pakistan is linked to the United States through CENTO and SEATO, but these alliances are aimed at Communist aggression, not at particular conflicts between member states and third parties. This notion was repeatedly and explicitly reiterated in the 15 years since these pacts were concluded, and was confirmed by practice, including the precedent of the American stance in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965.

Of course, an alliance for one purpose creates a presumption, though not an obligation, of mutual assistance with regard to other purposes ; however, this presumption is two-sided, and in the case at hand Pakistan had chosen to remain aloof from the American

war in Vietnam, which fell much more plausibly within the purview of the SEATO treaty than the Indo-Pakistan conflict. But let us grant, withal, that the United States had an interest in the survival and integrity of Pakistan and that it had given the Pakistani Government to understand that much. Is it justifiable to conclude from recent events that this kind of solicitude is useless ?

It may be, if one postulates circumstances similar to those that confronted Pakistan. Pakistan was facing secession and dismemberment due to an internal crisis, even without any outside interference. The Indian military intervention merely quickened an inevitable process. In such circumstances, one can perhaps say, paraphrasing the Psalmist : If a state cannot preserve itself, in vain shall its friends be solicitous.

Short of such a situation, a friendship might well have helped. Even as it was, the United States had begun to make some moves, including pressure on the Soviets and naval manoeuvres, that might have seen Pakistan through the immediate crisis of Indian intervention if it had been able to hold on a little longer. But the rot was so deep that Pakistan could not hold for more than two weeks.

The Indo-Pakistani war suggests then, not the uselessness of friendships but the limits of what they can do. It also suggests their possibilities, if one looks at the Indian side of the picture. India might not have been able to accomplish what it did had it not received the backing of the Soviet Union. That support shielded India from American and Chinese pressure long enough to permit it to finish what it had set out to do. It is no use to argue from this that Soviet support is somehow intrinsically more valuable than American or Chinese ; because the fact is that the Soviets were in a position to give effective support with minimal risk, while the Americans and

the Chinese could render effective assistance to Pakistan only by taking drastic and risky steps. We are back to the basic situation, and to the real lesson, which is that friendship is useless unless it is given a reasonable chance to come into play, and that self-reliance is crucial because it can provide that reasonable chance for friendship, not because it can do without it. The practical implications of this lesson are different from the 'go it alone' conclusion indicated by the other lesson.

Struggle against Racism

Fyodor V. Konstantinov of the USSR Academy of sciences discusses the racial crimes committed by different states even to-day; though the world recognizes that such actions are criminal and contrary to all international standards of Human Rights. We reproduce parts of this discussion from *Backgrounder*, a publication of the information branch of the Consulate General of the USSR :

The United Nations Organisation proclaimed 1971 the year of struggle against racism. This is a great problem of concern for all freedom-loving peoples. The reason and motive for raising this problem at the United Nations were the events in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960 when the racialists of the South African Republic fired on a peaceful demonstration demanding the repeal of discriminatory passes which subjugated indigenous Africans to their masters as to slave owners. Sixty-nine people were killed and 180 wounded in this racialist massacre of unarmed South African Bantu workers. This bloodshed enraged all honest people on earth.

Yet the bloodshed in Sharpeville was only one episode (by no means the most horrible one) in the bloody chronicles of racist crimes against humanity.

Racism, racial segregation and discrimination—some of the grimmest evils of capitalism—still exist on our planet, in some countries even as a dominant ideology and policy.

As is known, the ideologists of racism allege that mankind is divided into "superior" races capable of attaining the pinnacles of culture and civilisation and inferior races incapable of cultural progress. Racism furnished and is furnishing the ideological basis for colonial conquest. Under the black banner of racism the most heinous crimes were perpetrated against the peoples, against humanity. Extermination of whole peoples, slave trade, ruthless colonial oppression of the indigenous inhabitants of Asia, Africa, Latin America—all these and many other brutal atrocities on the conscience of the bourgeoisie were consecrated and justified by various kinds of racialist theories.

Modern experience proves that racism continues to exist as an ideological weapon of the reactionary and militarist forces of our time.

Every year the whole world witnesses new and new manifestations of the police reign of terror against the Negro people, assassinations of Negro political leaders, judicial persecution of fighters for Negro civil rights.

At present a racialist court in California, on the basis of a framed up charge, intends to victimize the courageous fighter for Negro freedom, the fearless Communist and patriot, Angela Davis. Such phenomena have long become a rule of the "American way of life."

Chauvinism is the main ideological credo not only of the home but also the foreign policy-makers of US imperialism, which strives to rule everywhere, interferes in the affairs of other peoples, infringes with a high hand on their inborn rights and sovereignty, uses force, bribery, and economic infiltration in an effort to impose its will on states and whole regions of the world.

A special place in the military and political practices of US imperialism is held by its shameful armed intervention in Vietnam, then in Cambodia and Laos.

The reign of racist terror in its most unbridled forms continues as before in the South African Republic where racial discrimination is enforced by law.

In the hands of the ruling classes of the South African state racism is a weapon used to keep the indigenous population in colonial bondage, to preserve a situation in which a white minority of 3.7 million can ruthlessly exploit a 16-millioned non-European population. This is why the government of the South African Republic has proclaimed racial discrimination its official policy.

The basis for the policy pursued by the South African racialists is the apartheid doctrine which prescribes a separate life for different races and national minorities inhabiting the South African Republic. With the aid of this theory the racialists are systematically brainwashing the European population of the country.

The racialists of the South African Republic are followed by their junior partners of "kindred spirit" in Southern Rhodesia. For several years now the events in that country neighbouring the South African Republic have been causing concern and indignation of world public opinion.

Recently a shameful deal was concluded between the fascist regime of Southern Rhodesia and the British conservative government in contravention of the United Nations resolutions on sanctions against the racialist government of Ian Smith.

Racialism is flowering in Angola and other colonies of fascist Portugal which she proclaimed her "overseas territories".

The world was witness to the tragic developments of the Indian Subcontinent : the military conflict between India and Pakistan. Where are the root causes of these saddening events ? They are in the colonial heritage left by imperialism. Following its perfidious

"divide and rule" policy Britain exploited religious prejudices and strived to instill antagonisms between Hindus and Moslems.

The immediate cause of the military conflict was the treacherous policy and the brutal crackdown by the military rulers of Pakistan on the Bengali population of East Pakistan. About one million Bengalis were killed and ten million escaped from East Pakistan to India to save their lives as another fit of chauvinistic hysteria afflicted the reactionary military of Pakistan.

Export Promotion in India

A. C. Banerjee, Executive Director of the Trade Development Authority, Government of India, writes in "*International Trade FORUM*" about their scientific approach to international trade promotion. We give below certain excerpts from his article :

INDIA IS TRYING a new approach to export promotion. After more than a decade of effort in this field, we in the Government have realized that traditional, generalized trade promotion techniques are not working well enough. So we are trying a new tack—what we call the "mireo" or "pin-point" approach. The Government has established a new agency that identifies producers with export potential finds the most promising markets for their products, helps them gear up their production if necessary, and then leads them through the marketing process and helps them overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of actually selling to these markets.

Although the size and complexity of India's export promotion institutions make its situation somewhat unique, many of the problems that led up to this new venture will be familiar to export promotion officials—and exporters—in other countries, and if it is successful, it may spur them to rethink their own programmes.

Like many other developing countries,

India recognizes that export growth is vital to the fulfilment of its development goals, and in recent years it has made substantial export gains. In the 1968/69 fiscal year, India's exports scored a record 13.5% increase. Although the rate dropped in the following year, it rose again to 8.5% in 1970/71.

There has also been an encouraging development in the nature of Indian export. The share of non-traditional items such as ores, minerals and industrial products rose from 8.4% in 1960/61 to 35% in 1969/70; while during the same period the share of engineering products alone climbed from less than 1% to 15%.

While these trends are heartening, our performance has not been good enough. Over the decade, the annual export growth averaged only 3.9%, compounded, compared with our current five-year goal of 7% a year. The share of North America and western Europe in India's total exports has declined over the years, from 55% in 1960/61 to 39% in 1969/70. Although the United States continues to be our most important market, there has not been much increase in our exports to that country over the last three years.

The need: As Ministry of Foreign Trade Secretary H. Lal puts it, "...we have not done enough to tap the vast potential for marketing our goods in the affluent countries. If India wants to increase her share in total world trade, it is imperative for her to raise her exports to the affluent countries, particularly in manufactures."

There has certainly been no lack of attempts to promote Indian exports. Over the years the Government has introduced a battery of incentives, and dozens of official, semi-official and unofficial institutions have been established to promote or service exports. But the procedures involved in taking advantage of the incentives has been so

cumbersome and time consuming that many firms have been discouraged from even trying to export. And the effectiveness of the various export promotion institutions has been very mixed.

One basic reason for the disappointing performance of our export promotion efforts is that they have been too diffused and generalized. They have been based on general principles and devoted to commodities, territories and functions, but the exporter himself, the actual actor in the drama, has been in the background. So the thrust that would lead his product to his buyer was missing.

Among Indian Government officials, and no doubt among business men as well, the feeling grew that new approaches had to be tried if India was to meet its export goals and take advantage of the opportunities offered by world markets.

Getting started: In January 1970, Mr. R. B. Lall, Secretary of Foreign Trade at the time, put the situation this way :

"Our schemes and projects do not enable us to concentrate on supporting selectively individual exporters or firms or growth points, nor do we pay adequate attention to building up export capabilities of individuals or firms which show a degree of dynamism or interest in their effort."

Mr. Lall went on to moot the idea of creating an agency dedicated to exporters, first and last, a public sector agency that could operate outside areas handled by State trading agencies, with the object of inducing and organizing mainly small and medium scale entrepreneurs to develop their individual export capabilities.

The idea quickly took root and grew. The former Foreign Trade Minister B. R. Bhagat sent a note to the Prime Minister stressing the need to set up a market development agency in the public sector with complete autonomy

in its operations. It would include an "express thruway" branch to speed processing of applications for joint ventures for export production and would also attempt to relax some of the road blocks facing export industries. It would bring within its umbrella integrated services to be rendered to the exporter at a single point.

Sheikh Mujibur Thanks the Russians

A Press Release by the Soviet Information Service, dated 3rd February 1972, broadcasts to the Indian Press the following summary and commentary relating to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's speech in Dacca dated February 1, 1972:

All today's Soviet newspapers publish the report on the speech made on February 1, at a meeting in Dacca by Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Pravda singles out the words of Sheikh Mujibur expressing sincere gratitude to the USSR which held a consistent and principled position in the United Nations during the recent conflict on the Indian subcontinent and which helped, as the Prime Minister said, "To frustrate the conspiracy of the imperialists" who tried to hamper the just national-liberation struggle of the 74 million-strong people of Bangladesh.

Quoting a report of the PTI Agency from Dacca, Pravda states that Mujibur Rahman criticised the policy of the United States Government during the conflict on the Indian subcontinent. The Prime Minister pointed to the fact that the United States actively supported the military regime of Yahya Khan and supplied it with arms and equipment fully realising that the Bengalis were victims of mass murders. Mujibur Rahman said that the White House had supported the military regime which set itself the aim of destroying the Bengali nation.

Under the headings: "Who is responsible for the atrocities in East Bengal?" "Accom-

plices of crimes," "Unprecedented atrocities"—the Soviet newspapers publish reports on the revelation of fresh facts of crimes perpetrated by the West Pakistani army against peaceful inhabitants of East Bengal. For instance, according to INA agency from 3,000 to 4,000 people were killed in the area of Comilla alone (East Bangladesh).

The Government newspaper Izvestia cites reports from the Bangladesh Press to the effect that apart from the West Pakistani military regime the responsibility for the sufferings of the Bengali population of Bangladesh falls also on external forces that helped to fan the conflict on the Indian subcontinent, particularly on China and the United States. Izvestia reprints a report from the Bangladesh Observer regarding the gap separating Peking's words and deeds. The newspaper writes that having proclaimed itself a leader of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, Peking, during the conflict, openly sided with the Pakistani military regime which hurled bloody repressions against the people of Bangladesh.

The Moscow newspaper, Leninskoye Znamya, and a number of other newspapers publish a report on the speech made at a mass rally in Comilla by the chairman of the National People's Party, Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, who declared that the Soviet Union, which rendered Bangladesh decisive support at the most critical moment of its national-liberation struggle, is a sincere and unselfish friend of the people of Bangladesh, and all the peoples of the world fighting against reaction and imperialism. Pointing to the numerous difficulties facing the Bengali people, Professor Muzaffar Ahmad stressed, the newspaper reports, that only socialism is a reliable guarantee of building a happy and flourishing society in Bangladesh. The carrying out of socialist transformations, he pointed out, will facilitate the speedy emancipation of the

people of Bangladesh from all forms of social and economic inequality, oppression and exploitation.

Franciscus Cornelis Donders, 1818-1889

A short account of the life and work of the great scientist and ophthalmologist Franciscus Cornelis Donders has been published in *The Netherlands*. We reproduce it below :

On hearing of a professor whose field of knowledge and tutorship covered anatomy, physiology, histology, anthropology and forensic medicine, you would probably be inclined to dismiss him from the twentieth century. And you would be right. If you then learn that his achievements also brought him international fame as an ophthalmologist you will agree that even for an era in which the necessity of specialisation was less marked than it is now his versatility could be qualified as prodigious.

Franciscus Cornelis Donders lived from 1818 till 1889. When he opened an eye clinic in Utrecht in 1851 the funds came out of his own pocket. Seven years later this grew into the ophthalmic hospital with which his name is irrevocably bound. The aim of the hospital was to provide relief for poor and needy eye sufferers, however history relates that among those who took their places in the waiting room were an Emperor and Empress of Brazil. In 1929, a patient arrived there for treatment after a journey from the United States, and requested that he be examined by the famous man. Prof. Donders had departed this earth forty years earlier.

How much of his fame, of his versatility, how much of that pioneering hospital work, how much of Donders' 399 scientific publications still appeals to the layman's imagination after some eighty years ?

In 1872 he published a paper on the subject of the "basal muscular current emanating from the heart," a subject which will for

long remain one of the pillars of cardiac research. There is a direct link between Donders' findings in this field and the modern art of electro-cardiography, which became possible thanks to the development of the string galvanometer by Willem Einthoven.

Another original discovery made by Donders, and proved beyond doubt by carefully executed tests, concerned the existence of an area of sub-atmospheric pressure in the thorax, the area around the lungs and in between thoracic membranes. He demonstrated that the introduction of air between these membranes causes the lung to collapse. This discovery was employed successfully for decades in pneumothorax treatment associated with tuberculosis of the lung. These are but two of Donders' discoveries in the field of physiology, in which field alone he published 77 papers. His greatest achievements, however, were in the field of ophthalmology. In the early years of his clinic in Utrecht, he busied himself mainly with the anomalies of refraction and accommodation (defects in visual acuity resulting from imperfections in the lens system in the human eye). As a physiologist possessed of immense knowledge and experience, this study was not difficult for him.

Until 1860, the range of spectacle lenses available was limited to twenty five. Donders brought about a radical change in this situation ; indeed he completely reversed it. Taking as his point of departure the adaptation of the lens to suit the eye, and not vice versa he proceeded to develop a veritable arsenal of spectacle lenses comprising not only ordinary types for corrective purposes but also cylindrical lenses for dealing with cases of astigmatism. All these he arranged systematically in a cabinet, the strength of each lens in dioptres being indicated on the metal tab used to hold it. So comprehensive was his approach to this problem that it has not been improved

upon to this very day. The results of his labours have more than doubled the working power of human beings. The ophthalmic mirror which he developed, and which was an improvement on one devised by Von Helmholtz, is still in use today.

Following the example of his Swedish colleague Holmgren, Donders recommended to the railway authorities in Holland that compulsory sight tests should be introduced for all employees. He undertook journeys in order to lay down the criteria for the tests, and the apparatus which he designed for establishing a subject's ability to distinguish colours has not so far been improved upon in principle. Franciscus Cornelis Donders was born on 27th May, 1818 in Tilburg, then a small industrial town in the Catholic-dominated southern part of Holland. Franciscus had a yearning for knowledge, and regarded teaching as his calling. In 1842, he was asked to undertake the teaching of anatomy, histology and physiology at the School for Public Health Officers in Utrecht, at which he himself had studied earlier. Such was his progress as a tutor there that five years later he was appointed to a specially created post at the University in that city. He was an outstanding speaker and had a command of Latin and modern languages. While lecturing on one occasion, the French physiologist Claude Bernard saw Donders sitting at the back of the Paris classroom. He invited him to take his place on front of the class, and this Donders did without hesitation, continuing the lesson in fluent French. What is the connection between Donders' early career and his later excellence as an ophthalmologist? In 1851, his particular interest in the physiology of the senses took him to England, where he met the famous Von Graefe. There he occupied himself with the work of doctors specializing in diseases of the eye. In 1858, at the

recommendation of a special committee, a grant of forty thousand guilders (eighty thousand Rupees) was made to his clinic in Utrecht. This served to remove the last traces of doubt from his mind and, declining an offer of a post in Bonn in succession to Prof. Von Helmholtz, Donders devoted his energies fully to his new, self-chosen task.

His Physiological Laboratory, and later his Eye Hospital have throughout the decades served as sources of knowledge for innumerable students. Moreover, Dutch and foreign medical men of repute have chosen to visit those establishments in pursuit of knowledge. Franciscus Cornelis Donders was buried in Utrecht. One of the main squares of that city is adorned by his statue.

Moshe Dayan Answers a British Press Man

Certain excerpts from an interview in *The Observer* have been reproduced in *News from Israel*. We quote from these in the following :

Question : *Some people believe that you, personally, are an obstacle to political negotiation with the Egyptians—Why?*

—*that you want a big showdown with them, a chance to knock them out for good. Do you believe that negotiations with the Arabs is impossible?*

—*The people who say that do not know me. Nor do they know the facts. Or they know about them but wish to distort them.*

First, what I think about the Arabs. The Arab is part of my life. He lives on the land which I live on and he is my neighbour. He was not here before my forefathers were, no, but he was here before I was and before my father was. I understand how and why he sees me as a foreigner, a trespasser, somebody who has come from outside. I understand him enough to know that. But also I know him enough to be able, if he wills, to accept me as his neighbour and live at peace with me. I know the Arabs.

When I was a baby, nine months old, I was very ill. My mother became very disturbed. She decided she would take me several miles away to see a well-known doctor. On the way I became worse, and was crying. This was out in the country. We passed an Arab looking after his goats, and he heard me crying and offered help. He milked a goat, and gave me the milk to drink, telling my mother I would not cry any more and would get better. He was right. He may have saved my life.

Later, when I was still a small boy, I remember a day when Arab boys threw stones at me. An Arab man came up and drove them off, took me into his home and gave food, and showed that he was sorry, though he could not speak my language and at that time I could not speak his. But human links are stronger than language.

Fundamentally I am a farmer, somebody who cultivates the soil. This is what the 'Falach' does, the Arab peasant. I sympathise with the Arab peasant. I am a Jewish peasant, I feel a strong affinity with him. The most important thing to understand about the Middle East is how very difficult it is for a man to make a living. This is the bond which should bring Jews and Arabs together.

You spoke of Arabs as a permanent part of the population of an increasing Israel. But what is the future of the Arab in the State of Israel?

—At the moment we have an Arab minority of about 300,000 to 400,000. If you asked them now if they would like to stay here as Israeli citizens, even though it would mean serving in the Israeli Army and possibly fighting Arabs on the other side, or whether

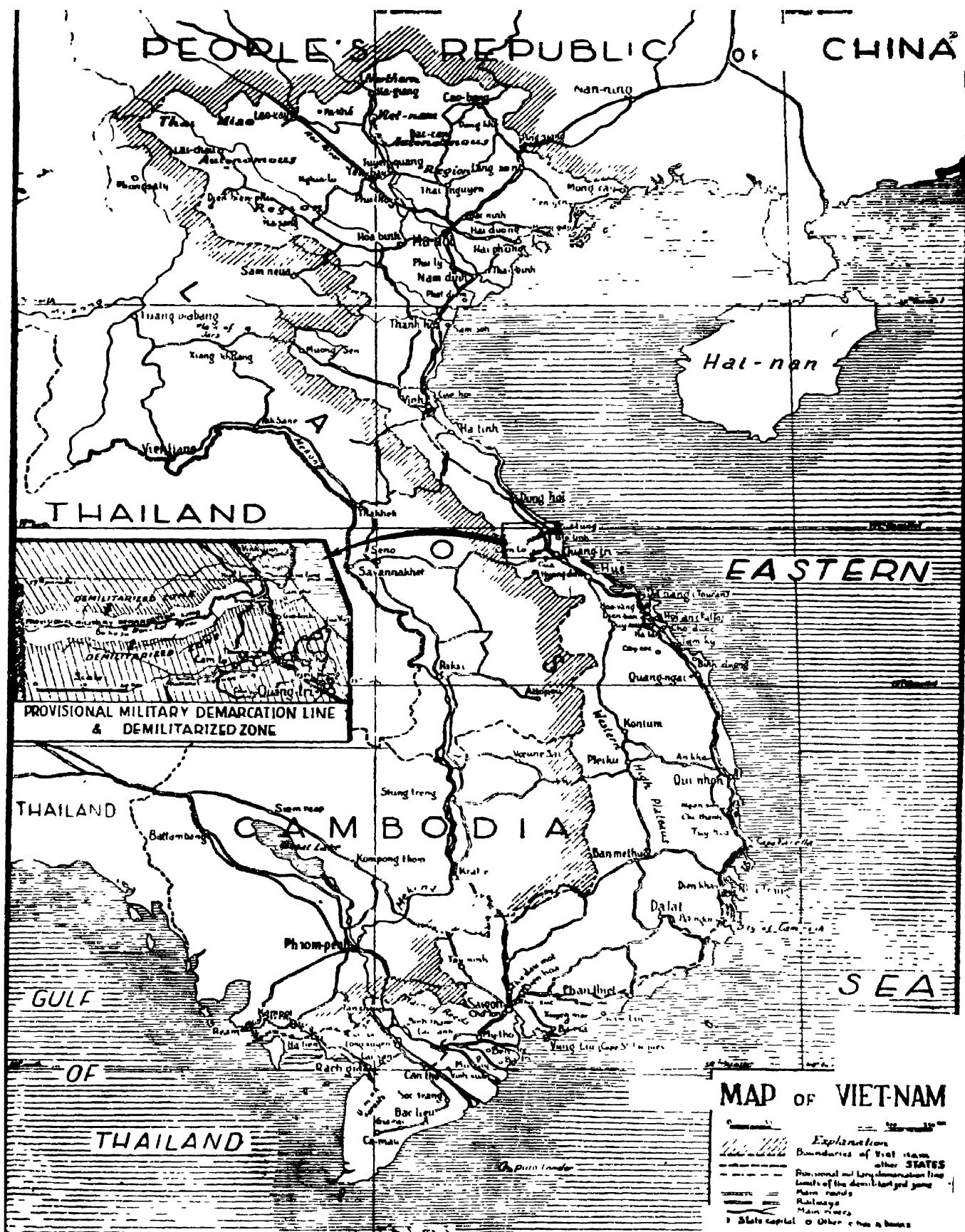
they would prefer to leave the country with full compensation and settle in one of the neighbouring Arab countries, I am positive you would find they would rather stay here. And I am very proud of it. I am very proud of it.

I have, personally, said to many of them : 'Look here, old boy : we can buy your piece of land and give you enough money for you to buy another piece of land and a house just across the border, say 15 miles from here. You can go to Jordan, you can go to the Lebanon, you can go to Syria, or you can go farther. Or you can stay here, and be a citizen of Israel—just like me. Then you will have to pay taxes—and a lot of them—and if need be, you will have to fight the Jordanian Army, or any other Arab army.' None of them want to leave this country.

I hope that they will never have to fight the Arabs. If they do, it is only because the Arab countries have attacked them. I do not want them to stop being Arabs. They will stay Muslim, with different traits, a different faith, a different personality. They will not assimilate. They will not inter-marry. But they will, it is now clear, live here on an equal footing with us, talking the same language, talking also their own language, living out their own history, and so on.

As the man of action which everybody knows you are, don't you just long to, well, fight ?

I am a man of action. It is action I care about and believe in. But I do not confuse action with aggression, with violence. Action for me is creating, not destroying. I told you, I am a farmer. I like to plant, to see things grow, to help them grow. My passion is about life, not death—life for everybody.



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RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



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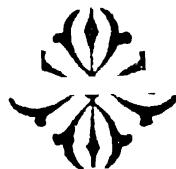
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NOTES

What Is Economic Growth

In a democratic society economic growth would naturally be associated with the Benthamite ideal of the greatest good of the greatest number. As the physical body of man needs a balanced and proportionate development of all parts of the body ; the economic body of the country at large also needs balanced growth and progress of all persons constituting the nation. If in the physical body the head or the chest is over developed and the arms or the lower limbs are atrophied, or under-developed ; one would have to correct such imbalance before the person so affected can make fullest use of his physical abilities in the material fields of life. The nation as a whole also requires that all persons should act in a manner which will enable them to be equal partners in production ; that is as far as possible and within their ability ; and also in consumption to the extent that will be found justified by accepted standards fixed by the nation after due consideration of the moral laws and bases of human rights. If such economic equality is not

established and ten percent of the population are allowed to own ninety percent of the wealth or income of the community, such a state of affairs will be contrary to the higher principles of economic development, no matter if the nation produced great wealth by use of forced or underpaid labour or by following unethical rules of extortion and deprivation as far as certain members of the national body were concerned. Judging the nation's economic growth solely by the quantum of wealth produced, therefore, cannot be a just, correct and morally acceptable method of measuring economic growth.

The economic law of diminishing utility proves that as a man's possessions increase in quantity ; the usefulness of any additional quantities of possessions progressively diminish. So that piling up possessions in the hands of a few men, can never be a method of deriving the greatest usefulness from whatever is produced by man's efforts. This has been known to economists from the days of Adam Smith and modern socialistic preachings are merely based on this old law of economics. Professor A. C. Pigout dealt with this aspect of the

economics of production, distribution and consumption in his *Economics of Welfare* with great mathematical exactitude. The law of diminishing returns prove that a limited number of persons should not be made to do all the hardwork nor that a few hectares of land only should be put to cultivation to produce all the crops the nation needed. Just as all men should be equal partners in the field of consumption, subject to certain ethical and economic limitations ; so should all men and all material resources be put to work or use in order to obtain the maximum return with the minimum of effort. The number of "drones" should be reduced to the fewest and the utilisation of resources made as wide spread and full as possible. And that is what all countries have been trying to do during modern times, though "drones" are cropping up in an "ever new" manner through the creation of party workers, legislators and so forth whose contribution to the GNP are microscopic. Natural resources, machinery and other capital also are left relatively idle at times while maximum pressure is put on certain selected bits and pieces making production difficult and costly. If the economy rested on the proper utilisation of all factors of production and the most equitable distribution (and consumption) of the product ; one would come nearest to an ideal economic system. Other things being equal and showing least deviation from the ideal standards, the size of the gross national product could then be the measuring rod for the correct assessment of economic development.

Size Control of Newspapers

The Government have found over and over again that their extraordinary laws, rules, controls etc. hardly ever succeed in achieving the objectives that they are supposed to achieve. The rules are observed more in violation than by being obeyed. The controls

are defied too, in such a variety of ways that no one can ever find out how, where and in what manner they failed to do what they were meant to achieve. The idea that by controlling the size of newspapers the Government will be able to save foreign exchange or save themselves from criticism by the Press will be found to have been based on utterly false hopes. Nothing will be saved in foreign exchange, rather people will insist on getting their quotas and the total imports will surpass previous maxima of imports. As to criticism of government, extensity is always less dangerous than intensity. And there are more ways of attacking a Government than by making use of pages in Sunday newspapers. Posters, handbills, pamphlets and magazine articles can be powerful instruments for destroying the popularity of a government. So can be the sensational "discoveries" made in the pages of weekly papers. In fact two pages in a well circulated daily paper may not compare so well with the same space in a weekly journal which has made a name for the discovery of governmental secrets. Generally speaking the attempt that the Government are making, through size control of newspapers, to reduce the import of foreign newsprint, is bound to fail. Moreover of all the foreign exchange expenditure that the Government permit, there are many which are quite unnecessary or even injurious to the nation's good name and well being. Many delegations are sent to foreign countries which in no way do any good to the nation. Many persons are allowed to go abroad without any good reason. Many things are imported too which have good Indian substitutes. The public should demand publication by Government of all details relating to the foreign exchange disbursements permitted every year. That will help the people to make valuable suggestions for saving foreign exchange. Much more

good will be done that way than by publishing the long lists of heavy income tax payers or of persons who had not paid their income tax dues.

Death of Jamini Roy

The great Indian artist Jamini Roy died in Calcutta on the 24th of April 1972. He was born in Beliatore village of the Bankura district of Bengal in April 1887. The art traditions of Bankura are of long standing. The Vishnupur terracottas, the earthen dolls and toys made by the village Kumhars, of which the Bankura horse has been recognised as a thing of beauty by art lovers all over the world and the silk and metal work of Bankura artisans have been famous for hundreds of years. One may also mention the wood carving, the illuminated manuscripts on tal leaves and the ivory playing cards, of which old examples can be found though new ones are no longer made.

Coming from such an artistic background the art instincts of Jamini Roy naturally derived nourishment from the folk art of his homeland and his own style of work was at once fully creative though it displayed its family resemblance with what the villagers have expressed in line and colour for generations. Jamini Roy received his art education from Europeans teaching in the Art Sch of Calcutta, where he was a student for many years, and was thus well versed in the art styles of different countries and periods. After finishing his art education the artist was for many years practising what he had been taught but this never gave him any satisfaction for the reason that reproduction of popularly accepted art motifs or photographic portraiture did not enable him to express his aesthetic urges to any extent. He, therefore, began to do original work and his bold lines for depicting the remarkable shapes and forms which emanated from his creative imagina-

tion, soon attracted the attention of art critics.

He used colour to enrich the representation of his imagery and, in this too, he showed the same strength and distinctiveness that he had shown in his use of lines. Some have found in his art a similarity with the work of the Potuas of Kalighat and other religious centres. But one must remember that the Potuas were mainly mere craftsmen reproducing shapes and forms in a mechanical fashion, while Jamini Roy's paintings were aesthetically creative and expressed the artist's mental images, quite often by use of techniques unknown to the Potua craftsmen. Some of his paintings remind one of the rose windows of European churches or of Byzantine representations of religious subjects. Jamini Roy's art is truly original and creative and has been accepted as such by connoisseurs all over the world. In his use of technique he has never tried to make a secret of his Western training. He has expressed his mental imagery in the most vivid manner by use of all methods of depiction at his command, freely and lavishly, with no thought of adhering to any style or of building up a school of art named after himself. Jamini Roy has never been an imitator. He neither imitated any styles nor represented any subjects by close imitation of its natural form and physical character. We had the pleasure of discussing this matter with him. He said art must be creative and never a mere copy of what nature has given to us. His art, he said, was never an imitation of something that exists ; but he only sought inspiration from nature ; the pictures he painted were expressions of what he felt and imagined. All aesthetic imagery are to be accepted in their totality. It is no way to appreciate art by breaking up pictorial visions into their alleged components and by trying to fix the caste and ancestry of each piece.

Jamini Roy has departed but his art re-

mains to commemorate the beautiful images that were born in his mind and were projected externally in material shape, colour and form, to enable those who will come after him to share his artistic emotion when he was no longer there.

Freedom of the Press

One of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution is "the right to freedom of speech and expression to all citizens". This freedom has been interpreted by the courts to include freedom of the Press under the constitution. Parliament can pass legislation reasonably restricting this right "in the interest of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence." The attempt made by the State to restrict the size of a newspaper is an imposition on the freedom of the Press ; for restricting the size of a newspaper is preventing it from expressing its opinion, critical assessments etc. to the extent that its size is cut down by orders of the State. One may say that if the State restricts the pages of a newspaper to half its normal number of pages it would be interfering with the freedom of the Press to some extent definitely. The limiting of pages therefore is contrary to the guarantee given by the Constitution.

India has a large number of newspapers and periodicals which may total upto more than 14,000 in 1972. Of these about 700 would be dailies, 3000 (approx.) weeklies, 1200 fortnightlies, 4000 monthlies, 1000 quarterlies and 400 annuals. All these and other periodicals have a total circulation of 3,00,00,000 (three crores). These numbers show the importance of the Press in India and emphasize the reason why the Government should not play with its freedom in any manner whatsoever. In foreign countries daily newspapers often

have much more than ten pages. Double that number or even three or four times, may also be found quite often. It may be argued that restricting size is not suppressing expression of views. The journals can say whatever they want to say in the ten pages that they will still have at their disposal. True, but a mere summary expression of views does not complete the work of enlightening the public about the various aspects of what goes on in the world ; which newspapers try to do by explanatory articles etc. whenever necessary. This work of elaboration cannot be done satisfactorily within a limited space ; and where restrictions are imposed on the size of newspapers, much may remain unsaid of what the newspapers wish to say. Would that or would that not be interfering with the freedom of the Press?

Wars of Liberation

The word liberation is used much too freely now-a-days by persons who wish to describe wars generated by motives of various kinds. When the Chinese army invaded Tibet, the propaganda machine of Peking described that act of gross aggression as an attempt at liberation of the Tibetan people. The lakhs of Tibetans who were killed by the Chinese soldiers were no doubt liberated from all earthly sufferings ; but what the Chinese meant by liberation was liquidation of the Tibetan theocracy and its replacement by a Chinese imperial-Communist autocracy. The Chinese justified their act by reference to the fact that the Tibetans were at one time, several hundred years ago, a subject nation of the Chinese Empire. They did not say why and how an imperial overlordship of a foreign power was super charged with liberty and freedom, while a national theocracy was an imposition of slavery on the nationals of Tibet. Today when more than half the Tibetans have died

due to liberation at the hands Chinese soldiery and large numbers of Chinese have been imported into Tibet to replace the dead Tibetans ; freedom is flowering in the over-crowded grave yards of Tibet.

The latest war of liberation is being carried on by the North Vietnamese army which is trying to uproot the American aided South Vietnam government. The North Vietnamese are being aided by the Russians (and also by the Chinese). The only good thing in this war of proxies of the super powers is the presence of some South Vietnamese who call themselves communists. They are known as the Viet-Cong and want union with North Vietnam to form one large Communist state of Vietnam. In Tibet too there must have been a few pro-Chinese communists. But the vast majority of the Tibetans were happy with the Dalai Lama at the head of their government. In South Vietnam a very large proportion of the people are not communists and do not desire to become a part of a big communist state. In the circumstances, one has to work out how far the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam is just conquest and how far it is for establishing freedom.

The Many Facets of Imperialism

Many empires have been established in human society from time to time in history, mainly in an open and declared manner ; by armies of occupation and by imposition of imperial taxes and tributes. There have been other empires which had been created by settlements of people migrating from the parent country to the imperial domain. Instances of direct occupation by force of arms can be found in the Roman Empire which spread in many parts of Europe and Asia or in the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and British Empires which were extended by wars of occupation as well as by other, more reprehensible means. Intrigues,

treacherous court revolutions, organised assassinations and other sinful methods have been used by empire builders throughout the ages and the spiritual descendants of the imperialists of olden days have not yet ceased their activities in certain parts of the world. Court revolutions are still organised by prospective imperial overlords and assassinations too, of a political sort inspired by foreigners, are not unknown in the present day world.

Direct occupation of other people's territory has generally fallen out of fashion, since modern empires are mainly created in a subtle and relatively invisible manner ; but one finds exceptions here and there, such as in the case of the Chinese occupation of Tibet or in Israeli expansionism. There are instances where empires, that is territories lorded over by foreign powers, do exist ; but are non-existent at law by reason of the formation of unions of states, which unions being born of compulsion, even by use of military might, are in reality the union of a large and powerful central entity with a number of weak satellites which have, willy nilly, to stay in the union. The USSR, for instance, have many socialist republics in it, which are quite different in point of race, language, way of life etc. of their inhabitants as compared to the people of European Russia. The peoples of Uzbegisthan, Armenia and Siberia, for instance, are not at all similar in their human characteristics. There are other races of people in the hegemony of states in Eastern Europe which are very dissimilar but are kept together by the Warsaw Pact which is a military alliance of powers among which the presence of the Russian giant shows clearly wherein lies the power of all final decision. In fact all these states are quite free to do what they like ; but do they ever do what they like or are they at times made to like what they do not like ?

In the case of China, we have already mentioned the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese. There are People in various parts of the land of China who do not like to be ruled by the party leaders of Peking. But they cannot secede from the People's Republic of China. The rulers at Peking even think of extending their territory in Russian Asia, or in the lands to the southern extremities of the frontiers of China. One should not be surprised if Peking has secret plans of expansion in South-East Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Himalayan regions of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Northern parts of Kashmir.

There are other aspirants in the field of imperialism whose case need not be discussed here. They are, among others, South Africa, Rhodesia and the UAR. But their expansionism is limited to the lands that adjoin their present territories and are, therefore, not yet becoming a world problem.

Last, but not the least, is the expansionism of the USA which is subtle, far reaching and affects the freedom and proper advancement of almost all races inhabiting the earth. The Americans are opposed to communism and are, therefore, interested in influencing the non-communist world to organise their forces for the purpose of fighting communism everywhere and in every way. The Americans (of the USA) also know that the communists are not united but that there is a basic split between the Russian and the Chinese led groups. America has actually organised military action to thwart communist expansion in East Asia and are still engaged in warfare in Vietnam. In their work of anti-communist organisation of non-communist nations, the USA have chosen the path of winning support by financial and military aid to selected groups of nations. They have thus given thousands of millions of dollars in cash

and kind to many nations, some of which have assuredly developed their military forces in a manner which creates an anti-communist war potential against communist blocs. Others have taken advantage of American assistance, but have played a double game in so far as they have indulged in "running with the hare and hunting with the hound." Among these double dealers Pakistan had been in the forefront; but their policy of planned breach of faith with whosoever had any dealings with them, led to the break up of their State in the eastern part in Bangla Desh. The Americans sent a naval force to assist Pakistan in East Bengal, but due to circumstances beyond the control of the USA, their 7th Fleet had to go back without doing anything of benefit to the military dictators of Pakistan. American imperialism has been using its fangs and talons in the Middle-East too in providing arms and finance to all who could ultimately go against the USSR. The President of the USA had recently been to Peking on an alleged mission of friendship; with a view, obviously, to organise China, more potently, as an enemy of Russia. How far this will work out in actual practice cannot be foretold at this stage, but, generally speaking, the Chinese are not likely to act as stooges of the USA. The Chinese will not doubt expect the USA to act against Russia more aggressively than they have done so far, before they, the Chinese, go actively against Russia on a sizeable scale.

The Pakistanis have been routed in Bangla Desh; but they are still established in the Western parts of the Indian Subcontinent in full force. With American assistance in money and military supplies the Pakistanis can be a menace to India. The USA would like to support the Pakistanis in view of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and mutual assistance. Whether Pakistan will risk total dissolution by fighting India again is a matter

which is of a speculative nature. The USA have recently got reinvolved in their Vietnamese adventure and may have to send troops to S. E. Asia again on a large scale in order to stop the progress of the Pro-Russian communist forces of North Vietnam in that area. The help that the USA may give to Pakistan will depend to a great extent upon the size of the American involvement in South East Asia. We have to wait and watch.

A Great Historian Speaks of Rammohun Roy

In September 1934 the famous historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar addressed a meeting in Darjeeling which was being held on the occasion of the death anniversary of Raja Rammohun Roy. The Associated Press reported Sir Jadunath's speech in summary as follows :—

"The Raja made long arduous preparations for his life's chosen task of founding a religion of concord. He went into the original sources of the chief religions of his day by mastering Sanskrit, Arabic, English and Hebrew and probably some amount of Tibetan. Mere emotionalism could not have created for him such a commanding position in the world of thought. Emotion is like alcohol administered to a sinking patient : it can create a temporary stimulation, but if it is given as a permanent diet, it promptly kills him.

"The Raja's success had a more solid foundation than frothy rhetoric. He was truly a pioneer--like the early North American explorers, who blazed a trail across the dark unknown and dangerous primitive forests to reach the West. At Rammohun's birth the old Indian civilisation was almost dead and Rammohun was the prophet of a new Indian civilisation, uniting the best elements of the East and the West, so that the Hindu race did

not perish in the new age as the American Indians have done.

"In Europe the Renaissance and the Reformation were two distinct movements. But in India they were united in the person of Rammohun. All modern Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Brahmos and Christians, irrespective of their special creeds, are the heirs of the rich legacy of spiritual and intellectual culture left behind by Rammohun Roy.

"To contemplate his life and achievements is to enoble our minds like glimpses of the pure, lofty, serene Himalayan heights caught amidst our low daily surroundings."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar was one of the greatest historians the world has produced. His books on Moghul history are accepted as authoritative by all scholars everywhere. His evaluation Raja Rammohun Roy's life and work, therefore, would be found specially interesting by students of history in this year of the bicentenary of his birth.

"Prabasi" Completes Seventyone Years of Publication

"Prabasi", a monthly review and miscellany in Bengali, was first published in April 1901 from 2,1 South Road, Allahabad. Its editor and publisher, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee was, at that time, Principal of the Kayasth Pathshala which was a College affiliated to the Allahabad University. Prabasi has continued to be published every month since then and has thus created a record in monthly journalism in Bengali. It may be said that there are very few monthly magazines in any language with such a record of unbroken publication over seventyone years. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore started writing for Prabasi from its first number. The Poet wrote his novel "Gora" for Prabasi. This novel ran as a serial for over two years. Later his autobiography was published as a serial. His drama Achalayatan was published in full in a

single number of Prabasi in 1911. The poet remained the most regular and prolific contributor to Prabasi during almost his entire life time. He wrote poems, songs with notation, short stories, essays and dissertations of superb quality for this journal which earned a unique place among the journals published in Bengali,

Will India go Nuclear ?

India has repeatedly reiterated her determination to keep out of the Nuclear group of powers. It is no doubt true that more than one country which has inimical feelings towards India have or can easily obtain nuclear weapons. India should, therefore, have nuclear weapons in her arsenal. Recently a number of important politicians have said, very seriously too, that India should manufacture nuclear weapons. All arguments against this proposal can be easily refuted. The only argument that is paraded regularly is the one about India's alleged undertaking to keep out of the nuclear camp. Our political leaders thought it was a point of honour, so to speak. But nobody really thinks that we are under any moral obligation to avoid arming ourselves with nuclear weapons. Pandit Nehru wanted to keep out of the nuclear camp. But that does not put us under any obligation to remain non-nuclear. Gandhiji wanted cottage industries and he was not fond of large scale industries. But Pandit Nehru, his successor, drifted completely out of Gandhiji's dreamland. He began building large capital intensive industries. But Sm. Indira Gandhi, his daughter, is now going in a different direction. She has started and almost completed a green revolution and is going all out for small industries and scientific agriculture. So, if Pandit Nehru wanted Indian soldiers to fight with swords and lances, that should not deter us from buying rifles. In fact now, with our very probable enemies armed with nuclear

weapons, we cannot afford to avoid these weapons. At Nehru's time he used to think of America protecting India from nuclear attacks. We now have grave apprehensions of America arming the Pakistan army with nuclear weapons in order to enable them to blast Indian forces off the battlefields. And China is there, too, with her nuclear weapons, looking hungrily at India's Himalayan territories. Everything considered India has to think of the effective protection of her long frontier and difficult coastal defences. Her vast population also needs special protection against nuclear attacks, which can be arranged for only through possession of the power to launch immediate nuclear counter attacks. The position, therefore, summarises down to the only conclusion that India must have nuclear weapons.

North Vietnam Denies Invasion of South Vietnam

On the 27th of April, the Radio news broadcast said that at the peace talks sitting the North Vietnamese delegates denied that they had invaded South Vietnam. They did not explain what half-a-million soldiers from North Vietnam with tanks, artillery and mortars were doing in South Vietnam territory. Were they there on a sight seeing tour or as a rather large military delegation ? We should, of course, be prepared to believe anything that we may be told.

Two weeks before this naive and unbelievable radio announcement we had received a Press Release from the USIS which read as quoted below :

"We deeply regret the escalation of fighting in South Vietnam instigated by Hanoi on a scale unmatched since the Tet offensive. Since 1968, the U. S. has reduced its forces in South Vietnam by 85 percent, whereas Hanoi has increasingly deployed North Vietnamese forces throughout Indo-China with the

apparent ambition to force its hegemony upon the entire area. As one New Delhi journal put it last week, 'Going by common sense and not the narrow Communist definition, one could legitimately describe the struggle of all Indo-Chinese people against North Vietnamese domination as a national liberation struggle.'

"Only a paralysis of judgment and objectivity could obscure the simple truths of North Vietnam's most recent aggression against the South. The facts are: Several mainforce divisions of the North Vietnamese Army, armed to the teeth, are invading South Vietnam in a long-planned military effort. Moreover, of 14 regular divisions comprising the North Vietnamese Army, 12 are engaged in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"Beginning March 30, regular units of the North Vietnamese Army launched this massive offensive against the Republic of Vietnam. Near Quang Tri, the 304th, 308th and 324B North Vietnamese divisions are attacking supported by three regiments of artillery and one regiment of armour. Elements of three other North Vietnamese divisions are attacking Central South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese have constructed roads to facilitate their attack through the demilitarized zone and have introduced missile units as well as long-range artillery in the DMZ."

"This North Vietnamese aggression clearly violates the 1954 Geneva Agreements and refute Hanoi's claim to be seeking a peaceful settlement. The States of Indo-China should be free to decide their future free of foreign intervention. The United States is withdrawing its troops from South Vietnam; let the North Vietnamese do likewise, and from Laos and Cambodia as well."

It would seem now, in the light of the

North Vietnamese denial of their alleged invasion of South Vietnam, that the United States have got a completely wrong picture of this new aggression against South Vietnam. If these soldiers, who are shelling the defences of the South Vietnamese forces, are not North Vietnamese but are Chinese, Russian or Japanese, why are the Hanoiese having peace talks with the representatives of the USA? And why did Hanoi agree to come to the peace talks at all if they had not got involved in any breach of peace? Peculiar are the ways of diplomats! They behave in a manner at times which ordinary mortals will not dare emulate for fear of being called names by their fellow common-men.

To the Moon and Back

A journey to the Moon would have been a fit subject for a Jules Verne novel in the earlier years of this century; but the American rocket-riding-space travellers have made such a journey almost a matter of routine tourism. The latest journey to the Moon undertaken by the astronauts John W. Young, Charles M. Duke (Jr.) and Thomas K. Mattingly in their rocket ship Apollo-16, was completed successfully on April 27, 1972 when the ship splashed down in the pacific 282 km. South East of Christmas Island. It entered the earth's atmosphere about a quarter of an hour before the splash down and its speed at the time of its entry into the Earths air belt was about 40,000 km. per hour at its highest. This generated a heat on its protective heat shield of about 4000°. The astronauts had landed on the mountainous regions of the Moon and their haul of about 100 kilos of samples of Moon material would be likely to increase man's knowledge of the satellite.

RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY

As one belonging to the Brahmo Samaj the editor of this journal naturally reveres Rammohun Roy, the founder of that religious denomination. As a Bengali he honours Rammohun Roy, the distinguished Bengali. As an Indian he holds in high regard that great modern Indian.

The homage paid to Rammohun Roy by non-Brahmos, non-Bengalis and non-Indians cannot but gladden his heart.

The centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy at Bristol on the 27th September, 1833 is going to be celebrated this year in different provinces, towns and villages in India, and in England and America. This is a proof that the great reformer is claimed by Indians as an Indian, and outside India by some non-Indians at any rate as belonging to all mankind —a proof of Sir B. N. Seal's pronouncement that he was a "universal man."

Articles on Rammohun Roy, written by non-Bengalis, have been appearing in several newspapers outside Bengal, and preparations are being made for celebrating the centenary. It is being recognized that it is, as the non-Brahmo editor of *The Leader* called it in the following editorial article,

"A GREAT OCCASION.

"For Many long years Indians, as a grateful people, have been celebrating with due

ceremony the death anniversary of Raja Rammohun Roy who cast off his mortal coil at Bristol on Sept. 27, 1833. The celebration of the day this year, which is shortly coming, will assume special significance as it happens to be the centenary of his death. Rammohun Roy was something more than a great Indian ; he was the first great man of modern India. Almost in every sphere, in education, journalism, literature, politics, social reform and religion, he was an outstanding figure with the supreme distinction that he broke the ground where others did not trace a furrow. In the choice language of Dr. Tagore, 'he is the great path maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.' To celebrate the centenary of the death of so great a man is not only a privilege but also a duty, and it is but right that adequate arrangements should be made to observe the day on a bigger scale than usual as befitting the occasion and in a manner worthy of the man and of the country. Already in Calcutta a comprehensive scheme has been developed by representative public men under the distinguished leadership of the Poet and an appeal made by him, Mr. J. N. Basu, secretary of the Rammohun Roy centenary committee and Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, treasurer, to all Indians, irrespective of caste and creed, to

education it was a fact that the growth of nationalism in India was the outcome of that education and Raja Ram Mohan Roy could justly be called the Father of Modern India.

The chairman, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, chief editor of *The Leader* and ex-Minister said in winding up the proceedings :

It could be claimed without any exaggeration that Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the greatest Indian of all time. He enumerated the monumental achievements of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in practically every sphere of public life, social, religious, economic and political. "When you think of his successful attempts for the abolition of suttee and polygamy from Hindu life, his attempts for the establishment of English colleges for the education of the Indian youths, his revival of Hinduism in a highly scientific and purified form, his pioneer but great debut in journalism, his stern fight against the newly imposed Press Act of 1893 and his open and trenchant

criticism of the form of the Government of India which did not distinguish between the executive and the judiciary, you feel that there hardly was a public activity which did not engage his attention.

In short, as Mr. Chintamani remarked, there was no reform he did not strive for, there was no improvement in existing life for which he did not care and there was no suffering which he did not bear to recall the glories of ancient India. It was his dream, which unfortunately remained yet unfulfilled so long as the present form of government continued in India—a form which, according to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political disciple Mr. Mahadeva Govind Ranade, had 'organized hypocrisy' as its basic structure. Raja Ram Mohan Roy tasted the bitterness of this organized hypocrisy in political official life when he launched his campaign against the Press Act.

(*Modern Review*, November 1933)



RAMMOHUN ROY

C. F. ANDREWS

A long and careful study of world history has convinced me that Raja Rammohun Roy was by far the greatest religious genius of the 19th century. Even today, after a hundred years, we are only slowly and hesitatingly working out the supremely vital principles for which he had lived and died.

Born in the narrowest of family religious circles in Bengal, in the later part of the 18th century, he had broken through one barrier after another which had confined the religious and social outlook of his age. He seemed guided by a divine instinct within, from childhood onward, which made him always direct his course to one single end, the 'Religious Unification of Mankind.'

The more I have studied his life the more I have felt that this principle of the Divine Unity creating human unity and brotherhood was the guiding principle underlying all he did and said and thought. This is a conception which has its deepest root in Indian soil. The Search for the One is the passion of the Indian heart. Satisfaction only comes when that divine passion has found its fulfilment.

It was this supreme enthusiasm which drove the young lad to seek the Truth among the Himalayan mountains. It guided him to enter Tibet. There he nearly lost his life, but the women of Tibet, pitying his youth, saved him. Even from earliest days his mind

was so massive in its greatness that it overleapt all obstacles and difficulties which stood in the way of obtaining intellectual culture. He made himself proficient in Persian and Arabic in order that he might study the unity of God in Islam. He learnt Greek and Hebrew so that he might study those Jewish and Christian scriptures which led up to the birth of Christ and told the story of His life. He published the pure teaching of Jesus as he found it in the Sermon on the Mount and wrote a notable preface to his book which he called *The Precepts of Jesus*. Thus he went to the sources of religious truth and was not content with any external knowledge of such vital subjects.

In practice he was equally insistent on finding the unity of human life in society. He realized that the divine in mankind was obscured and obstructed by social abuses, such as existed in his own day. Fortunately, he found among those who had come out to India from England certain enlightened men and women who were ready to go any lengths in moral courage and perseverance in order to rescue mankind from these abuses which had gradually crept in. Thus East and West were able to work together, for the first time, in a marvellously effective manner. Lord William Bentinck and Duff were great, each in their own way, and they fully recognized the moral genius of Raja Rammohun Roy.

Miss Carpenter was, in her own sphere, equally great and collaborated with him to the end.

The closing days of Raja Rammohun Roy's life were saddened by much physical suffering, but at the same time enlightened with the glow of the rapid passage of certain moral and political reforms which were completed in the very year in which he died. For, only a month before he passed away, he was able to learn that the bill abolishing slavery had been passed, and the emancipation of the Negro race had begun. How greatly the news of this victory cheered his last days, we can read in the memoirs which have been written about him. He died in an auspicious year—the year when slavery was abolished and the great reform measures, granting political liberty, were being carried through. It was the year also when the change in the East India Company's constitution was confirmed, whereby racial equality was enunciated for the first time.

As one looks back over the whole century since the death of Raja Rammohun Roy it is possible, as an historian, to watch the strength of the current setting in the opposite direction and rendering nugatory the very things for which Raja Rammohun Roy had stood out so

boldly and bravely. Racial equality in India and in the rest of the world has not yet been attained. Political equality has been swept away since the war by one dictatorship after another. Even slavery has returned, in the form of indentured labour, in wage slavery under the cruel lash of economic pressure, and also in forced labour in many different ways. Central Africa and the Indian States were examples of the bad relics of the old slave system. What would have troubled Raja Rammohun Roy most of all would have been to find religious tolerance, on which he laid such stress, passing on into religious indifference and from thence into militant hatred of religion.

Thus the great causes for which he stood out so boldly have not had an unchequered career. The backward current has often proved too rapid for the forward progress. Yet we can be certain, that, with a faith and courage so strong as his, Raja Rammohun Roy would have been today, if he had been living with us, in the vanguard of the great struggle for human liberty. He would never have been on the side of the reactionaries. His spirit is with us still to cheer us on.

(Modern Review, November, 1933)



THE CENTENARY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY, "THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA"

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy, which occurs in September, 1933, is to be celebrated in India on a wide scale. It should not be without notice in America.

This illustrious son of India was indisputably one of the very great men of the modern world. His achievements were remarkable in two directions, namely, in service rendered to the world and in service to India in particular.

I

It is unquestionable that he rendered high and lasting service to the world as a scholar. Many scholars affirm that he possesses a better claim than any one else to have been the founder of the important modern Science of Comparative Religion. This alone should insure for him a permanently conspicuous place in history.

II

He rendered priceless service to India, of three kinds :

(i) It is the testimony of the highest authorities that, through his able, scholarly and extensive writings, he gave to the Bengali tongue (the most important language of India) distinctly increased range, versatility, strength and attractiveness, and did much to raise the literary quality and standing of all Bengali literature.

(ii) He founded the very important religious and social reform movement known as the Brahmo Somaj, which notwithstanding its somewhat slow growth in numbers so far in its history, has kindled a light in India which

cannot be extinguished ; has set up an ideal of religion so living, so vital, so in harmony with the best modern thought, and so adapted to India's practical needs today, that the whole religious and social thinking of India must inevitably more and more realize its truth and beauty, feel its uplifting influence, and move in its direction.

(iii) It is more and more realized that he gave the initiatory word, the first clear impulse in creating India's modern movement to shake off her bondage to a foreign power, and to become once more free,—free to shape her own destiny, to develop her own institutions, to occupy again the great place among the nations which she filled so long, and to render to humanity the high service which her illustrious past and her rich spiritual genius so indisputably fit her to render.

Rammohun Roy wrote the great and heroic declaration : "I WANT TO BE FREE, OR I DON'T WANT TO BE AT ALL". That was a clarion note, which meant nothing less than the political as well as the spiritual rebirth of his country. The spirit of that note has spread and spread until today all India is feeling the mighty thrill of it.

Such, in a few words, are some of the reasons why his appreciative and admiring countrymen have given to this distinguished scholar and reformer the great title of THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA, and why all India's religious faiths, classes and parties are uniting to celebrate his Centenary.

Modern Review, October, 1933.

RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY

(From Notes published in 1933)

During September and October last the centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy was celebrated in various places in different provinces of India. Not having had access to the leading newspapers of all the provinces of India, we have not been able to see the reports of all the celebrations. But from what we have seen, it seems that more places in the Madras Presidency have celebrated the occasion than those in any other.

The meetings in some of the cities were very influentially attended and thoughtful speeches were made. For example, at the Lucknow meeting,

Amongst those present were, Raja Jagannath Bux Singh and Kunwar Rajendra Singh, ex-Ministers of the U. P. Government; hon. Mr. Justice B. N. Srivastava; R. B. Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Diwan of Oryha State; Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-chancellor of the Lucknow University; Dr. R. D. Wellons, principal, Reid Christian College; Mr. A. P. Sen; Prof N.K. Siddhanta, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University and Mrs. Siddhanta; Miss. Manchester, professor of the Isabella Thoburn College; Principal S. C. Sen; Messrs. Shambhu Dayal and A. C. Bose, retired district and sessions judges; Mrs. Minon, advocate; Dr. Qutub-uddin Ahmed, LL. D., barrister-at law; and many others.

On the motion of the hon. Mr Justice B. N. Srivastava and seconded by Mrs Mukund

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani took the chair. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. was the first speaker.

He stressed the catholicity of outlook of Raja Rammohun. Born and brought up in the midst of orthodoxy Raja Ram Mohan had the breadth of vision to realize that the West had its good points which the East could profitably assimilate. He perceived that one of the principal causes of the downfall of India was the proneness of her people to hug the dead past and their refusal to adjust themselves to changing conditions.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy set himself to giving the outlook of his people a new orientation and bringing about harmony between the East and West. He was a great reformer in all spheres, social, religious, moral, political and educational. The abolition of suttee was his crowning achievement for which he laboured strenuously and ceaselessly.

A great believer in liberty, he founded the Brahmo Samaj and thus gave an impetus to independence of thought and the fearless pursuit of a new faith. Dr. Paranjpye pointed out how much India owed to the Brahmo Samaj movement, which had comparatively few adherents but had produced some of the greatest leaders of India.

It was in no small measure due to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's endeavours that a change came over the system of education in the country. Whatever the defects of modern

enlist themselves as members of the committee and also contribute to its funds, so that the scheme of celebration which included ceremonial functions as well as permanent memorials to the Raja's memory, may be effectively carried out. It was but in the nature of things that these centenary celebrations should find (as they are likely to do) more eloquent and wide-spread manifestations in Bengal than in other provinces. It should however be borne in mind that if Rammohun Roy belonged to Bengal more, he did not belong to the rest of India less. In fact he belonged to humanity. Who can ignore the force of Jeremy Bentham's tribute to him as 'an intensely admired and beloved collaborator in the service of humanity'? May it be hoped that the U. P. will enthusiastically join its voice to the national chorus in singing the glory of Rammohun, whose name is always an inspiration to every good cause and noble effort? It is a great occasion which no province or community in India should miss, for much of the progress the country has made during the last hundred years can be traced to the lofty-minded and high-souled endeavours of Rammohun Roy."

Owing to politico-economic causes Englishmen in general are not at present in the mood to recognize India's greatness in any direction and Indians' distinction in the person of any of their fellow-countrymen. But among the British men and women who were Rammohun Roy's contemporaries—even among those who were sojourners in India—there were many who appreciated his achievement and respected and loved him. It is not our intention, and it would not be possible even if we wanted, to reproduce their eulogies here. But an extract may be made here from the letter of an English sojourner in India who knew Rammohun Roy. Mr. J. S. Buckingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who came out to this

country in 1818 and had ample opportunities to come into close contact with the Raja. Wrote he in 1832 :

"Rammohun Roy might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian chapel—the Unitarian Press—and the expense of his own publications besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence."

From the opinion of a contemporary English journalist in India let us pass on to what a contemporary French naturalist and traveller, Victor Jacquemont, who knew Rammohun Roy personally and has left a graphic description of the Raja's features and appearance.

The French scientist wrote in his *Voyage dans l'Inde*. Tome I (Paris, 1841), pp. 183-188

"Before coming out to India I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician; but I had no idea that he was the best of men.....

"Rammohun Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalis. The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is

not so good ; his eyes too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side. He has a very slight moustache ; his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness. His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do Indians only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet. He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress.....

".....He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides..."

".....He has grown is a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live ; he lives alone ; and though, perhaps, the consciousness of the good he is accomplishing affords him a perpetual source of satisfaction, sadness and melancholy mark his grave countenance."

(Translated from the French.)

In her appreciation of Rammohun Roy Madame H. P. Blavatsky speaks of him as "one of the purest, most philanthropic and enlightened men India ever produced." In her opinion,

His intellectual power was confessedly very great, while his manners were most refined and charming and his moral character without a stain. Add to this a dauntless moral courage, perfect modesty, warm humanitarian bias, patriotism, and a fervid religious feeling, and we have before us the picture of a man of the noblest type. Such a person was the ideal of a religious reformer. Had his constitution been more rugged and his sensitiveness less acute, he might have lived to see far greater fruits of his self-sacrificing labours than he did. One searches the record of his life and work in vain for any evidence of personal conceit, or a disposition to make himself figure as a heaven-sent messenger.

Madame Blavatsky writes further :—

It is said by Miss Martineau that his death was hastened by the anguish he felt to see the awful living lie that practical Christianity was in its stronghold. Miss Marry Carpenter does not touch upon this point in her Memoir of his Last Days in England, but she prints among other sermons that were preached after his decease one by the Rev. J. Scott Porter, a Presbyterian clergyman of Belfast, Ireland, in which he says that "Offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited the deepest horror in him." And this is quite enough to give the colour of truth to Miss Martineau's assertion.

In the course of his address on Rammohun Roy Professor MaxMuller said :

"The German name for prince is 'furst', in English 'first,' he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight and the last in flight. Such a 'Furst' was Rammohun Roy a true prince, a real Raja, if Raja also, like Rex, meant originally the steersman, the man at the helm."

Professor Sylvain Levi, the French orientalist, has said in the course of an address on Rammohun Roy :

"Raja Rammohun Roy, Father of Modern India, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his age. While representing all that was best in the Indian tradition, he showed his special genius in a line where the Indians of today are the weakest in translating into practice by the force of will the dictates of idealism.....He fought, with phenomenal heroism, against desperate odds, to realize his ideal. If India today wanted any model to shape her present destiny and future history, Rammohun should be the model. He was really the first to bring modern India abreast of universal history. A profound scholar in

Sanskrit and Brahminical lore, the Raja's unbounded intellectual curiosity and insatiable thirst for discovery of the fundamental unity of the human mind, drove him to study the ancient Hebrew, Arabic and Persian literatures.....His philosophical acumen, the rare universality of his outlook and the courtesy he showed towards his Indian as well as European contemporaries opposed to his views, go to make him a great man in the real sense of the term."

It is unnecessary to discuss here the advantages and disadvantages of the education through the medium of English and according to some Western system which Indians have been receiving for generations. This education has promoted our intellectual,

moral, social and political progress, enabled us to share in international culture and progress and has, in any case, enabled many to earn their living. Much of the credit for the introduction of this system of education belongs to Rammohun. In the Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, page 110, we are told that "it is important to notice that the strongest influence in bringing this 'English Party, (which advocated English education in India) into existence were the petition of Rammohun Roy (to Lord Amherst) and the practical experience of the Committee." There are distinct echoes of Rammohun's letter to Lord Amherst in Macaulay's Minute advocating English education.

(Modern Review October 1933)



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

The Encyclopaedia Britannica is the most trusted book of reference in the English language. Trusted by scholars, students, teachers and the press for its careful survey, analysis and scrutiny of all matters that it deals with in its tens of thousands of chosen subjects. The committee of experts who handle this extensive work of collecting correct and comprehensive information about all things that are of interest to the intelligent public, consists of scholars chosen by reliable academicians from the Universities of Britain and America. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, therefore, is a thoroughly dependable book of reference. It avoids partisanship, current prejudices and dogma related to all matters on which there are various points of view and opinion.

In writing about the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy on the occasion of the bicentenary of his birthday we have, therefore, chosen to quote from the summary biography of this great reformer as published in the Encyclopaedia Britannica about 25 years ago, when no one had yet contemplated the celebration of his 200th birthday, nor had the forces been mobilised which concentrated on the work of glorifying the memory of a superman of rare calibre or belittling his contributions towards Hindu Reformation and the socio-political rebirth of the Indian nation. The short biography of the great Raja was written by Dittakavi Subrahmany

Sarma, Principal Emeritus of Vivekananda College, Madras, who, being a South Indian scholar, was in a position to take an impartial view of the important part that Raja Rammohun Roy played in reviving shastric studies and introducing English education in India. It was Raja Rammohun Roy who first attempted, in modern times, to liberate Hindu thought and beliefs from superstitions and to rescue the Indians from their decadent practices which they indulged in from a mistaken conception of shastric teachings. He looked at the sacred books of the Hindu, with the eyes of detached enquiry of a true scholar and taught the world the truth that he found in the *Upanishads* and other philosophical treatises of ancient India. His findings were inspired by his deep attachment to the ancient civilization of his motherland and by his disillusionment with the parody of that glorious culture that he found in the debased practices of his compatriots which they carried out in the name of obeying the dictates of the religious texts. Before going into any details of the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy, let us first quote from the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

"Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833) the founder of the Brahmo Samaj (q. v.) in India, was not only a great religious leader and social reformer but also a far-seeing statesman who indicated the lines of progress for India under

British rule. Hence he is sometimes called the father of modern India. He was born in 1772 in a village in Burdwan district in Bengal. During the first 30 years of his life he seems to have travelled widely outside his province and mastered several languages—Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and English in addition to Bengali, his mother tongue. In 1803 he secured an appointment under the East India Company, served its administration in various capacities until he retired in 1815 and settled in Calcutta. There he began his great agitation against the rite of suttee (q.v.) and vigorously kept it up until suttee was abolished by Lord William Bentinck in 1829.

"During 1815-19 Ram Mohun published his translations of the *Upanishads* and his papers on Hindu theism. His object in these and similar writings was to wean his countrymen from what he regarded as the corruptions of medieval Hinduism and the evils of Hindu society, viz., idol worship, animal sacrifices, polygamy and the caste system, and to draw their attention to the original purity of the teachings of Vedanta..... It was for achieving this object that he also later founded the Brahmo Samaj (1828).

"Ram Mohun next turned his attention to the problem of education, and in a famous letter to Lord Amherst (1823) made a vigorous plea for scientific and English education for India in preference to the traditional Sanskrit education. He was as great a champion of political freedom as he was of scientific education ; his memorial for the repeal of the Press Ordinance of 1823 has been hailed as the *Areopagitica* of Indian history. Ram Mohun's letters show that he greatly admired the progress of freedom in Europe and hoped that India through its British connection would grow in knowledge and freedom and ultimately claim equal partnership with Britain.

"In 1830 he went to England on behalf of the titular emperor of Delhi to plead his cause before the British government. He fell ill there and died at Bristol on September 27, 1833."

This short sketch of the life of Raja Rammohun Roy highlights the important facts relating to the Raja's character and to his contributions to the Hindu reformation that took a definite shape in the nineteenth century. Even when he was an adolescent student in Patna, studying Arabic and Persian, he wrote a booklet in which he condemned idolatry and pleaded the cause of monotheism. He was chastised by his father for this and left home to travel all over North India. He eventually arrived in Tibet and was in Lhasa, studying Mahayana Buddhism with the help of some Lamas who resented his critical attitude and, but for the ladies of their families, might have killed the young seeker after truth. The Tibetan women hid him and arranged for his escape, back to India. This made the Raja a lifelong champion of women and he never hesitated to be a whole-hearted supporter of the women's cause. A journey to Lhasa at the age of sixteen, over the snow-bound passes, undaunted by the dangers that all travellers to Tibet had to face ; was a fact which fully demonstrated the courage, tenacity and the rare spirit of adventure of young Rammohun Roy. An English commentator had said that had Rammohun only crossed over to Lhasa at the age of sixteen in the seventeen hundred eighties, that single great adventure should have made him famous as a youthful explorer. When going through the Himalayan passes he was often obstructed by fallen boulders which he had to move to one side by using all his strength, so that he could get along. There were also the fear of wild animals which frequented those heights. Rammohun had picked up many north Indian languages, by

this time and had become proficient in Hindi and Urdu. His visit to Lhasa which lasted for about two years and the study of Mahayana Buddhism gave him a working knowledge of Pali and Tibetan. When he returned to India he went back to Patna and Banaras to continue his study of Arabic and Sanskrit.

After this he remained involved in family affairs upto 1797 when, as a result of difference of opinion about religion and moral principles with his father and elder brother he severed his connections with them and set up his own business independently.

We find that Rammohun Roy organised his business in a sound and gainful manner during the years 1797-1803. He purchased two Taluks at auction in 1799 and he appointed one Rajiblochan to manage these estates. Rajiblochan began to send the income derived from these lands to Rammohun regularly.

In 1801 Rammohun became known to John Digby and began to speak English of a sort, but he could not write correct English. He also had dealings with Mr. Woodforde, Collector of Dacca, who later appointed him as his Dewan. When Mr. Woodforde resigned his post, Rammohun Roy also left his job and returned to Calcutta.

In 1803 Rammohun Roy published his pamphlet *Tufat-ul-Muwahhidini* in support of monotheism. This booklet was written in Persian and had an introduction in Arabic. In 1805 Rammohun Roy accompanied John Digby to his various places of work. He had by now become quite proficient in English, both spoken and written. From this time onward his association with Digby became closer year by year. When Digby officiated as Magistrate Rammohun served as sheristadar in the criminal court. In 1807 he went with Digby to Jessore where the former had been appointed Collector. From Jessore they went to Bhagalpur and later returned to Jessore.

After this Digby was appointed Collector of Rangpur and took Rammohun Roy with him. In October, 1809 Digby made Rammohun Dewan but was reprimanded by the Board of Revenue for his action. Digby made a strong and spirited protest against this. Digby resigned from service in 1814 and went away to England. Rammohun had during this period begun to take to a closer study of the *Shastras*. The name of Nandakumar Vidyalankar, who lived with Rammohun at Rangpur, came up in this connection. In 1815 Rammohun Roy took up residence in Calcutta permanently and founded the Atmiya Sabha in the same year. He also published his Bengali translations of *Vedanta Grantha* and *Vedanta Sar* in the same year. We find, therefore, that Rammohun Roy's worldly activities during these years did not in any way restrict his intellectual and spiritual aspirations nor interfere with his work of expounding the *Shastras* and making them better known to the general public. He published many books and tracts from 1815 onward and the following were the more important among them.

- 1816, May—Bhattacharyer Sahit Bichar (in Bengali).
- 1816, June—Translation into Bengali and English *Kena Upanishad*.
- 1816, July—Translation into Bengali and English *Isopanishad*, also published an English abridgement of *Vedanta*.
- 1816, May-Dec.—*Utsabananda Vidyabagisher Sahit Bichar* (in Sanskrit).
- 1817 —Translates into Bengali the *Vedanta Sutra* of Badarayana according to Shankara's interpretation. Also *Vedanta Sar* in Bengali and abridged *Vedanta* in English.
- 1817, Aug-Oct.—Translates *Katha Upanishad* and *Mandyukyopauishad* in

Bengali, Kena Upanishad in English and publishes "A Defence of Hindu Theism" and a second defence of Vedic Monotheism.

During the years 1817-1823 Rammohun Roy carried on extensive controversies with learned men of the orthodox view point relating to idolatry and the Shastras. His publications continued and he published in :

- 1818 —Gayatrir Artha (in Bengali)
 1818, June—Goswamir Sahit Bichar (in Bengali), Sahamaran Visayeh Prabartak o Nibartak Samvad. Dvitiya somvad. Also a translation into English of Katha Upanishad.

In 1819 Digby came back to India from England. About the same time Rammohun Roy had his controversy with Subrahmanya Sastri.

Rammohun published his first tract against the burning of widows (Suttee) in 1819. There was also a conference among those who opposed and those who supported this practice. He also published the Atmanatma-viveka, the Bengali translation of Mundakopanishad as well as an English translation of the same.

In 1820 he published the details of a second conference between the advocates and opponents of Suttee. Rammohun began his publications dealing with the Christian religion in 1820. "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness" as found in New Testament was published in Sanskrit and also a Bengali translation. The Baptist Mission rose in protest in which the names of Dr. Marshman and Rev-Mr-Schmidt came up. The latter called Rammohun Roy "a heathen".

Rammohun published an Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the Precepts of

Jesus. He signed himself "Freind of Truth". Dr. Marshman who was Editor of the "Friend of India" replied to the appeal in his journal. Rammohun Roy published "An Apology for the Pursuit of Beatitude independently of Brahmanical Observances" in 1820 and replied to Dr. Marshman in his "Second Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus".

In 1821 he published "The Brahmuncial Magazine". In the same year Samachar Darpana, a weekly Bengali journal, published by the Srirampur Baptist Press published a letter proving the worthlessness of the Hindu Sastras. Rammohun Roy replied to this signing himself Sivaprasad Sarma. In the same year he had the four Gospels translated into Bengali by two missionaries William Adam and Yates and established the Unitarian Society. Digby came back as collector of Burdwan. Rammohun Roy published the Brahman Sevadhi.

In 1822 Rammohun rented a house for Unitarian worship. He also established an English school. He associated actively with David Hare and Dr. Duff in the work of spreading English education. His "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to Hindu Law of Inheritance" published in this year pointed to his eagerness to emancipate women from the numerous handicaps they suffered from in a decadent society. In 1822 Dr. Marshman's friends published his papers in the controversy in London as "A Defence of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ in reply to Ram Mohun Roy of Calcutta". This shows how profoundly the Christian Missionaries had been upset by the criticism of Rammohun Roy. The Baptist Mission Press had been publishing Rammohun Roy's rejoinders upto this time : but they began to refuse now and Rammohun Roy, therefore,

established a printing press called the Unitarian Press in Dharmatala St., Calcutta. In 1823 he translated the Kena Upanishad into English and published his "Final Appeal to the Christian Public". In this he made full use of his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek.

In 1823 the Acting Governor General John Adam promulgated the Press ordinance suppressing Freedom of the Press. Rammohun Roy and his friends placed a Memorial to the Supreme Court against this but it was rejected. An appeal to the King in Council was made after this. In 1823 the publication of the "Mirat-ul-Akbar" was stopped in protest against this attack on the freedom of the press. In the same year Rammohun wrote his famous letter to Lord Amherst for the introduction of education through English.

In 1825 Rammohun Roy published the translation of his Sanskrit tract on different modes of worship and a Bengali booklet named Brahmanistha Grihaster Lakshman (characteristics of a Householder devoted God). Rammohun Roy lost his mother in 1826. He established a Vedanta College in the same year. In 1827 he brought out his Sanskrit Gayatriya Brahmopasanabidhanam (Rules relating to the worship of Brahman in accordance with the Gayatri). He also published Vajrasuchi (in Sanskrit and Bengali) during the same year. On the 20th of August 1827 Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Samaj and published the books relating to the worship of Brahma and devotional songs in 1828. His three appeals about the Precepts of Jesus were printed in a single volume in America about the same time.

In 1829 Suttee was abolished by law by Lord William Bentinck and there was a movement against the abolition among Indians as well as British officials. It was planned to carry on propaganda in England for the

annulment of this law prohibiting the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands. In 1830 Rammohun Roy published an essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral properties according to the Law of Bengal. This was followed by Eight Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance, all of which appeared in 1830. He also published an Abstract of the Arguments for stopping the Burning of Widows. In November 1830 Raja Rammohun Roy started for England where he stayed till his death at Bristol on the 27th September 1833.

The above chronological statement regarding the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy shows what a remarkably talented man the Raja was. Never was there such a combination of great scholarship, spiritual urge, zeal for social and political reform and business acumen found in a single person. One may add to this his great attachment to the highest ideals of liberty, freedom and Human Rights. During the short period that he stayed in England he came in contact with persons like Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham, who recorded their appreciation of the great Indian in terms of unstinted praise, comparing him to Erasmus and even to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. During this time he met many political leaders of other countries and was accepted as a great political thinker. He was invited to dinner by the King of England and the King of France. Jeremy Bentham was so struck by Rammohun's style of English that he wrote in one of his letters to Rammohun "Your works are made known to me by a book in which I read a style which but for the name of a Hindoo I should certainly have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly educated and instructed Englishman." Comparing James Mill's style with Rammohun's, Bentham wrote about Mill's History of India "...though as to style I wish I could with truth and sincerity pronounce it equal to yours".

Rammohun Roy's great thirst for knowledge remained unquenched till the end of his life. He had very good knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Pali, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and English. He also knew French, Italian, Spanish, Tibetan and some north Indian languages. His knowledge of abstract philosophy, theology, law, politics and history was vast, analytical and precise ; and he could state his own point of view on any subject of controversy in the manner of a highly talented lawyer. Rammohun Roy was indomitable in his courage and defiance of evil social customs. He constantly risked his life in boldly condemning Suttee and idolatry. He incurred the wrath of the conservatives by his support of Women's education, equality in the sphere of legal rights, widow remarriage and by his criticism of child marriage and other customs which stood in the way of social progress. The Raja was a great reformer as well as a great revivalist. He was all for teaching Indians science and other progressive ideas through English education ; but devoted himself very ardently to the work of making known to the world the truth about the sacred books of the Hindoos. His whole idea was to make Indians as great intellectually and morally in terms of modern knowledge and humanistic ideals as they had been in the days of the Rishis, the profundity of whose knowledge was amazingly deep and all embracing. Raja Rammohun Roy is truly called the father of modern India as it was he who inspired a galaxy of men and women in India during the hundred years ending with the First World War. Debendranath Tagore, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Swamy Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy and a host of intellec-

tuals, nation builders and freedom fighters can be named as the successors of Raja Rammohun Roy. It is rightly thought that had the Raja not been born towards the end of the eighteenth and the dawn of the nineteenth century, India would have developed as a cheap imitation of England. There would have been no intellectual and spiritual renaissance in India and the subcontinent would have been swamped by a colourless variety of Christianity and a type of education that only helped people to imitate superficially without diving deep for the pearls of true knowledge and wisdom.

Raja Rammohun Roy was for ever a champion of liberty and freedom : a Knight Errant who traversed the length and breadth of his own country as well as of other lands to destroy the dragons that lurked in the deep dark corners of the social-political mind. His experiments in the field of reforming religious institutions were the expression of his desire to unite all mankind in a brotherhood of common moral endeavour. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary who became a Unitarian wrote about the Raja, "He would be free or not at all.....Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul...freedom not of action merely, but of thought...This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him." When the Neapolitans were crushed back into servitude by the powers of Europe he wrote "...I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies of liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful" (Letter dated August 11, 1821). When the Spanish colonies freed themselves in South America he

gave a public dinner at the Town Hall. When asked why he had thrown this party he exclaimed, "What, ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language?" When he heard about the presence of French ships flying the flags of free France, while he was on his way to England and his ship was in harbour in the Cape of Good Hope, he broke his leg in trying to rush up quickly to see the flags and to salute the same. When in England he said that the Reform Bill of 1832 was a record of the struggle between reformers and anti-reformers, a "struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world, between justice and injustice and between right and wrong."

When the Acting Governor-General in Council promulgated a Press Ordinance in India Rammohun Roy prepared and submitted a petition to the Supreme Court which was rejected. He then prepared a Memorial to the King (which also was rejected). In this Memorial he said, "...Your Majesty is well aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed, whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed forces of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

"It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever

attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression and the argument they constantly resort to is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people became enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt against Governments, which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been—not against the existence—but against the abuses of the Governing power.....The more enlightened a people become, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion."

As a great advocate of human rights and freedom Raja Rammohun Roy naturally disapproved of the caste system and of the multiplicity of mutually antagonistic religious creeds. The caste system interfered with the free exercise of human rights at every step and the religious creeds, by their variety and intolerant attitude towards one another prevented the growth of brotherly sentiments among the peoples of India. He also desired that education of a modern scientific type should be introduced in our country so that the clouds of base ignorance and superstition could be dispelled and the people could grow and develop in the clear light of true knowledge and civilized outlook. The British took advantage of our ignorance and of the obscurity of vision that too many creeds

created in us. They therefore tried to give preferential treatment to Christians as against Hindoos and Moslems, which was not in keeping with the principles of justice and freedom. Raja Rammohun Roy protested against the Jury Act of 1827 which debarred Hindoos and Moslems from being a juror of trial of Christians under trial but allowed Christians to be in juries trying Hindoos or Moslems. He suggested to the British that they should by practising true justice, help India to grow as an "ally of the British Empire" and not as an "annoying and determined enemy". A people which received justice from its rulers and were not overtaxed maintained the rule of the law willingly and even agreed to fight for the rulers in case of war. Such conditions, thought Raja Rammohun Roy, were certainly preferable to keeping down a vast and over-taxed population by force of arms of a large and expensively maintained standing army. These and similar ideas show what a great statesman Raja Rammohun Roy was and how deeply and analytically he went into the fundamental principles of public finance and government.

Raja Rammohun Roy was all for the spread of scientific education through the medium of English but not at the cost of sacrificing our own languages. Raja Rammohun Roy is rightly considered to be the father of modern Bengali prose. He wrote text books of Bengali grammar and analysed Bengali syntax. He also introduced punctuation marks in Bengali prose composition, and composed many hymns, some of which are still sung in religious assemblies in Bengal. The "Sambad Kaumudi", a Bengali journal was published from 1821 and it contained matters of political, historical, literary and scientific interest. He can therefore be considered to be the first Indian in modern times who tried to introduce Western education in

India and to open the gates of our conservatism to new ideas and progressive reforms. He was opposed at that time by the decadent defenders of the established order, and these soldiers of social decay, though defeated in the field by Rammohun and his successors, passed on their hatred of the great reformer to their descendants, who, even now try to belittle what the Raja did, even though they take the fullest advantage of the reforms brought about by Rammohun Roy's persistent war against superstition, evil social practices and obscure dogma. In modern India Western science has taken deep root and the ideas of human progress have been synthesized with the classical intellectual aspirations of the educated people. Women's emancipation has been fully achieved and most degenerate practices and beliefs have taken shelter in the darkest corners of Indian life. All this progress has been possible because a great soul came to illuminate our civilization 200 years ago.

Rammohun Roy's connection with the work of liberation of women in India is usually associated with his agitation against the evil practice of *Suttee* or *Sahamaran*. But in fact he was foremost among modern Indians in the work of demanding equal rights for women in all spheres of life. The following excerpts from the Centenary Volume of the Bethune College of Calcutta (published in 1949), Mr. Jogesh Chandra Bagal, an eminent historian and scholar of great reputation, wrote : "Raja Rammohun Roy, the greatest of Indian reformers in modern times, started a movement against *Suttee* even before the twenties. To popularise this movement, he used to issue pamphlets in Bengali. In these much stress was laid *inter alia* on the rights and claims of women. He also advocated the cause of women's education so that they might be conscious of their own position in society and discharge their duties ade-

quately to themselves as well as to the people at large." Dr. Kalidas Nag, the Editor of the Volume referred to the Raja's above mentioned contributions to women's progress in India and said, "The immortal harbinger of chivalry and life-long champion of womanhood was the great Raja Rammohun Roy." Dr. Kalidas Nag is considered to be an indologist of international standing who had been, time and again, invited out to lecture at various universities in Europe, the Americas, Asia and Australasia on Indian History. Scholars all over the world accepted his assessment of the facts of Indian history as precise and dependable. We have already mentioned the names of two famous contemporaries of Raja Rammohun Roy, who testified to the remarkable ability and intellectual eminence of the great Indian. They were Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham. We shall now examine what M. Romain Rolland, the well known French savant, has written about Raja Rammohun Roy in his book "The Life of Ramakrishna" which was published in India in 1930 by Advaita Ashrama, Almorah. Regarding the spiritual life of Raja Rammohun Roy M. Rolland has quoted from an article by Dharendranath Chowdhuri entitled "Ram Mohun Roy, the Devote" which was published in *The Modern Review* of October 1928. The quotation is as follows, ".....The Raja would be frequently found absorbed (in Brahmasamadhi) all his distractions notwithstanding.....For the Raja Samadhi is not an abnormal physiological change of the body that can be effected at will, not unconsciousness generated as in sound sleep, but the highly spiritual culture of perceiving Brahman in all and the habit of surrendering the self to the higher self. Atmasakshatkar to him was not to deny the existence of the world.....but to perceive God in every bit of perception..."

Ram Mohun was preeminently a sadhaka..... Though a Vedantist in every pulse of his being, he did not fail to perceive that the Upanishads were not sufficient to satisfy the Bhakti hankerings of the soul, nor was he able to side with the Bhakti cult of Bengal....."

M. Rolland found that Raja Rammohun Roy was also a great reformer in the material field of life. Referring to "his innumerable reforms or attempted reforms" M. Rolland said "let it suffice to mention among the chief—Sati (the burning of widows) which he proved to be contrary to the sacred texts and which he persuaded the British Government to forbid in 1829, and his campaign against polygamy, his attempts to secure the remarriage of widows, intercaste marriage, Indian unity, friendship between Hindus and Mussulmans, Hindu education which he wished to model on the same scientific lines as Europe and for which he wrote in Bengali numerous text books on Geography, Astronomy, Geometry, Grammar etc., the education of women based on the example of ancient India, liberty of thought and of the Press, legal reforms, political equality etc." M. Rolland rightly says, "This man of gigantic personality, whose name to our shame is not inscribed in the Pantheon of Europe as well as of Asia, sank his ploughshare in the soil of India and sixty years of labour left her transformed. A great writer of Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Persian and English, the father of modern Bengali prose ; the author of celebrated hymns, poems, sermons, philosophic treatises and political and controversial writings of all kinds, he sowed his thoughts and his passion broadcast. And out of the earth of Bengal has come forth the harvest—a harvest of works and men.

"And from his inspiration (a fact of supreme importance) sprang the Tagores."

Miss Sophia Dobson Collet was a very

young girl of ten or eleven years when she saw Raja Rammohun Roy in South Place Chapel, London. She was so deeply impressed by the magnetic personality of the great man who founded the Brahmo Samaj, that she followed the development of that monotheistic community throughout her life as well as undertook to write the life of Raja Rammohun Roy, which, unfortunately, she could not complete during her life time. She handed over all papers connected with this biography to the late Rev. F. Herbert Stead with a letter of request to finish the work in her behalf in which she said, "I am dying. I cannot finish my 'Life of Rammohun Roy'. But when I enter the Unseen I want to be able to tell Rammohun that his 'Life' will be finished. Will you finish it for me?" Miss Collet died on the 27th March 1894. The 'Life' was published after her death in 1900 by Harold Collet from London. Other editions have been printed after that. The general plan and the documentation had been made and carried out by Miss Collet who spared no pains to make it as complete and perfect as one could when Indian sources could not be tapped easily, if at all. What Raja Rammohun Roy meant to the development of modern Indian civilization can be best expressed in the words of Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda (as quoted by Sister Nivedita). The Poet said, "Rammohun belongs to the lineage of India's great seers who age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of the Eternal man." The Swamiji said in May 1898 at Nainital in the course of a talk on Rammohun Roy that he had been taught three things by this teacher, acceptance of Vedanta, patriotism and the ideal of equal love for Hindus and Musalmans. In all these he (Swami Vivekananda) was inspired by Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy was from his boyhood an intensive

enquirer into ultimate realities and truth. He tried to realise the fundamental nature of the creative force that was God, by reasoning as well as through direct communion and meditation. His knowledge of the Upanishadic speculation in this field was profound and faultless. He studied the theology of Islam, Christianity and Buddhism in order to get a clearer vision of Godhood. He learnt a dozen languages in order to study the different religions through their original source books as well as to go deeper into the problems of human life in the political, educational, legal and other social fields. His knowledge of constitutional and general law was so precise and extensive that many politicians got into touch with him in order to avoid faulty legislation. The Spanish Constitution which was declared at Cadiz in 1812 and published by the Philippine Company was dedicated to Raja Rammohun Roy, the *liberalissimo, noble, sabio* and *virtuoso Brhma* (the most liberal, noble, wise and virtuous Brahman). The Raja took a keen and lively interest in the political struggles carried on by the people of various countries. His advocacy of the Reform Bill, the French Revolution, the Portuguese struggle against autocratic rule and Catholic Emancipation drew the attention of many important political thinkers of Europe.

Raja Rammohun Roy understood fully well that man was a social animal and man's morality and religious practices should therefore go beyond the narrow limits of his individual existence. He found that the Hindu way of philosophical speculation and spiritual endeavour to establish communion with God were unequalled by anything that could be found in other religious communities. He therefore based his intellectual and spiritual endeavours mainly in Vedanta. But when he came to consider the ethical life of man he found the teachings of Jesus Christ

were a better guide in the ethical field. He also found that congregational worship was a stronger nation-building force than individual devotion and communion with the Deity. That is why he introduced a congregational form of public worship in the Brahmo Samaj. The Vedas, the Upanishads were to be used in place of the Bible and the songs sung should have an emotional appeal derived often from the devotional traditions of Indian devotees and mystics. The resemblance with Christian church service will be exclusively in outward form. Rammohun Roy saw that the Europeans were better educated, better organised politically and in trade and commerce and their ascendancy in the world was due to those controllable factors. He never believed in any racial superiority as is evidenced by his replies to the Select Committee of the House of Commons which asked him about his countrymen, "what capability of improvement do they possess?" Rammohun Roy's answer was, "They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people." In 1822 he wrote, "But should the Natives receive the same advantages of education the Europeans generally enjoy, and be brought up in the same notions of honour, they will I trust, be found, equally with Europeans, worthy of the confidence of their countrymen and respect of all men."

Before closing this narration of the life of the great scholar, social reformer and nation builder Raja Rammohun Roy one should include in the concluding passages some excerpts from his writings which highlight his outlook on different subjects connected with his life's work. The abolition of Suttee was no doubt effected by legislation which was carried out by Lord William Bentinck after he had long discussions with Raja Rammohun Roy and had studied the arguments put forward by the Raja for the abolition of this evil

practice. Raja Rammohun Roy made a statement in the *Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows considered as a Religious Rite* which he published in 1830 as a rejoinder to the manifesto of the 128 pundits. He called it "a clear and concise epitome for popular use of the points which had been scattered through many essays and tracts" and grouped his arguments under three heads. According to the Sacred Books of the Hindus, concremation was (1) not obligatory but at most optional ; (2) not the most commendable but the least virtuous act a widow could perform ; and (3) must be a voluntary ascending of the pile and entering into the flames—a mode never practised in the conventional Suttee. The Raja closed his tract with the remark, "thanks to Heaven, whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder" and "our character as a people" from international opprobrium.

Raja Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Samaj which was a society practising the worship of the Upanishadic Brahman. The Trust Deed of the place of worship stated that the building was meant :

"For the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under, or by any other name, designation or title, peculiarly used for, and applied to, any particular Being, or Beings, by any man, or set of men, whatsoever.

"And that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, portrait or the likeness of anything, shall be admitted within the messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises ; and that no sacrifice, offering, or oblation of any kind or thing, shall ever be permitted therein ; and that no animal or living creature shall, within or on the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments and premises, be deprived of life, either for religious purposes or for food."

Raja Rammohun Roy was against offending the religious feelings of persons who were of other communities and enjoined toleration of all religions on his followers. The Trust Deed further said :

"And that, in conducting the said worship or adoration, no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognized, as an object of worship, by any man, or set of men, shall be reviled, or slightly or contemptuously spoken of, or alluded to, either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns, or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage or building."

He also made it very clear how he desired bonds of unity to grow among all religious communities by stating, in the same Trust Deed, that the purpose of all preaching, discourse, prayer etc in the Brahmo Samaj shall be the "promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds."

Raja Ramnighun Roy was granted the title of Raja by the Moghul Emperor of Delhi. His Majesty, Ubaonunssur Moeenoodeen Ukbur Badshah as the Raja was appointed his Elchee (envoy) to the court of Great Britain and was therefore invested with a new dignity of position. The British Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, also accepted this investiture as within the right, of the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, when the Raja drew his Lordship's attention to this fact.

While the Raja was planning to go to Britain the people who were against him were also busy organizing the opposition to the reforms that the Raja sponsored. Some were even of the opinion that Rammohun should be assassinated and, for a while, armed guards were placed in his house under the command of one Mr. Martin. Rammohun Roy himself

went about with a dagger and swordstick accompanied by Mr. Martin who carried a brace of pistols. At least one attempt was made to assassinate the Raja, which however proved abortive.

Raja Rammohun Roy was a passionate believer in educating the people. In his zeal he was as willing to start schools and colleges himself as he was in rendering assistance to others who wanted to organize and run schools and colleges. In 1816, or even before that, Raja Rammohun Roy offered to give a piece of land for a school to Mr. Eustace Carey of the *Baptist Missionary Society*. Rammohun Roy was closely associated with the Calcutta School Book Society which was established in 1817 and he wrote a text book of Geography in Bengali. He also wrote a Bengali Grammar named *Gaudiya Vyakarana*. He assisted Dr. Alexander Duff to set up his institution, though it was a Christian institution. His breadth of outlook was quite different from the narrowmindedness of his opponents who said they would have nothing to do with the Hindu College if the Raja's name was included among its sponsors. The idea that India should have English education with an emphasis on science subjects was particularly and strongly supported by Raja Rammohun Roy. His life was based on modern progressive ideas. He was the first Brahmin to cross the "black waters" of the sea and to break the rules of conduct imposed on Hindus. The impression he created in England moulded and modified British opinion of Indians in a manner which proved valuable for Indians after his time. He went to Europe at a time when political reforms were sweeping over various countries. Slavery was abolished by law in the British Empire. The Factory Act was passed in those days too. The Railways were being built and modern institutions were taking shape everywhere. The Third Reform

Bill was passed through all its stages in the Lower House before the end of March 1832. Everyone waited excitedly to see what the Lords did. Raja Rammohun Roy thought that "the welfare of England, nay of the world, depends" on the success of the Reform. The Raja had admired the material progress achieved by the Europeans even before he went to Europe. But he never thought that the Europeans were superior to the Indians in point of moral and spiritual outlook. As the Raja was a man inspired by great spiritual and moral urges and aspirations, he naturally wanted the Indians to preserve their own culture, although he thought Indians should build their life materially on science and by developing political and economic institutions of the European type.

Rammohun Roy's letter to Lord Amherst on Western education, as against Sanskrit education gives us a good idea of the way of thinking of the great Indian. We shall give some passages from this letter.

"The establishment of a new Sangscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the Natives of India by Education--a blessing for which they must for ever be grateful; and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it, should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

"When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy,

Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful Sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

"We now find that the Government are establishing a Sangscrit school under Hindu pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

"From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will, completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sangscrit Grammar.....

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sangscrit system of education would be

the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus."

It has taken India a very long time to introduce a proper system of education for the improvement of her sons and daughters. It was partly achieved by the joint effort of the British and the Indians ; but a great deal

remained to be done. But the ideals which Raja Rammohun Roy set up no doubt changed the direction of all efforts to educate the people into useful channels. He concluded his letter to Lord Amherst by saying, "I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants....."

Rammohan Roy thus had the unique distinction of being a conservative who did his utmost to conserve and uphold the intellectual and spiritual heritage of India ; as well as of being a pathfinder who boldly struck out into new fields of science and progress to make India one of the great and modern nations.



SOCIAL DEFENCE IN A "SOFT STATE"

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

A dangerous development during the last twenty years has been the tendency on the part of the upper middle classes to think compartmentally. The classic example of compartmentalized thinking was, of course, by the French queen who, when told of the hunger of the common citizens for want of bread, wondered why they did not eat cake ! She was not aware that cake was costlier than bread and that a person who could not afford to buy bread could not afford the luxury of eating cakes. When communication between social groups is so effectively blocked as to keep one group utterly ignorant of the problems of the other, social defence breaks down as it did in France in the eighteenth century, and elsewhere at other times. In this country the base of affluence was very narrow until the massive investment during the past twenty years led to the creation of an economically affluent and politically powerful upper middle class. Its using income and political power has not allowed any desire to observe any discipline in its conduct. During the past decade it was this upper middle class and not the top income group which registered the highest rate of growth of income. Professor Gunnar Myrdal has coined a new term to denote the rule of this new class which seeks to grab all gains but refuses to recognize any social obligations ; he calls such an organization a "soft state". Professor Myrdal writes, "The term 'soft state' is understood to comprise all the various types of social indiscipline which manifest themselves by 'deficiencies' in legislation and in particular law observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience

by public officials on various levels to rules and directives handed down to them, and often their collusion with powerful persons and groups of persons whose conduct they should regulate. Within the concept of the soft state also belongs corruption..... These several patterns of behaviour are interrelated in the sense that they permit or even provoke each other in circular causation having cumulative effects." (Gunnar Myrdal : *The Challenge of World Poverty*, Penguin Books, 1971, p 211.)

Proceeding further Myrdal writes, "The laxity and arbitrariness in a national community that can be characterized as a soft state can be, and are, exploited for personal gain by people who have economic, social and political power..... the whole political, legal and administrative system is thus systematically and heavily weighted against the masses of the poor people ." (Ibid. Pp 211, 233,) To any observant mind this description of a soft state fits in very well with conditions obtaining in India. But there is no need for taking the trouble of inferring anything. For Myrdal instantly makes the reference to India specific. "An Indian state assembly", writes Myrdal, "can thus show its generosity to the landless poorer peasants by passing laws on minimum agricultural wages or by putting a maximum on the landlord's share of the crop or the moneylenders' interest charges without a risk that such laws will be enforced.....the main explanation of the soft state is that all the power is in the hands of the upper class who can afford egalitarian laws and policy measures but are in the unchallenged position to prevent their implementation." (Ibid. Pp 222, 223.)

In view of the prevalence of compartmentalization of social groups and thinking it is not often that anyone except the sufferers in the group of poor persons feel the need for any change. Recently an incident made me profoundly aware of the gripping dilemma of a widening social schism. After finishing a very delicious lunch in the enjoyable company of a journalist friend from New Delhi at a newly set up posh (by Patna standards, of course) restaurant at the heart of the town I was just coming out of the comfortable dining hall when I was rudely shaken by the plaintive cry of an old woman for alms. Having just eaten a good meal myself I just could not bring myself to turn her away and paid her half a rupee. The demonstration of my charitableness brought a swarm of beggars all round us and after paying two or three of them ten paise or five paise each I just wanted to find an opportunity to run away from the place. All my feeling of enjoyment had evaporated. I bade an abrupt goodbye to the friend whom I should really have seen off at the airport where he was due shortly afterwards. I wanted somehow to escape from the whole surrounding. In the meanwhile a small girl and her mother (I thought, her grandmother) was tugging at my coat for help. By that time all my spirit of generosity had dried up as I suddenly became aware that my fixed income permitted me only a very narrow degree of deviation from the usual pattern of expenditure. I frantically looked for a means of escape and boarded the first available rickshaw and asked the rickshawala to drive me away as fast as he could. Although I could thus remove myself physically from the surrounding of the beggars it was not so easy to free my mind of the entreaties of the young child whose expectations I did not fulfil. Her beseeching words haunted me for quite a long time thereafter and I fervently wished I had

not been so miserly particularly with that child :

I had been worried in the morning of that day, especially as it was raining heavily, because my car would not start. To me that was the most pressing problem. Yet running away from the world of the hungry in my own town of Patna a few hours later, I suddenly became alive to the fact that the real problem for the vast majority was much simpler : It was an all-consuming unsatisfied hunger. As I came back home in a highly distracted mood I picked up Myrdal's book and was struck by the following paragraph :

"Looking closer at what actually has been happening in undeveloped countries," Myrdal writes, "the increasing underutilization of the labour-force and the consequent mass poverty are caused by the combined effects of its rapid increase and the economic and technological changes, as they evolve in an inequitable economic, social and political system. A large and increasing part of the labour force is simply superfluous or becoming superfluous." (P. 389.) In contrast, "the conventional economists and secretariats of the intergovernmental organizations, uncritically using the flimsy aggregate figures for 'growth' of the national income or the national product and taking no consideration of what is growing, whether it is real growth from a national point of view or merely costs caused by negative developments, of how the product is distributed, and, generally, of the 'non-economic' factors, may convince themselves and the general public that the 'developing countries' are really developing." (P. 388.)

Those who feel concerned about social defence in this country must answer two questions at the beginning of their effort. What do they understand by 'social defence'? Is it the defence of society as a whole, or the defence of the upper, rich, propertied classes?

The police officer is unfortunately bound to the defence of the richer classes without in any way seeking to control the viciousness and exploitation by the social classes. Partly, this conduct of the police is determined by the social class origin of the police officers who generally come from affluent families. But mostly the police conduct is determined by law and the mode of administration over which they have no direct control. A police officer in his official capacity is not directly concerned with the formulation of laws or with pointing out the iniquities of particular laws. He is mostly the unthinking executive agent to enforce the discipline imposed by the ruling classes upon those whom they rule. A police action thus often serves the opposite purpose of social defence and creates a further problem in building up an effective social defence. It is not necessary to illustrate this by examples from practical life except to point out that in the very capital city of Patna persons accused of having misappropriated lakhs of rupees have not been arrested after months of the charge having been made, while hardly any thought is given while rounding up less affluent persons. "One of the most flagrant examples of bias in the post-war approach is the virtual taboo against including the important facts of corruption in the analysis of the development problems of

underdeveloped countries," writes Myrdal (p 229).

The second question that has to be answered is : Are we interested in a development which should lead to a diffusion of the gains of development ? The dilemma of increasing poverty for the many and growing affluence for the few is in no small a measure due to the absence of adequate pressure from below for change. To quote Myrdal again, "People in the upper strata were the transmitters of the modernization ideals and in particular the egalitarian ideal. These new legal rights were in early independence time handed down by the political elite in power. They were less eager, however, to give reality to these rights. To avoid doing so was the easier as there was no pressure from below" (p. 219.) The masses are illiterate, helpless, disorganized, but they constitute the overwhelming majority of the members of the society. It is they who require defence and it is the upper class which needs to make sacrifices voluntarily or under coercion for creating such a social defence. If this central truth is not recognized any effective move for crime prevention can only lead to a rise in the number of crimes, as has been the case so far. A crime prevention measure is as much dependent on reducing inequality in income and status as democracy and economic growth.



HOUSING CONDITIONS OF LANDLESS LABOURERS

B. K. KUMAVAT

"The problem of housing is, undeniably, the most central for efficiency and well-being of the rural working class." —R. Mukerjee,

Housing is one of the three basic needs of a man, viz., food, clothing and shelter. A well kept house stimulates hope and ambition. It safeguards health and develops character among its inmates. Good citizenship can develop only when people are properly and adequately housed. Unhealthy atmosphere of a house will not allow the children to develop good physical and mental health.

Unfortunately, housing has been neglected very much in our country. The problem of rural housing is all the more serious. The Health Survey and Development Committee rightly observed, "Even less attention has been paid to village planning in our country than to town planning. Most of the villages have grown in a haphazard manner in far too many cases, it would be beyond the capacity of a planner to improve the existing conditions to any reasonable extent." Everybody talks a good deal about urban housing but little attention is given to the housing of rural labourers.

Existing Conditions

The present conditions of houses of landless labourers are extremely unsatisfactory and deplorable. Most of them are housed in one-roomed tenements where men and cattle have

to live under the same roof. The labour-class live in straw-huts and 'kachha' houses of mud-walls and thatched roofs. These straw-huts are locally known as 'tapris' which are built of mud-walls and thatched with straw, stalks of 'Juwar' crop and 'Khodas' (date leaves). Some of the labourers use small fire-burnt tiles (which are often prepared by themselves during the idle season, particularly in the summer) for roofing the so called, 'kachha' houses. The huts are small and situated on elevated ground. The hamlets composed of irregular cluster of huts with mud-walls and thatched with straw or tiled roofs are a very common feature. One has always to bend himself down while entering these huts.

The landless workers do not get suitable sites for making their huts. Generally, they do not possess any land of their own with the result that they have to depend upon the tender mercy of land owners for small house-sites. They have to occupy, however, the worst places for making the huts, specially near the heaps of manures in a secluded and distant corner of the village. Consequently, shortage of living accommodation, dilapidated, insanitary and often wretched conditions are common features of the labourers' dwelling.

The average number of inmates of a house of a labour family is 5. Most of the families live in one-roomed tenements. Inside the

huts there is not much accommodation. A small open space and one or two stores, called 'Kothis' (of mud), are all that one can see for housing the aged, the young and the infants.

The rooms are small and without proper ventilation except what may be provided by one or two tiny windows which are instantly stopped up as soon as illness of any kind appears. They do not have any chimney and the whole house is full of smoke during a considerable part of the day. Doors are the only openings for light and air in most of the houses. Entrance to the huts is protected with a screen made of bamboo or 'arhar'-stalks or 'Khodas'. In the absence of the occupants, the wild animals, the dogs, and stray cattle, sometimes, get free access to the inner rooms, destroy and carry away things.

Mud-walls easily collapse during incessant rains which have to be repaired with great labour and cost, after each rainy season. 'Kachha' houses and huts are often found to be leaking during the rainy season when the members of the family have to huddle together in a small room. At times, the labourers (particularly the 'halis' and graziers) take shelter at the house of their employers. One and the same room is used as kitchen, store-place and sleeping place.

The houses of landless labourers are the filthiest. All such houses are huddled together and the lanes are tortuous and narrow. Heaps of manure lie in front of each house, which, besides being the breeding place of hordes of flies, also emit a suffocating stench. The drainage system is so poor that during the rainy reason every house is provided with a large mosquito-breeding centre around it. The house-drains add their quota to the waste water which runs around the walls and make the lanes dirty. No wonder that the incidence of disease is the highest in these families. There is utter neglect of public

services like scavengery, light and water. While the upper classes generally have wells inside their houses, the lower class people get water from a common well, pond or stream running nearby. It is not altogether uncommon that in the same tank or pond the villagers take bath and wash their clothes, the peasants wash their cattle and the lower class people carry water from the same pond for drinking purposes. The progress made by the Community Development projects regarding construction of wells for drinking water in the villages has not touched the fringe of the problem. The lanes adjoining the house-walls of the labourers are also used as urinals and the children use them freely as latrines. The surroundings are never cleaned and the excreta remains there till it is dried up and thus gets mixed up with dust or is eaten by pigs, and other cattle. The cattle and poultry often accommodate themselves in and around the houses.

Such are indeed, the dwelling places of our rural labourers in which they are born, sleep, eat live and die. This state of affairs has a definite bearing on their health and efficiency. The masses fall an easy prey to a number of diseases on account of bad housing conditions. "Planning from below" is an oft-repeated slogan of our planners in the campaign for socio-economic welfare of the nation. Paradoxically enough, our economic plans for rural development have not been able to deliver the goods. The weakest section of our villages—landless labour—has not been given a square deal. To those who assert that we cannot afford to spend more money for rural housing, there can be one reply—that we can no longer afford to delay such expenditure.

Suggestions

The foregoing discussion bears testimony to the fact that a high priority must be given

to rural housing schemes in our five year plans. To improve the disgraceful condition of labourers' housing is a primary responsibility of the State. The government should, with the help of P. W. D. experts, evolve a scheme for building cheap and airy houses, for the rural working class keeping in view the availability of local materials, i.e. bricks, tiles, timber, etc. An autonomous body should be constituted for building such houses. The States should contribute certain percentage of the cost in the form of subsidy. At Tehsil level, a rural housing committee should be constituted, which should advise the State government and the house building agency from time to time, which should act as a link between the State and the home building agency. The village panchayats and community projects can also be helpful in this respect. They should prepare a plan village wise for submission to the higher authorities.

They can undertake the responsibility of re-conditioning of the existing houses, rendering sanitary services and constructing drains, wells, roads and the like. The funds of house tax collected by village panchayats should be used exclusively for providing better housing facilities in the countryside. The nationalised banks and the cooperative organisations should also be called to advance interest-free loans to the labour class for building their houses. The loans may be recovered over a long period, say 20 or 25 years. The State governments can guarantee such loans. A special fund should be created by each State in the respective annual budget for rural housing for which special levy may be imposed on big cultivators on the basis of acreage. It should be collected along with the land revenue. The Central Government should also extend special subsidy to the States undertaking the schemes for housing in the villages.

PROGRESS OF BULGARIAN CULTURE AND THE ARTS

KOSTADIN POPOV

Culture and the arts carry the ideas, problems and aspirations of their times, the features of the national character and the force and originality of the people's creative genius.

Examining the period of 26 years of socialist development of Bulgarian culture and the arts, one can see that they have enjoyed an extremely beneficial climate for their blossoming and gaining maturity.

Drawing from the centuries-long heritage

of the Bulgarian people all the cultural values which are a worthy part of the world treasure-house of culture, Bulgarian culture has remained true to the progressive popular traditions.

The Bulgarian socialist state has promoted new trends in culture, has democratized the educational system and placed along new lines the activities of the cultural institutions. It has shown great solicitude for the workers in the sphere of culture and the arts and

provided them with ample opportunities for free creative activity. A most beneficial climate for artistic work has been created by the introduction of various forms of moral and material incentives.

The Bulgarians have always been known for their passion for learning, but this national characteristic has become particularly manifest in the last 26 years. In the 1968-1969 academic year there were 1,560,710 pupils and students (Bulgaria's population being 8,000,000) which means that every fifth person has been studying. Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries in the world in the number of secondary school graduates in proportion to the population, while in the relative number of university students it ranks third after the Soviet Union and the United States.

The percentage of the specialists, graduates from higher of secondary schools, in the total number or those employed, in the various sectors of the national economy is steadily growing.

The Bulgarian people have always shown great and lasting interest in literature in general, including scientific literature. This accounts for the growth of the number of public libraries in the country, which has now reached 11,109. Bulgaria holds one of the first places in the world for library facilities in the countryside. Almost all villages with a population of over 500 have their own libraries. Many kinds of activities which have been unknown in village life in the past have today become a reality. Hundreds of music schools and literary societies are working in the Bulgarian villages today, and art galleries have been opened in many of them. A number of villages have instituted their own literary prizes, which are awarded to the best talents from among the people.

Some comparative statistical figures concerning the development of book-publishing

testify to the role of the book in the life of the people and their close contact with culture. While in 1939, an average of one book per head of the population was published in the country, five books are published today. Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries in the world in the number of books and periodicals published per capita of the population. Over 70,000 titles in a total circulation of 650 million copies have come out in the years of socialism and their number continues to increase.

The Bulgarian National Revival gave rise to an original national cultural institution—the library club. These clubs have been flourishing for more than 110 years now. There were 2,234 of them in 1944, and today they total 4,518. Lately some 110 library club buildings have been erected on an average every year.

In the 26 years of people's rule all means of the dissemination of culture and all cultural institutions have expanded and developed new forms of activities. The number of cinema theatres has increased several fold, having now reached 3,044, and so has that of the theatres, concert halls and museums. The radio and television have become part of the everyday life of the people. The keen interest in art is also evident from the fact that last year cinema theatres were visited by 115 million cinema-goers, and theatrical and musical performances by 12 million spectators.

The Bulgarian working people take an active part in the nation's cultural life and in the promotion of artistic progress. The amateur artistic activities, which have assumed a mass character, bear proof to this fact. The amateur artistic groups have a total membership of over half a million. Such companies and groups have been formed in every town and village. Those in the villages alone give an average of 40,000 performances every year.

Splendid opportunities are afforded for the development of opera and symphonic music and of the fine arts in general. Talented Bulgarian writers, artists, singers and actors have made the name of our country famous far beyond its frontiers.

Works of Bulgarian authors have been translated into 65 languages. The works of Georgi Karaslavov, Lyudmil Stoyanov, Dimiter Dimov and Emilyan Stanev, among others, are being read in 35 languages. In 1969 alone, 103 Bulgarian books were published in foreign countries.

Bulgarian theatre art has fine traditions. The reviews of plays—contemporary, historical, youth and children's—inevitably turn into significant cultural events. There are 45 state theatres in the country today. Bulgarian theatre art has democratic, realistic traditions, maintained at all levels—in directing, acting and stage designing.

The arts have considerably contributed to socialist cultural progress. A vast number of general art exhibitions and one man shows are constantly organized. Many Bulgarian artists have shown their work abroad in one man shows too, or have taken part in international exhibitions. Over 200 exhibitions of professional and 100 of amateur artists are arranged every year on an average.

The Bulgarian film industry produces more

than 250 feature, short and popular science films every year. Bulgarian feature and documentary films are shown in about 70 countries. These have also participated in numerous international festivals (about 30). Many of them have won world acclaim. Over 130 prizes have been awarded so far to some 80 Bulgarian films.

Bulgaria plays host to some major international cultural events, such as the International Young Opera Singers' Competition held in Sofia, the International Festival of Chamber Music held in Plovdiv, the Ballet Competition in Varna and the Folk Art Festival in Bourgas. All these events testify to the rich cultural life in the country and the standards of an exacting public.

Special importance is attached to the discovery of art treasures and their preservation for the coming generations. Historical monuments and relics of the Old Bulgarian culture are constantly restored. All arrangements are made for the preservation of works which testify to the creative genius of the Bulgarian nation through the ages. There are 155 state museums and art galleries in the country today.

Bulgarian art has long transcended the boundaries of our country and revealed to other nations the artistic talent and skill of the Bulgarian people.



SMRITI AND BISMIRITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Jean Lunge

I knew that Lunge was one of the sons of a daughter of Karl Marx. He was a member of the French Parliament and belonged to the Socialist Party. I was curious to meet the grandson of Karl Marx and did meet him in his small flat in Paris. I talked with him about Communism and Marx and Lenin, about Moscow and London and also Paris and India. He spoke English very well and was an intellectual. He was very much interested about Moscow and the Comintern (Communist International) and asked me many questions about them. I spent more than two hours with him. In the course of my talks, I told him that I had a plan to stay in Chandannagar or Pondicherry, which were French possessions then and continue my political work against British Imperialism, under the semi-protection of the French. I told him, that if my attempt to go to India, through Mr. MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister of Britain failed, I would come back to Paris and seek his help to go to Pondicherry and from there to Chandannagar. He was not only sympathetic, but even enthusiastic about this plan and assured me of all help.

As will be clear from the following pages, it was not necessary to take his help to go to Pondicherry, as I succeeded, with much effort to come back to India from London after four months of trials and tribulations.

Calais

After spending about a week in Paris and completing my short program there, I decided to cross over and go to London. I took a ticket for London via Calais. Calais is a small and historic town on the North Western seacoast of France. This is the nearest port from Britain, across the English Channel. I took a day train so that I could reach Calais in the afternoon, to spend the last evening and night in Calais, the land's end of France.

Crossing the Channel

When I boarded the ship, the sea was calm, but soon a strong gale appeared and tossed the ship like a helpless raft. The waves were 10 to 15 feet high and when they broke on the ship, it was flooded with saline sea water. Now a days, crossing the English Channel by swimming has become rather common both by boys and girls. It was not so in those days, about 47 years ago. But crossing the channel in a ship, was just like travelling by train or even by bus or train. I was standing on the deck and was being drenched up to the knees, every few minutes, by the breaking waves.

First Voyage

This was my first sea voyage and really the very first real contact with the sea, about which

I had read or heard so much. I had not seen the sea at Puri, not to speak of Digha, which was not even heard of in those days. I had seen the sea of course in Leningrad and also at Riga but that was from solid terra firma.

I was reminded that for Indian Hindus even for the Bengalees, voyage on the seas was forbidden by the Shastras. I had been to Kabul, Bokhara-Samarkand, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Geneva and Paris etc., and though I had taken all kinds of food forbidden for a Hindu, yet I was not punishable by orthodox society, unless I confessed. But sea voyage was a different thing. It was on record that I had this sea-voyage, even though for one hour only. That was the time usually taken to cross the channel of 19 miles. So after all I had defied the Hindu Shastras.

The sea was so rough that I felt that the small steamship might go under any moment. I was standing on the deck and looking towards Calais and the French coast which looked very beautiful from the sea. But it was becoming more and more indistinct and my eyes eventually rested on the boat itself, as there was nothing else to see, except the seething waters and high waves breaking on the ship and flooding the decks. I found passengers had started getting sick and the crew were quickly supplying aids to the sea sick passengers. The crew were walking about as if nothing was the matter, though they also tottered a little when going from one place to another.

One crew member came to me and asked whether I also needed any assistance. I thanked him and declined. He complimented me as a "good sailor" and said I must have been on board ships many times. When I told him that it was my very first voyage, he was very much surprised and complimented me again. Though I made a bold face and stood my ground, the sight of so many passengers getting

sick and making all kinds of sounds created some feeling in my system too.

As a result, I sat down on my suit case, which gave me the much needed relief and saved me from admission of defeat to the sea waves.

Dover

Soon the ordeal was over and the sea became calmer. I was now looking at Britain from the sea. "Britannia rules the waves". I admitted it within myself. The sight of Britain or Dover from the sea was not the same as was the sight of France and Calais from the sea. The high cliffs near Dover looked spotlessly white and I remembered that Britain was called Sweta Dwip or white island. At Dover the porters came running as soon as the ship was tied with ropes to the jetty. They behaved almost in the same manner, as the porters at Khulna, Chandpur or Goalanda which I was accustomed to see in my younger days.

One of them enquired where I would go. Learning that I was to go to London by the next train, I was told that the train was standing and waiting for us at the platform. He took out a long rope and started tying carefully my suit cases and bedding and also of 8 other passengers and slung the whole bundle on his back over his shoulder. They do not carry loads on head as in India. I asked him his porter number. He was surprised and even looked shocked. Other passengers, said that it was not necessary. One can trust them. He and other porters followed a different route than the passengers and I could not go along with him. However reaching the platform I found the porter with our luggage waiting there. He put our things in the train and this time I asked other passengers the rate of portage and paid him \$0% more and got a "Thank you" which is

usual, but also a broad smile, because of the extra tip.

At last London

The train reached London soon. Again a British porter took my luggage to a Taxi. I tipped him properly and again a "Thank you" and smile. On introspection, I felt it was really an inferiority complex. While living in Russia, Germany and France, this inferiority complex had practically disappeared, as was normal, but it re-appeared when Britishers, or our the then masters, were concerned. I went to the India Govt. Hostel in Cromwell Road, registered my name and my things were put in my room. I washed, rested for a while in the room and took final decision about what to do.

The Hostel was fairly good and cheap, the arrangements were to my satisfaction, only £1-15 for bed and breakfast per week, i. e. 5 shillings a day. Having locked my room and deposited the key in the Reception, I went out straight to the Labour Party Office and there on the advice of the International Secretary I went to India Office, to find out how to arrange my passport affair. I reported to the British Office where an officer took my statement and application to change my Afghan passport. Then I went out for lunch.

Lions' Restaurant

I went to one of the chain of Lions' Restaurants, for lunch. The Lions' Restaurants had nothing to do with the British Lion. It is one of the two chains of cheap and popular restaurants scattered all over the city, numbering hundreds and managed centrally. The other one was named A. B. C. Both supplied standard simple cheap meals. These are to be found almost at every street corner and patronised by millions, not only because it was cheap, a shilling only at that time, but it was also quick. You could get service almost instantly.

Bomb Shell

I bought one afternoon paper before lunch as is the custom with most people in London. I bought the usual "Mail". The Head Line was "Macdonald defeated in Parliament". Having ordered a standard shilling lunch, I opened the afternoon paper and found that Macdonald had not only been defeated but had resigned also. For coming back to India, I had depended very much on him and his Labour Govt. But now he and his Labour Govt. were gone and my head was already in the Lion's powerful jaws.

Evening Mail

I ordered lunch and before I could see the head lines, knife, spoon and fork, bread and butter and soup were already on the table. When I entered, the house was half full with a capacity of about 50, but before I finished lunch it was full and some were even waiting in queue. The evening paper said that Macdonald resigned after being defeated in Parliament. He was the first Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain. He had no majority of Labour Members in Parliament but due to the wonderful British people and their still more wonderful but unwritten constitution, he was allowed to run the Govt. because the Tory party had suffered many defeats though they still had a majority required to form Govt. Hence the Labour Party, the second biggest Party, having a strength of about 250 in a house of 615 (at that time) was called upon to form Govt. Liberal Party having a little over only one hundred members in Parliament was the third in strength. If Labour had made a Coalition with Liberal, they could form a fairly stable Govt. but Britain does not favour Coalition Govts., unless there is a National Emergency, particularly at wartime. This minority Govt. had been already defeated more than half a dozen times, but this time (I do not remember

the issue) Macdonald declared in the House that this vote would be considered a vote of confidence and naturally when he was defeated, he resigned. These were in bold head lines in the 'Mail'. The last hope of the support on which I relied to come back to India disappeared. I had half a mind to return to France the same very day for safety. But this was also difficult, as I had gone to India Office and explained my predicament and, though a cent percent Indian I had taken an Afghan Passport in Moscow and applied for an Indian Passport. My Afghan Passport was deposited there.

The first thing I did, after taking a room in the Cromwell Road Hostel for Indian Students, was to go to the Labour Party Office and meet the International Secretary and to tell him all about the situation in which I was and that I wanted Mr. Macdonald's help to go back to India. He advised me to apply to India Office for an Indian Passport. On his advice I went to the India Office and applied for an Indian Passport and I had to deposit with them my Afghan Passport along with my application for the Indian Passport. The result was that I had no Passport with me to cross the Channel and to go back to France for safety. If this fall of the Labour Govt. and resignation of Macdonald had taken place just one day earlier, I would never have gone to London. I would have waited in France or elsewhere for developments in Britain, before going there. As I was then without a Passport, I could not leave Britain. On the Continent, one could sneak through national borders if one had no baggage, but between England and France there was a channel 19 miles broad and one could not much accross it. I thought I had acted in Though haste in going to the India office and in ground, though my Afghan Passport. But who e imagined that after being in office

for about one year and being defeated in Parliament six or eight times in the past Macdonald would suddenly resign.

I took my frugal lunch quietly and quickly and went to the river side on the Thames and sat on a bench to read the paper carefully. MacDonald's resignation was irrevocable. The cool breeze over the Thames with full view of Parliament in front of me, brought my thoughts to clearer perspective. I must stick it out in Britain and see the General Elections.

Labour Party

I went to the Labour Party office again after some time and I found all round confusion there. A large number of people had gone there emotionally moved, to find out what next? The Reception Room was full to the brim and the girls in office were busy making connections over the phone with people in the office. But invariably the reply was that the official concerned was busy in some conference or other. I got the same reply when I enquired about International Secretary but I loitered there a little longer to see the reaction on the Labour Party's rank and file. The usual British reserve was not much in evidence on this occasion there. They were discussing the subject of sudden resignation of MacDonald and its possible repercussions. Some were very indignant at the conspiracy of the Tories, others said that it was a golden opportunity for getting absolute majority for Labour in the coming General Elections. I sat in a chair in one corner and listened to the animated conversations and dialogue. It was late afternoon and many workers came directly from their workshops, some even in their working clothes. I talked with a few, picking up a coversation by asking how to reach my home. They also replied in a friendly manner. I did not venture to ask about their reactions to the resignation of the Labour Govt. On the whole, they were very

optimistic, as I found from their conversation amongst themselves.

Back to the Thames

From the Labour Party office I went to West Minister Bridge on the Thames, by the side of the House of Parliament. Standing on the foot-path in the middle of the Bridge, I was looking at the brightly lit river side and the stream of men and women going on foot, on cycles, on public buses and cars.

I remembered that about 22 years back Lenin stood on the same bridge and said to one of his colleagues (Trotsky, Zinoviev or Stalin) derisively, looking at the Parliament House, "there is their Parliament". It was in 1902, when the Russian Social Democratic Party was splitting into two, Bolshevik and Menshevik. Lenin meant by "their Parliament" Parliament of the Bourgeoisie, not of the working class or of the Revolutionaries like him. But when two of the Communists, viz. Newbold and Saklatwala, were elected to Parliament for the first time, Lenin himself had sent telegrams of congratulations to them inviting them to come to Moscow. I was myself present when Newbold went to Moscow and I saw how he was honoured in Moscow. I also remembered what Lenin had said of the Labour Govt. in Britain. He said "we shall support the Labour Party (in office) as the rope supports a man hanged". After supper in a restaurant I decided to go back early to the Hostel and sleep away the uncertainties and worries and wait for the morning newspapers, to get a clearer picture. I slept soundly as usual. It was my first night in Britain.

Newspapers

As I was disturbed in mind I awoke at 3 A. M. earlier than usual. The newspapers came on the streets not till 5 A. M. My inner voice told me to stick to Britain. It was clear that the issue would be decided by a General

Election. MacDonald was a shrewd Politician and he could have continued for many months as Prime Minister, in that precarious manner. He had already done so for about one year and could choose his own time to face a General Election after he had shown some result and introduced some ameliorative measures. But the Tories felt that they were losing ground and it was they who forced the issue before it was too late. In the few months in office he could not bring forward any socialistic measures, being in hopeless minority. Whatever might be the result, I was keen to see through the General Election, which would give me an invaluable opportunity to watch and observe the British people. So, I decided to stay on in London, come what may.

I went out and bought 3/4 newspapers. The resignation by Labour Prime Minister was irrevocable and the dissolution of the Parliament immediate and General Election in 6/8 weeks would follow. The press was cautious but the trend was clear. Times and other capitalist papers predicted more losses for Labour, while the Herald predicted Labour gaining a substantial majority. In the plethora of opinions expressed it was difficult for one to assess the real trend. I thought, let opinions take a proper shape and then I would consult Labour Party members and other friends to come to my own conclusion about the election results. In the meantime, I decided to see the Wembley Exhibition, which had really made it easy for me to come to London.

Wembley Exhibition

It was a very big affair, built in one of the suburbs of London on a vast piece of land, may be 100 acres or even more. More than 2 million people already had seen the Exhibition from all over the world. It was a World Exhibition and there were pavilions of most

countries of the world. It showed what Britain can make or was manufacturing at that time. I was delighted to see a beautiful and novel transport system to go from one place to another. The carriages were moving on screws without any drivers. The shaft which drove those vehicles had spiral grooves, near the platforms, where one got on or off, the spiral was very close and so the bogies moved very slowly but never stopping and then the spirals became elongated, giving more speed to the cars.

I spent the whole day there, took my meals in one of the large number of restaurants, including the A. B. C. and Lions. There were pavilions of many different countries of the world, including all countries of the far-flung British Empire. There was also an Indian Pavilion run mostly by Indian men and women, living in Britain. It was a fairly big attraction of the Exhibition.

I had seen one exhibition in Moscow only a few months back in the summer of 1924. It was mainly an Agricultural Exhibition in rural setting, the houses being made of wood, walled with Bamboo planks and thatched with straw. It was on and around Lenin Hill and looked like an extended Indian village market in improved style.

The contrast between the Exhibitions in Moscow and London was naturally most marked. Wembley showed all the products of Industries of Britain, which since the Industrial Revolution was the workshop of the world for over one century. Wembley was a big attempt to find overseas customers. In Moscow, the attempt was to show the progress mostly in agriculture in Russia during the first 7 years of the October Revolution. As long as the Wembley Exhibition lasted, I had visited it once a week, spending the whole day there. The weekends had naturally more visitors both from Britain as well as from

the Continent. Britain got contracts of business of millions and millions of pounds. The British, the nation of shopkeepers, maintained their tradition. After the great devastation of the first world war, it was a big attempt by Britain to be on her feet again.

Mr. & Mrs. D. P. Sinha

In London, one of my habitual companions was Shri D. P. Sinha, Advocate and his wife Mrs. Sinha, a vivacious lady of small size but full of life. Shri Sinha was a big landlord himself and had a very lucrative practice. He was also a member of the Central Legislative Assembly and a hot favourite of Sri Motilal Nehru. In London, their stay was most helpful to me, as most of the expenses of transport and also of meals in the sight seeing or political excursions were borne cheerfully by Shri Sinha. Shri Sinha was also a good companion and we became almost inseparable. They had gone to see Britain and enjoy life with no shortage of funds and I had very little money, but with my experience became their "friend, philosopher and guide". Shri Sinha was also very helpful in giving me all possible help and introduction to political leaders to get me back to India. Our friendship became lifelong and lasted through all his successes and misfortunes including the death of Mrs. Sinha.

Shri S. K. Lahiri

Another person, who became my lifelong friend, was Shri S. K. Lahiri. He was a Brahmo, a near relative of Shri Heramba Maitra. A bachelor of un-impeachable character and gentle and sympathetic to a fault, he became deeply interested in me. We two were of two opposite temperaments ; he was very gentle and cautious and moderate in politics, while I was just the opposite. He was not rich and could not help me much with money, except inviting me to some meals. He *

paid me £ 2/- once most apologetically saying that he could not pay more, but assured me that if I were at the point of starvation, I could always approach him. But respecting his feelings for me and his difficulty I never approached him, though he often enquired whether I needed any help. Actually, I had resolved to keep a balance of a minimum £ 5/- in my pocket which I would not touch even if I had to miss a meal or take "hotdogs and tea" for a meal. This was for extreme emergency. I had this "Reserve" with me even when I came back to India and rejoined my family and it was very helpful.

Rathindra and Pratima Tagore

Through Shri Lahiri, I was introduced to Shri Rathindra Nath Tagore, the only son of the Nobel Prize winner Gurudev Rabindra Nath. Rathi Babu and his beautiful and talented wife Pratima were in London for a holiday or perhaps for arranging some tour for Gurudev. Their adopted daughter Nandini, about 2/3 years old at that time, was also with them. They were staying in Regina Hotel, one of the two Hotels owned and managed by one Shri Majumder. I was received with exceptional warmth by both Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi, as they had heard exaggerated reports of my exploits in Kabul and Moscow etc. through Shri Lahiri. The first meeting was a very pleasant one, they being eager to know more about me and my travels. I told them of my travels and troubles also.

In the next meeting, over a meal, I think, there was a serious proposal made to me by Rathi Babu. The Poet had a great admirer in Brazil, who invited the Poet to stay with her for sometime and offered 50 or 100 thousand acres of land. to the Poet to build a colony or another Shanti Niketan there. Rathi Babu strongly felt that I with all my dash and initiative would be the ideal person to undertake this task. It was a very tempting offer no

doubt. Rathi Babu argued persuasively and elaborately, in which Pratima Devi and Mr. Lahiri joined.

Going back to India, if I succeeded to do so, would mean at least four years in jail and then hard work, like thousands of others, trying to earn bread for the family. The alternative was to build a colony for Gurudev, where many Bengalees would also be employed and rehabilitated. I shall acquire experience of large scale farming, dairy, poultry etc., build a name for me and go back to India with a reputation and also a big purse of my own, of 15 or 20 thousand rupees. I could take my family there to live with me in the meantime as long as I wished to live there. It would be a patriotic act and enhance the prestige of Bengal and of India. It was a very tempting proposition. It would incidentally be an alternative home for Gurudev, and also of a thousand Bengali families in South America.

I was reminded of colonel Suresh Biswas, who had gone to Brazil and married and settled there and also played a heroic part in the Revolutionary Military Campaigns there. He became a colonel and then rose to higher cadre of the army there. He rose from the team of a circus party. All these allured me, but I felt the Indian National Revolution was round the corner and Social Revolution would follow suit, if not in ten months as in Russia, but at the most within ten years. How could I bind myself in a contract for four years, doing farming, dairy, etc., in a distant land?

I took much time to consider all aspects and after a few days told Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi, that if I failed to go back to India easily, I might accept their offer. In the meantime 2 or 3 others might be sent there immediately to make preliminary survey and preparations and I might join later. This

naturally did not create much enthusiasm in them.

The owner and manager of the Hotel where Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi were living, Shri Majumder was an interesting and enterprising man. He knew very little English, managed to go to London, worked as a dish washer in a hotel and made his way upwards and was then the owner of one hotel and then of two hotels.

He married one waitress of the hotel and was in a very affluent financial position. Poet Rabindranath, whenever he was in London,

used to stay in his Hotel Regina and so did his son and daughter-in-law. Shri Lahiri had approached him to give some financial help to me. He gave me a closed envelope containing £1/. I never approached him again. But he offered to make me Manager of one of his Hotels on decent remuneration and of course free board and lodging. The offer was tempting, specially due to the prospect of getting delicious food, but my mind was restless to come back to India. Therefore I could not accept the offer.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THAT NECESSARY EVIL

S. K. ADHIKARI

Ours is a sovereign democratic republic. Democracy can stand on a firm footing if and when the people at large are fairly educated and intelligent enough to understand the true implications of democratic rule. The people needs must appreciate the virtues of nationalism and inter-nationalism. Eternal vigilance, the foundation of liberty, can be expected only from people that have received a good general education. Hence the importance of education or mass education has been earnestly stressed by all men of patriotic zeal, by the shapers of destiny of a nation. Liberty coupled with education has always been and should always be given top priority by the people who pilot the ship of state. Education, as a rule, should be broad-based. The aim is not to commit to memory a few pages, not to read something of everything and never to get a

pass in the examination or to obtain a degree. The planners of a democratic government of an under-developed country will be doing a distinct service if they can do away with the idea of the growing generation that a degree obtained by hook or by crook is a passport to employment. They have also to make the community understand what happens in other progressive countries where collegiate and university education is meant for the selected few. The doors of higher education should be thrown open to only such students as bid fair to make a definite and distinguished contribution to the arts and sciences. Our sub-continent has got immense resources to be tapped and harnessed. Those at the helm can make or mar this ancient land of ours by their selfless or selfish motives. The huge population problem, the refugee

problem, the destructive methods adopted by the so-called revolutionary parties, lack of employment opportunities, absence of private enterprise and the activities of the fifth column and the like have brought in their train the growth of anti-social elements in the country in geometric progression. The government in power can start from the bottom. And the first step or measure that they can take is the reformation of the educational structure and re-orientation of the examination system.

The term 'examination' has been aptly described as a necessary evil. It is as old as civilization itself. It has almost run parallel to human knowledge and expansion of ideas and spread of education. And, it is in the fitness of things that education and examination go hand in hand. Our knowledge in a subject is accepted only when we can make a threadbare analysis of it and form the capacity of explaining the why and wherefore of it in a lucid way and speak fairly on any and every question based on the subject. It also implies close study and scrutiny and the power to grasp any ideas connected with it. By and by, an intelligent interest in the subject will lead the learners to know more and more and then to carry on researches. There is, therefore, nothing like "thus far and no farther" in studying a subject. An examination in a subject has far-reaching consequences in the sense that it helps the learners extend their boundaries of knowledge of the subject under study.

Leaving aside the philosophical nature of examinations let us think of its practical aspect. A learner must attain certain norm or standard to prove his grasp of the subject. To make an assessment of it we must have recourse to examination of some kind. The system of holding oral and written examination has been long in vogue. With the spread of education on a mass scale, the oral exami-

nation system has been practically eclipsed by the written one. In almost all countries of the world written examinations are being conducted to test the students' mastery or skill in a subject. Sometimes written examinations are supplemented by oral and practical tests.

While higher education is not for the general masses, a pass in an examination, or a degree of a university has become a must for some suitable provision or employment. By and by corruption has crept in the examination system. The uncongenial environment brought about by causes—social, economic and political—has degraded the present society to a great extent ; and being brought up in such an atmosphere the major section of students consider it to be no disgrace to openly adopt dishonest or unfair means to gain their ends. The present unrest among students is not an accident ; it is, rather, a natural consequence of prevailing circumstances. Now mass copying has become the order of the day in examination halls. Misguided young learners now try to obtain a degree or diploma by fair means or foul only with the hope that it will qualify them for a job. Unemployment makes them an easy prey to so-called leaders wedded to selfish motives. Naturally patriotic feelings have been given the go-by by the mis-guided section. Undigested political catch-words and phrases, ideas foreign to those of indigenous growth have been eating into the very vitals of the country. Hence indiscipline, disregard of and disrespect to elders and chaos and disorder, crimes and excesses have gained ground. In class rooms the teachers and professors are being heckled ; in examination halls the invigilators are being threatened. In public and private life everything unholy has set in. We are rather living in an undifferential age. No one knows when our mental 'rehabilitation' will take place.

Our primary task is re-orientation in the examination system. Adoption of the Semester Process has proved successful in many an institution. Eminent thinkers and educationists highly recommend New-Type Tests or Objective Tests, Oral Tests or Viva Voce, General Intelligence Tests like Binet-Simon Tests, Standardised Tests, Cumulative Record Cards etc. to assess the merit and ability of a candidate. All examinations will be of such a nature as will test the real merit of a candidate. There must remain no chance or loop-hole for copying out an answer ; and this can be arrested when a lot of care is taken to frame questions. The paper-setters must be men of experience and imagination. Whatever is stereo-typed should better be discarded. The standard of examination should be very high and stiff. Those at the helm of educational affairs in the country will seek the help of psychologists as they alone can select the right man for the right job. Psychologists can guide educationists in

the matter of selection and rejection of students hankering after higher education. The Radha Krishnan Commission rightly diagnosed the malaise in the examination system prevailing in our country. It hinted at the maintenance of several conditions of a good examination by adhering to the characteristics of validity, adequacy, objectivity, easy administrability, marking and interpretation. All tests and examinations must have to be designed with educational ends in view. In short, the temptations of cheating, corruption and favouritism should have no place in the future examination system. General intellectual ability tests, achievement tests, measurement, testing and appraisal should immediately be made the essential elements of educational procedure.

The standardised tests may be supplemented by teacher-made tests. Objective testing does not rule out the Essay-type examination. A happy synthesis of Essay-type tests and objective tests may help the educators reach their goal.



THE UNITED NATIONS 25TH ANNIVERSARY ITS CONTRIBUTIONS AND FAILURES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

United Nations' 25th birth celebrations got under way with the recognition that the atomic bomb is almost of the same age. And the generation of mankind born after the United Nations was founded is more than half mankind. The festivities ended, with the completion of business of the General Assembly on December 15th, 1970 and officially closed on 17th January, 1971.

United Nations, unlike the old League of Nations, has become a permanent institution. The functioning of the United Nations is hampered, however, due to its charter defects and also due to power rivalry of the two super powers, who often flout the will of mankind and ignore the United Nations existence whenever their selfish interests serve them best.

When the United Nations was founded it had 51 members ; all were industrialized and potentially rich nations. Today it has 127—a majority of them young, underdeveloped and poor. Therefore the activity in the post 25th anniversary period of the United Nations will never be the same as before. The super powers no longer command immovable blocks. Besides, the issues have become global in nature. The cold war issues between the super powers are gone and replaced by matters of common interest to all mankind—such as economically advanced and backward nations (rich and poor) population explosion, pollution of air, rivers and seas, international drug traffic, universal education, technical aid, etc.

One of the factors that many fail to recognise is that 15 specialised agencies have

become the chief dispenser of multilateral, unilateral and unselfish technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations. When one speaks of the failures of the United Nations, as pointed out earlier, due to the selfish activities of the super powers, one must point out that the noble and unselfish efforts of these organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO, W. H. O., W. F. & A. O., etc. have to be recognized.

The United Nations is doing pioneering work on a whole new body of international law that will bring greater measures of order into man's activities in space, at the sea bottom, etc.

A set of legal principles to regulate relations between states has been formulated by the United Nations as a basis for a future code of international law. It was approved without objection early this year by the 121-member Legal Committee of the General Assembly in a resolution sponsored by 64 delegations.

The document entitled "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" contains the following principles :

1) "The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

2) "The principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means

in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

3) "The duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the (U. N.) Charter."

4) "The duty of states to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter."

5) "The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."

6) "The principle that states shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assessed by them in accordance with the Charter."

The United Nations organization was assured of one per cent, of its national income by a super power. This was in keeping with the demands of the poorer lands from the wealthier ones to contribute one per cent of their annual national income to aid poorer lands. The United States did a great service to mankind by the announcement in the 25th anniversary session of the United Nations. Some diplomats felt that U.S. was not too serious about this declaration. Yet it is a step in the right direction, with the assumption that if the super power the United States of America take this crucial step, other rich nations will follow her footsteps.

Another achievement of the United Nations 25th anniversary session was the overwhelming endorsement by the General Assembly Political Committee of a draft treaty to bar weapons of mass destruction from the seabed. This is a positive achievement for the United Nations. The significance lies not so much in the treaty itself as in the manner in which it was negotiated.

The pact does nothing to reduce the current balance of terror, since it does not cover submarines armed with nuclear weapons or any other existing seabed weapon. But there are elements in the draft and in the manner in which it reached final form that offer encouragement for future negotiations on more urgent disarmament issues.

The United States and the Soviet Union entered discussions at the 26-nation Geneva Disarmament Conference two years ago with widely disparate positions on the seabed question. Under strong pressure from the smaller powers, the Big Two resolved their own differences and finally accepted significant modifications in a draft they jointly tried, without success, to pass through the General Assembly last year.

In a more formal touch, the 25th anniversary declaration was adopted, reaffirming the principles of the Charter, although the Africans wanted to name Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal as the main colonial masters of today. Racism of these lands was the deep concern of all mankind.

A search for peace in the Middle East has been elusive since the State of Israel was founded in 1948. The new cease fire has been extended to February 1971. This is a good omen for all humanity. In consequence the possibility of a global war has receded a bit, as one super power is harking the Jews while the other the Arabs.

The super powers and members of the United Nations have reaffirmed to carry over the "Resolution 242 of November 1967, as a guide to a Middle East settlement".

A permanent peace in the Middle East demands the establishment of a secular Palestinian Democratic State, where Jews, Arabs and Christians—all semetic-speaking peoples—may live in peace and brotherhood. All other kinds of settlements will be temporary expedients devoid of an honourable settlement for all segments of the people who inhabit this region.

Although the perennial resolution on seating Communist China at the United Nations failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority, this year's General Assembly vote on the issue represented a breakthrough for .

Peking and its supporters and is therefore of major significance.

For the first time the resolution to seat mainland China and expel Nationalist China (Taiwan) won a simple majority—by 51 votes to 49, with 25 abstentions. However, the Assembly had decided to consider the resolution an “important question,” requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption.

The growing trend in favour of its admission greatly enhance Communist China's prospects of gaining acceptance next year.

The United Nations cannot function effectively by ignoring the existence of one-fourth of mankind who live in the mainland of China.

The nations of the world spent a total of \$180.1 billion for their military establishments during 1969, with the United States leading the way, according to a yearbook issued by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

The Institute, set up as an independent foundation in 1966 by the Swedish Government, said expenditures were about the same last year as in the year before. They will be lower this year by about 2 per cent, the yearbook added, after an increase of 30 per cent from 1966 to 1968.

The Institute said the United States spent \$79.8 billion of the \$105.1 billion paid by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Soviet Union paid out \$42.1 billion of the Warsaw Pact's total of \$49.2 billion.

Budgeted military expenditure by the United States will be 7.5% lower this year, compared with a Soviet outlay that will be 0.9 per cent higher, the yearbook added. It also added that NATO's budget would show a decrease of 5.5%, while the Warsaw Pact's will increase by 1.8%.

In the Middle East, the yearbook said, Egypt spent \$982.1 million in 1969 and planned to raise that figure by 19.9% this year. Israel spent \$790 million and budgeted an increase of 26.7% for 1970. If this money

were spent on mankind there would be no poverty in the world. There would be social justice and possibly no war, and the hand of the United Nations would be strengthened.

The United Nations persistent inability to keep the peace is the central issue of the World Organization. It was created to keep peace and successes of its subsidiary organizations will be dwarfed by this failure. Mankind has given the United Nations a mandate to establish peace-keeping machinery. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping, which has been studying the subject for five years, came before the General Assembly this year with a report of no progress. Both the Middle East and Indo-China need some kind of United Nations peace force. Mankind has to hope that an international peace force will be established by the United Nations General Assembly in the near future.

For over 25 years mankind has, with the use of the world body, pressed hard for ways to make it more effective and to broaden its scope for good. With all its drawbacks it has provided an international forum for world leaders to gather to exchange views privately and publicly.

It has provided a forum for critical and complex issues of peace and war in the Middle East, Congo, Cyprus, Indian subcontinent.

The United Nations in the annals of mankind is the most inclusive international body. Notwithstanding the multitude of unsolved problems the World Organization is surely overcoming its obstacles to serve mankind better.

What divides mankind? Greed, hatred, racism, inherited prejudices and so on. The United Nations is a forum to overcome these maladies of fellow men and mankind as a whole.

The United Nations today is more mature than at its birth. An international body like this is an imperative need and crucially desirable. Let it grow into a larger, nobler and activist organization in this atomic, supersonic and inter-planetary age, to serve and preserve the heritage of mankind.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE UN

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Human Rights in Bangladesh

If the primary objective of the UN is the promotion of human well-being, the question of human rights necessarily assumes paramount importance. The history of yesteryears shows that more often than not international disputes have originated in the planned oppression of the national minorities or racial groups. There are glaring examples of such sordid incidents in the annals of human civilization. In the nineteenth century, the brutal tyranny of the white masters over the poor Africans shocked the conscience of humanity at large. In more recent years, Nazi persecution on the Jews had horrified all morally conscious people.

So, the UN seeks to achieve international co-operation in 'promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion [Art. 1(3)]. Eichelberger observes that no part of the Charter better illustrates the obligations that the members undertake for individual and collective action than the human rights provisions. Art. 55 imposes upon the UN obligations to promote human rights. Then, Art. 56 declares: All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the organisation for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Art. 55'.

Art. 62(2) of the Charter enjoins upon the Economic and Social Council the task of making recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for and observance of human rights for all. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly with respect to these rights [Art.

62(3)]. Again, Art. 68 stipulates that it shall set up commissions for the promotion of human rights.

Commission on Rights :

The task of drawing up a declaration of general principles and a treaty containing binding obligations was, however, entrusted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. After laborious work, it has produced an international bill of human rights. It is divided into three parts. The first part contains the declaration, the second has a covenant and the third provides for an enforcing machinery.

The Assembly adopted the Universal Declarations of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. Before its adoption, the Chairman, Mrs. Roosevelt, stated that it was first and foremost declaration of the basic principles to serve as a common standard for all nations. It might well become, she added, the Magna Carta for mankind.

As far as the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is concerned, ratifying nations are to report to the UN on the progress towards the achievement of these rights. Human Rights Committee has also been set up to which state parties can complain against other powers.

Violation :

The military junta of Pakistan had unleashed a barbarous attack on the masses whose only fault was the choice of their trusted representatives in the last national election. History, however, records a number of sordid examples of entrenched tyranny of governments over their own people. But the recent brutality perpetrated by the army in Bangla-

desh had meanwhile surpassed the worst in the catalogue of human crime. While several lakhs of people had laid down their lives, about a crore of unfortunate evacuees had taken refuge inside Indian territory. Yet, the freedom-fighters were holding their ground with undefeated spirit. This marks the epic struggle for freedom of an aggrieved people against the might of a political usurper.

The heroic suffering and death of the martyrs are not, however, discernible from outside. Even the proofs of indiscriminate massacre of the civilian people can largely be wiped out by the Pak authorities. But the uprooted refugees of Bangladesh who could be regarded as the casualties of civilisation, had to be convinced that the Makers of the Charter desired that the people of the world should enjoy some Fundamental Freedoms without any infringements whatsoever.

Thus, it is evident that the following rights had been infringed by the Pak authorities :

1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Art. 1).
2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion etc. (Art. 2).
3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person (Art. 4).
4. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Art. 6).
5. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law (Art. 8).
6. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law (Art. 9).
7. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. (Art. 10).
8. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law. No one shall be held guilty for any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence ; nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed (Art. 12).
9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his family, home or correspondence nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation (Art. 19).
10. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. (Art. 19).
11. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. (Art. 20).
12. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one can be compelled to belong to an association (Art. 21).
13. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representatives (Art. 22).
14. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realisation, through national effort and international co-operation, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality (Art. 23).

Genocide :

The Genocide convention was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 9, 1948. The word genocide was obviously coined to describe what the Germans attempted to do—to destroy a whole people on the basis of race, culture and religion. The convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of Genocide makes provi-

sions for punishing persons committing genocide, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private persons (Art. IV). Under the convention, genocide or conspiracy to commit genocide should be punishable by national courts or by an international criminal court.

But, the people of Bangladesh had been subjected to a relentless persecution by an attack on their inalienable right of self-determination. A total people had thus been persecuted and gruesome treatment was meted out in order to destroy a culture, a tradition, a race and a nation. History has obviously repeated itself. The horrible genocide perpetrated by the Nazis during the forties had once again inspired a malignant ruler.

Disquieting :

It is evident that neither the UN nor any of its specialised organs can enforce these rights by any legal mechanism. Though Lauterpacht thinks that certain factors are playing in favour of these rights, yet the Declaration of Human Rights has now become a dead-letter. Kelson correctly observes that the rights cannot create any binding obligations upon the states. And, as Quincy Wright points out, the growing tendency is to assume that the obligations accepted by the members in respect of Human Rights are very much limited. This is why Schwarzenberger has taken a very pessimistic attitude. Of course, it is agreed that the nations would have a right to proceed under chapters VI and VII of the Charter if the continuance of a violation of human rights is so serious as to threaten the peace of the world. As Eichelberger puts it, this has been the basis of the African demand for sanctions against

apartheid. Yet he observes 'The charter of the United Nations provides for the enforcement of peace. It falls short in providing for the enforcement of human rights'.

So, Goodrich rightly concludes that the difference as to what these rights are and the relative importance attached to them by individual states practically vitiates their general acceptance. Thus, even the states which had been so vociferous to condemn any alleged contravention of Human Rights or perpetration of genocide, had become silent onlookers of human degradation in Bangladesh.

Conclusion :

The insolent brutality in Bangladesh and the calculated inactivity of the UN thereupon have proved that the UN, after twenty years of its existence, has become fully ineffective. Though the Makers have registered their respect for Human Rights and the UN has subsequently established specialised agencies for the codification and promotion of such rights, yet, people in some parts of the world are still the helpless victims of the ambition of their autocratic rulers.

Bangladesh is a fresh example of such ruthless tyranny. Neither the Security Council nor any specialised agency has so far raised its voice against this monstrous repudiation of Human Rights. The legal experts may think whether the Bangladesh Government can profitably seek redress in the International Court. But, meanwhile, we may only remind the UN that Dag Hammarskjöld, once said : 'We know that the question of peace and the question of human rights are closely related. Without recognition of human rights we shall never have peace.....'.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF FARM PRODUCTS

H. MAHABALESHWARIAH

Indian agriculture presents varied problems in the marketing of farm products. In the present context of the country's agriculture where heavy marketable surplus is recorded in many areas of the agricultural field, the distribution of surplus products for marketing calls for urgent attention of the policy makers. According to mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan we have produced 107.82 million tonnes of food grains, 9.12 million tonnes of oilseeds, 13.19 million tonnes of sugarcane (gur), 5.56 million bales of cotton and 4.91 million bales of jute in 1970-71 and the anticipated achievements for 1971-72 are 112.00 million tonnes of food grains, 9.50 million tonnes of oilseeds, 13.70 tonnes of sugarcane (gur), 6.20 million bales of cotton, and 6.40 million bales of jute. The area under High Yielding Varieties has increased from 11.41 million hectares in 1969-70 to 14.61 million hectares in 1970-71 and the anticipated area under High Yielding Varieties in 1971-72 would be 18.00 million hectares. The strategy adopted to produce more in the field of agriculture has resulted in increased production in general. Increased production naturally will result in more marketable surplus. As a part of strategy adopted in the Fourth Five Year Plan, improvement in the agricultural marketing system in the interest of the producer along with assurance of minimum prices for major agricultural commodities has been initiated. Establishment of regulated markets in all important marketing centres has been one of the measures proposed for the development of the marketing infrastructure in the country. In the beginning of the Fourth plan, the number of regulated markets and sub-

market yards were 1844, and about 1300 markets and sub-market yards are yet to be brought under regulation in the country during Fourth plan period.

Even after having regulated markets all over the country the voluntary associations like Co-operative Institutions play an important role in the orderly marketing of agricultural produce. The functioning of co-operative marketing societies within the frame work of regulated markets occupies an important place in the promotion and development of regulated markets and help to achieve the objectives of the regulated markets. Marketing of agricultural produce through co-operative institutions is the solution to overcome the defects in the marketing of farm commodities. The farmer is conscious of his economic interests and marketing of his produce is a matter of great importance for him. Marketing is part and parcel of the production. Merely raising a good crop is not sufficient for the farmer, he should also get fair price for his produce. The private marketing agencies who perform the function of marketing are not desirable as the farmer is found to be at a great disadvantage in dealing with them. It is observed that the private agencies have certain defects in their system. They indulge in a lot of malpractices such as arbitrary deductions from the sales proceeds, multiplicity of market charges, unauthorised deductions, manipulation of weights and measures, collusion with brokers and buyers, absence of grading and standardization of agricultural produce, defective sorting and adulteration of produce, superfluous middlemen, lack of storage facilities,

forced sales, etc. To overcome all these defects effectively marketing of farm produce through co-operative institutions was introduced. Co-operative Marketing of farm produce is an important feature of the co-operative movement and it has played a prominent role in the country where 10 per cent of the marketable surplus has been handled by the co-operative institutions during the Second plan period as envisaged in the plan. With the increased emphasis on co-operative marketing in subsequent plans, it assumes still greater significance in advancing facilities to farmers in the country.

Benefit of co-operative marketing

Fair price : The main and foremost advantage of the co-operative marketing system is to have fair price for the farmers' produce. It is found that the farmer gets a very small share from the consumers' money. The co-operative marketing of agricultural produce, if efficiently carried out, should help to reduce the price spread between the producer and the consumer, thereby ensuring a better return to the primary producer. Fair price for the farm produce is also ensured by checking all malpractices and by reducing the number of middlemen who take a major share of the profits. This can be ensured effectively only in co-operative institutions. Recent empirical studies have shown that small farmers sell all their marketable surplus in order to meet their other consumption needs even at the cost of their necessary consumption. The big farmers retain certain portion of marketable surplus and they release their stocks only when they get higher prices. To ensure a fair and better price for small farmers who form the major bulk of the farming population and who have not got the benefit of new technology, the co-operative marking societies can play a positive role.

Stabilization of prices : In an ordinary market the profit motive on the part of middle-

men leads to price manipulations and the consequent fluctuation of prices is the result. If the co-operative marketing develops on a larger scale, it can help in the stabilization of prices over long periods by adjusting the supply according to market demand.

Ancillary services : The co-operative marketing societies can undertake the functions like decorticating, dehusking, ginning of cotton, grinding, and such other processing activities. It is possible for a co-operative marketing society to undertake such items because it will have large supply at its command, whereas ordinary farmers can not do so because of the small quantity of farm produce with them.

Grading and standardization of products : Grading and standardization of farm commodities can be undertaken by the co-operative societies very efficiently and graded and standardized products will naturally fetch better prices in the market. This function can not be easily taken up by an ordinary cultivator because of the small produce at his command.

Scientific storage : The marketing societies can have godowns of their own and store their commodities in a scientific way, protected against store pests, rats and rodents, etc. Suitable measures could be taken to protect the produce from loss due to dampness or excess of moisture.

Weights and measures : The co-operative institutions will ensure correct weights and measures to farmers whereas private agencies will not do so. This is because a private agency will have a profit motive behind its actions.

Co-operative credit : The promotion of co-operative marketing in India should receive a high priority, not merely because co-operative marketing is desirable as such but also because it is an essential pre-requisite for the large

scale expansion of co-operative credit. The linking of credit with marketing scheme envisages the recovery of the loans due to the village credit societies from the value of the members' produce sold by the marketers. The co-operative marketing societies are expected to ensure better return to the members on the produce raised by them and they will act as agents for the recovery of loans advanced by co-operative credit societies and thereby bring about the necessary link between credit and marketing. Apart from this, the marketing societies will have better bargaining power in the market compared to private individuals and they can ensure better returns for the farmers.

No unauthorised deductions : In a co-operative society there will not be any unauthorised deductions (which are found with private merchants) since it will be an organization of producers.

Open auction :

Open auction of the commodities is ensured in a co-operative society. The produce is auctioned in front of farmer and if a farmer wishes to sell at the price that is offered he can do so, otherwise he can postpone the marketing of his commodity. Whereas in private agency the price is fixed without the knowledge of the farmer and the farmer is at a great disadvantage. In many markets in India fixing of price is done under cover. This also does not give any idea about the price in the market to the farmers. The private merchants in many markets form rings and manipulate prices, which could be checked effectively through co-operative marketing.

Disputes settled through a committee :

If there are any disputes between the farmer and the buyer it can be settled fairly through a committee, whereas in case of private merchants the disputes will be settled always in favour of the buyer and not the farmer.

Even in regulated markets where official committees work to settle disputes, the co-operative institutions can play an important role in providing leadership and help to settle the disputes favourably to the producer.

Market news :

Market news regarding prices prevailing in the market can be supplied to the members of the society and thus keep them informed about the market situation. This is possible for a co-operative society as against individual merchants.

Helps in change :

The regulated markets always found it difficult to enforce new development measures in the markets. The private agencies always resist change. To overcome this, co-operative marketing societies can give a lead so that people take the development in good faith. This takes a long time, but when one takes the lead all others would follow one by one. There is, therefore, a need for a party that could initiate acceptance of such measures and co-operative marketing society could be the best party for this.

Progress of co-operative marketing in the country.

In the First Five Year Plan the need for the development of co-operative marketing along with co-operative credit was emphasized. After the publication of the Rural Credit Survey report the need for an integrated development of the co-operative structure was felt. The report envisaged the growth of co-operative marketing societies at various levels. It also recommended financial assistance to co-operative marketing societies at the initial stages. Such assistance was to cover State participation in the share capital, loan and subsidy for godowns and subsidy for managerial staff when the co-operative societies were at the formative stage.

The Second Five Year Plan envisaged the organization of 1800 marketing societies at important mandis as against which over 1869 societies were organized or reorganized. Further, that in each State Apex Marketing Societies have been set up as was the target. During this plan the co-operatives handled ten per cent of the marketable surplus as envisaged in the plan. It was estimated that 1900 societies handled goods worth Rs 2000 crores of agricultural produce in the country. "In the course of the Second plan, about 1670 godowns and 378 processing units were set up--84 cotton ginning and pressing units, 109 rice mills and hullers, 20 oil mills, 17 jute baling plants, 26 groundnut decorticator plants, and 122 other units besides 30 co-operative sugar factories," "At the end of June 1968, there were 3280 primary marketing societies, in addition to over 1000 societies which had sprung up outside the programme under the plan. There were also 161 district-level marketing societies, 24 Apex marketing societies, 3 state-level commodity federations and one national co-operative marketing federation. The total value of agricultural produce handled by co-operative marketing societies rose from Rs 53 crores in 1955-56 to Rs 170 crores in 1960-61 and to Rs 209 crores in 1965-66, and to Rs 580 crores in 1968-69. The figures show that, there has been substantial increase in the operations of marketing societies at various levels".

During the Fourth plan period steps will be taken to strengthen the existing co-operative marketing structure, especially at the primary level. The marketing federations at the State and National level will be strengthened to enable them to reach optimum efficiency and to provide the requisite leadership, financial support and guidance to their affiliated institutions.

Conclusions :

To help the farmer to derive the benefit of increased production, development of co-operative marketing institutions at village level is essential. As has been pointed out from different studies most of the small farmers dispose of their small surplus at village level, the benefit of deriving maximum returns for his effort should be provided to him. Man resists change. No doubt regulated markets have got their role to play in providing better returns to farmers. The element of compulsion creates more time lag in having better marketing practices to follow. In this context co-operatives have got wide scope to develop and can bring in the desired change in much shorter time. Apart from this, to provide more facilities and benefits of better marketing to a majority of farming population at village level who are economically not sound, the co-operative is the effective answer.

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Current Affairs

Union Budget 1972-73

Mr. M. R. Pai, secretary, Forum of Free Enterprise, says in a Press Release :

We should...judge the Budget from its *long-term consequences for the general public.*

As soon as we view the Budget from this angle, we...find this Budget continues the tradition of all Budgets since 1957—*inflation which is harmful to the general public and the national interests from a long-term viewpoint.*

Inflation, or a steady and sustained rise in prices all round, arises from mismanagement of economic affairs.

Mismanagement of the economy results in an undue increase in money supply without a proportionate increase in goods and services which people want to buy.

In the 1972-73 Budget, the Revenue and Capital Budgets present the following picture.

	Revenue Budget (in crores of rupees)	Capital Budget
Incomings	4,476	2,095
Outgoings	4,124	2,689
	+352	-594

Cumulative result : Deficit of Rs. 242 crores

The real deficit will be much bigger. The Budget has been cleverly structured to conceal a much larger deficit as otherwise there would be a public hue and cry against a large dose of deficit financing. The deficits concealed are as follows :

(a) Credit has been taken for Reserve Bank of India profits transferred to the Government. These are not *real profits* arising

from the banking activities of the Reserve Bank. They are *fictitious profits* because they arise from the deficit financing activities of the Central Government whereby the Reserve Bank becomes a supplier of fresh currency notes to the Government, earning a "profit" on that activity !

(b) The Finance Minister has spoken of "borrowings from financial institutions". What he means is Government borrowings from the nationalized banks. These, generally result in creation of fresh monies.

(c) Unauthorised overdrafts of State governments on the Reserve Bank of India result eventually in deficit financing. These were to be stopped from 1st April, according to the Planning Minister. The Finance Minister has allowed their continuance. Already these deficits have mounted up to nearly Rs. 450 crores.

(d) The transactions with regard to PL 480 funds may also result in creation of fresh monies.

Thus, it will be seen, there will be a much bigger deficit than Rs. 242 crores indicated by the Finance Minister.

The other inflationary factors are in the excise duties levied in the Budget...

There is a...set of indirect taxes which will give a spurt to inflation. They are duties on steel, cement and tyre. These are basic items in our process of industrialisation. An additional levy on them will push the entire cost structure of our economy.

It is, however, no use merely complaining against these harmful effects of the Budget proposals without understanding the basic economic philosophy of the Budget and the

government. That is summed up in the phrase "mobilisation of resources". This turns out to be more and more direct and direct taxes, and deficit financing.

The real problem of our economy is different : *proper utilisation of scarce resources*. Here, the governmental machinery fails the country completely. For instance, in the 1971-72 Budget, the Government had set aside Rs. 75 crores for creating jobs for the unemployed. This was a high priority item. The Government has not been able to use this budgetary allocation to create jobs. According to the "Economic Survey" presented to Parliament, only Rs. 3.1 crores had been used. The Finance Minister also admitted this deficiency in his Budget speech, and observed that "timely preparation and selection of projects and speedy implementation are equally important."

All along the line, the Central and State Governments have lost their capacity to use public funds in the best possible economic manner. Partly, this is due to Government's increased commitments and partly because by training and temperament politicians and government officers are not suited nor competent to run business and industrial activities. This is graphically illustrated by the operation of the Public Sector. On an investment of about Rs. 4,000 crores, end of March 1971, the return was negative—a loss of about Rs. 30 crores.

There should be a radical departure in the present economic ideology if the Budget is to become an instrument for promoting economic growth with social justice. Ideology should give way to pragmatism. Government should attend to its basic functions, allow people to create wealth, regulate the process of wealth creation and take away a reasonable proportion of such wealth through taxes and use it for public welfare. If this path is not chosen

voluntarily, after many more years of wandering in the dreary sands of ideology, some day the country will have to take that path of pragmatism and progress.

The "Hare Krishna" International

Blitz published a strongly worded analysis of the Iskcon movement which is American aided and has brought to India many white American "Vaishnavas" who are trying to develop Krishna consciousness among Indians. These Americans appear obnoxious to many Indians and are, perhaps, lowering the spiritual level of India's religious institutions. *Blitz* writes :

Revolting parody of religion

They literally shout HARE RAMA HARE RAMA, RAMA RAMA HARE HARE : HARE KRISHNA HARE KRISHNA KRISHNA KRISHNA HARE HARE at the top of their voices, with no rhythm or correct intonation or bhava.

Far from evoking any spiritual feeling they give the impression of ridiculing Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna never wanted any outward display of devotion. The quintessence of his teachings is "Remember me, love me."

Never was a more revolting and obnoxious parody of religion witnessed than in the antics of a set of alien buffoons in their recent "*transcendental drama*", as their nightly pranks are styled in the posters, enacting Krishna's fight with the serpent demon Kaliya. It was a horrible farce. The typical Yankee script and accent only served to underline the mockery that was made of religion.....

Rich sinners and tax-dodgers are coming forward with large donations hoping to wash away their sins. Even in India the chanting tamasha is staged by the foreign Munis.....

These presumptuous pranksters led by one of the band of get-rich-quick gurus, are mock-

ing at our traditional beliefs and at the head of it, is an Indian.

It is time the Government and people called a halt to this money making humbug.

Miraculous Economic Growth of Japan

J. H. Doshi, a past President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has published in a booklet of the Forum of Free Enterprise, a concise account of the growth of Japanese economy since after the Second World War. We are giving some excerpts from this booklet:

The economic progress of Japan during the past decade has been described as a miracle by

several authorities from many countries. Considering the tremendous progress of Japan in doubling her Gross National Product (GNP) every five years and reaching a phenomenal figure of nearly \$200-billion in 1970, it is worthwhile to have a look into this economic miracle of Japan for such guidance as we can get for improving and revitalising our own economy. It is the great success story among nations and a story of achievement of objectives clearly laid down and dutifully executed.

Briefly stated, the tremendous progress of Japan between 1959 and 1969 is reflected by the following figures :—

Details	Japan		India	
	1959	1969	1960-61	1969-70
GNP Japan real Terms (in Billion US\$)	49.900	145.30	18.705 (at 60-61 prices)	25.640
GNP per capita (in US\$)	408	1697	40.8	45.2
Index of Industrial prodn.	100	401.5	109.2 (base year 1960-100)	180.3
Exports (in billion US\$)	3.456	15.990	.891	1.871
Imports (in billion US\$)	3.599	15.029	1.329	2.110
Gold & foreign exchange reserves (in billion US\$)	1.322	3.496	.637	.976
Wholesale price index	100	110	100	181
Consumer price index	100	170	100	184
Labour productivity index	100	291	Comparable data not available	
Wage increase	100	295	100	300 (approx)

With these achievements, Japan has a big trade surplus and has accumulated nearly \$7,000-million in foreign exchange reserves as at end of 1970, inspite of her having to import practically all major raw materials for industrial production. With the recent rush for yen, this reserve is estimated to have gone much higher to \$12,500 million as at end of August 1971.

Mr. Kewal Varma, Special Correspondent of "Financial Express", recently covered

Japanese Economy in a series of articles and concluded that the difference between Japan's success and India's comparative failure may lie in the Japan's adoption of a road to private enterprise and that of India's road towards socialism.

Japan has been able to achieve a remarkable rate of investment of the order of 20 to 40% of her GNP as against a conventional 3-4% elsewhere. This is largely due to the

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high savings rate. High rate of savings promotes high rate of growth and this in turn maintains the high rate of growth as a beneficial cycle. The savings from personal disposable income have remained at between 20 and 25%, because as a class Japanese are thrifty, hard-working and lead an austere life and have recognised the need to save for the country's economic recovery. India's savings is estimated to be below 10% having steadily gone down from a figure of 22.7% in 1951. There are no significant old-age pension schemes or welfare schemes so that the tendency towards providing for the future is built. It is said that many Japanese Companies pay a large portion of the annual wages as a lumpsum bonus, which in turn promotes savings and investment. The savings are invariably deposited in the Banks and the Banks in turn have gone all out to support industrial development. Thus the momentum of investment on average of \$28 bill. a year has been kept up.

Japan's success on the economic front is a composite of development both in the agricultural and industrial fields. As against an employment level of nearly 40% of the workforce in agriculture, 15 years ago, the present level is less than 20%. It has been her aim to increase the production of agricultural products with the lowest possible additional investment on mechanical equipment. The mechanisation of agriculture has proceeded systematically without any debate on the necessity for tractors or the size and type of tractors to be used. Japan has more or less standardised on sizes of multi-purpose tractors and associated machinery, suitable and consistent with her scale of agricultural operations by individual farmers.

The most important contribution towards development is the role of labour in Japan. Mr. G. Gregory, Special correspondent of

"Far Eastern Economic Review", has described Japan's economic growth as a national sport in Japan in which every Japanese was a player. This described the complete team spirit, love of work, dedication and discipline which are the basic features of Japanese labour. It also reflects the mass-based nature of growth with the contribution of finance from savings and of personal hard work by almost everybody. Apart from having available a ready supply of skilled technicians, Japanese industry has greatly benefited by the dedicated approach of its labour force who considered themselves as a vital part of the organisation.

In Japan employment is more or less on permanent basis but this permanence and security has not bred inefficiency as in other countries, but promoted a spirit of identity with the organisation and a sense of belonging. In Japan discipline is in-born and this has been greatly reinforced by the team spirit displayed by the labour force of industrial units. Awards are for achievements of a group and rarely for individuals—thus promoting the team spirit.

The unions are organised unit-wise for the industries and disputes are settled between unions and management without any intervention of political affiliates from outside. Japan has developed and exploited a joint consultation system in respect of labour. Consequently, the productivity of labour has always moved ahead of wage increases and thus helped to maintain the competitiveness of Japanese production. The loss due to strikes is reckoned in man-hours and not man-days lost. The wage levels are also such that there is disparity and the ratio of payments between the lowest and the highest paid employees is not more than 5 times. This has further helped the development of a middle-class society which functions as an integrated unit without any class problems or social and economic tensions.

A New Town in USSR

Mendeleyevsk is another town built in Tataria, Volga Region. As its principal occupation is chemistry, the town was named after the great Russian chemist Mendeleyev. Already last year a chemical plant was put up here. Today it is one of the biggest chemical works in the Soviet Union. Not a single Soviet laboratory can do without reagents produced in Mendeleyevsk.

In 1973 Mendeleyevsk will turn into a vast construction site. Plans are afoot for a sizeable expansion of the chemical plant and for the construction of a compound minor fertiliser factory and a large-panel house-building complex. Direct railway links will bind the town with Naberezhniye Chelny and Nizhnekamsk, a new centre of Soviet automobile industry. So, Mendeleyevsk will automatically be incorporated in one of the largest industrial complexes to be built in the USSR during the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975).

Reemployment of the Jobless in Bengal

Due to the combined efforts of politicians, trade unionists and the scared capitalists numerous factories had suspended operation in West Bengal during the last few years. Some reopened after remaining closed for a few months, but others kept their gates locked much longer. The recent defeat that the leftist forces faced in the State put new heart in the employers and many of them began to arrange for the reopening of their closed establishments. The Government also came to their assistance with finance and supply of other resources. Govermental sources have given out the news that by the 15th of April 50,000 men and women who were jobless had been re-engaged. One must say that this was good work and if followed up by a continuation of the happy process of reopening more closed units, as well as by the creation of new centres of production; the unemployment

problem of the State should be brought under control and would be largely solved. It may be suggested that the creation of desk jobs of a non-productive type should be limited to as small a number as possible. The production of goods which will be readily purchased by consumers and which are in short supply should be given first priority. The distribution of such goods, and their transportation and storage would also employ a large number of persons. All this can be arranged in a well planned manner as long as the forces that disrupt healthy economic development are held in check.

China's Foreign Trade

We have taken the following account of China's foreign trade from *Current Developments* which has published the summary of an article written by Audrey Donnithorne of the National University in Canberra.

Communist China, despite its size, cuts a minor figure in the commerce of the world. In 1970 it accounted for only some 0.7 percent of total international trade. Chinese exports and imports together in that year are estimated to have reached US\$4,225 million, the highest level recorded for Chinese trade except for 1959. Yet this was equivalent to only 78 percent of the total trade of the small colony of Hong Kong, or to 43 percent of Australia's international trade, or to 11 percent of that of Japan. On a per capita basis the smallness of China's trade is even more striking. Its value in 1970 amounted to US\$5 per head of the population, compared with US\$7 per head for India, US\$369 for Japan, US\$789 for Australia, and US\$1,355 for Hong Kong.

The smallness of this foreign trade stems from the fact that China is a large, underdeveloped and inward-looking country with an economic system that has strong autarkic leanings. The vast size of China and the variety of natural resources it encompasses

facilitate a higher degree of self-sufficiency than would be possible for smaller lands. Its poverty—China has a per capita income of around US\$100 per annum—means that both productivity and purchasing power are low. Although the planners of China's foreign trade are not unmindful of comparative advantage, this concept is allowed only a limited sphere of operation. Both national and local self-sufficiency is strongly encouraged.

Japan is China's largest trade partner, taking 12 percent of China's exports and supplying 26 percent of the country's imports. Chinese exports to Japan comprise foodstuffs

raw silk and other fibers, and miscellaneous raw materials. Over 80 percent of Japanese exports to China in 1970 consisted of steel, machinery and equipment (including some 4,500 trucks), and chemicals (fertilizers, synthetic fibers, plastics, and organic chemicals). Trade and politics have been closely enmeshed in Japanese commercial dealings with China. Some 90 percent of Sino-Japanese trade is conducted on the Japanese side by "friendly firms" which, at least overtly, support Chinese politics. The rest of the trade is governed by the semi-official Memorandum Trade Agreement.

CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Direction of Exports

Total	To Communist Countries	To Non- Communist Countries
	US\$m.	%
1952	875	69
1959	2,205	72
1966	2,170	27
1967	1,915	24
1968	1,890	24
1969	2,020	24
1970	2,060	25

Direction of Imports

Total	From Communist Countries	From Non- Communist Countries
	US\$m.	%
1952	1,015	70
1959	2,060	66
1966	2,035	25
1967	1,945	17
1968	1,820	19
1969	1,835	15
1970	2,165	15

Composition of Exports

	US\$m.	
	1969	1970
Foodstuffs	615	645
Crude materials, fuels and edible oils	450	n.a.
Textiles	305	300
Clothing	195	200
Other	455	915
Total	2,020	2,060

Composition of Imports

	US\$m.	
	1969	1970
Wheat	260	290
Iron & steel	265	315
Machinery & equipment	240	360
Non-ferrous metals	170	110
Rubber	145	n.a.
Chemical fertilizers	205	170
Other	550	920
Total	1,835	2,165

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MODERN INDIA

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

[This monograph was written as an Introduction to the second edition of the English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy, published by the Panini office, Allahabad, in 1906. Subsequently, in 1918, it was published as a booklet, which, however, is now out of print. The text here has been taken from that booklet, partially revised by the Author, and somewhat abridged.]

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious, social, political, or of any other description, are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice and humanity, which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the Universe. This is an essential element in religious belief. One would, therefore, expect to find Raja Rammohun Roy, the first all-round reformer in modern India, "above all and beneath all a religious personality. The many and far-reaching ramifications of his prolific energy were forth-puttings of one purpose. The root of his life was religion. He would never have been able to go so far or to move his countrymen so mightily as he did but for the driving power of an intense theistic passion.¹

As in his life so in his writings, religion occupies the foremost place. His writings on religious subjects are the most important and most voluminous. But their very extent and variety are apt to puzzle those who may strive to find out the exact nature of his religious faith. The late Babu Rajnarain Bose had it from his father, a disciple of the Raja, that the latter, before his departure for England, had foretold that after his death various sects would claim him as belonging to their own particular ranks, but he declared that he did not belong to any particular sect. What the Raja foresaw has actually taken place. "It

has been said that Rammohun Roy delighted to pass for a believer in the Vedanta with the Hindus, for a Christian among the adherents of that creed, and for a disciple of the Koran with the champions of Islamism.² The truth is that his eclecticism equalled his sincerity."³ It would be out of place here to enter into a discussion of the question of his religious belief. Suffice it to say that he believed in pure theism, as his *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin* on the one hand and the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj on the other, in addition to many of his other works, prove conclusively. He did not reject any truth to be found in any scriptures or in the teachings of any prophet or saint ; he revered and accepted truth from all quarters : but at the same time he did not accept any book or teacher as infallible. It should not, however, be forgotten that though he was thus cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called national or racial manifestations or developments of universal theism.

At the time when he established the Brahmo Samaj, he meant it to be simply a meeting-ground for people of all sects who wished to unite for divine worship, "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and

conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever".⁴

It seems to us, that the Raja may have thought that Theism, though at bottom one all over the world, has yet found various expressions among different races ; and though abstract truth is thinkable, yet as it finds actual manifestation in some concrete shape, it is the part of wisdom to allow the abstract universal theism in all countries and among all races to keep its native shape and colour, in which it is embodied, freed, of course, from all that is base and impure, with a broad spirit of toleration for other shapes and colours ; and that the future unity of the human race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure Theism, but in every thing else keeping all that is racy of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others.

Professor Monier Williams speaks of him as the first really earnest investigator in the science of comparative theology, which the world has produced.

Position of Women

Social customs and practices have been and are in all countries more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is, therefore, only natural that Rammohun Roy's programme of religious reform should

lead on to and embrace social reform. In all countries, and specially in India, social reform consists chiefly in doing away with the disabilities or sufferings incident to difference of sex or the accident of birth. Or, in other words, social reformers have chiefly to fight with the spirit of caste and its evils and the subjection of women to the selfish interests and pleasures or supposed interests of the male sex.

Abolition of the "Suttee"

Rammohun Roy's chief claim to the gratitude of Hindu womanhood is the courageous and devoted part that he played in the movement for the abolition of suttee. He may or may not have been the central figure in that movement, but it must be admitted by all that but for his exertions that inhuman custom would not have been put down by law so soon as it was.

Women's Right to Property

But to prevent the murder of widows was only to create another problem, namely, the amelioration of their condition. It is even now a question as to how we can best better their lot. Many solutions of the problem have been proposed and attempted : their re-marriage, giving them such training as to enable them to lead honourable, useful and independent lives, so changing the Hindu law of inheritance as to make the means of living of Hindu widows less precarious, etc. His *Brief remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females, according to the Hindu law of inheritance* was intended to attain the last object. That the condition of helpless widows deeply touched his heart appears also from No. VI of the *Sambad Kaumudi*, which contained "an appeal to the rich Hindus of Calcutta to constitute a society for the relief of destitute widows upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widows' Fund established by order of Government."

His estimate of Women

That he was earnestly in favour of the education of women and did not hold the prevalent low opinion of the character of woman, is quite clear from many passages in his writings, such for instance, as the following, taken from his *Second Conference on the Practice of Burning Widows Alive* :-

How then can you accuse them of want of understanding ? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient ; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Lilavati, Bhanumati, the wife of the prince of Karnat, that of Kalidas are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastras; moreover in the *Vrihadaranyaka Upanishad* of the *Yajur Veda* it is clearly stated that Yajnavalkya imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyi, who was able to follow and completely attain it !

Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised : for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband ; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly. With regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed

by women, I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayed men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs, by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, but never consider as criminal the misconduct of men towards women. One fault they have, it must be acknowledged ; which is, by considering others equally void of duplicity as themselves, to give their confidence too readily, from which they suffer such misery, even so far that some of them are misled to suffer themselves to be burnt to death.

In the fourth place, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes ; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards ; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all worldly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

Views on Child-marriage, Polygamy, etc.

It may be safely said that had he lived to return home from England and work here for a few years more, his contact with the comparatively enlightened womanhood of the West would certainly have borne fruit in the establishment of educational institutions for Indian girls and women. That Miss Mary Carpenter came out to India to labour for the good of Indian women is due mainly to her contact with the Raja. Regarding the re-marriage of child-widows, his biographer, Babu Nagendranath Chatterjee, says :- "We have heard that Rammohun Roy used to express a desire to his friends that the re-marriage of child-widows should become prevalent. When he went to England a rumour

spread everywhere that on coming back home he would introduce the custom of the re-marriage of widows."

It will appear from a study of his *Brief Remarks regarding the Ancient Rights of Females* that he was opposed to polygamy, Kulinism and the practical selling of girls in marriage. He showed from the Shastras that second marriages were authorised only under certain circumstances, and observed :

"Had a Magistrate or other public officer been authorised by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal, and the number of suicides, would have been necessarily very much reduced".

We have no indication in his works of his views on child-marriage. Perhaps in his days in Bengal, though such marriages must have been customary, their consummation was postponed to a maturer age, thus minimizing the evil to some extent, as is still the case in some parts of India. But one can only speculate as to what he would have done had he lived to come back from England. For, a man who had such innate chivalry in his nature that he would never take his seat if any woman of what rank so ever remained standing in his presence, could not have failed to observe the evil effects on women of such a custom.

It is related that he gave his granddaughter in marriage when she was 15 or 16.

Views on Caste system

That Rammohun Roy had not failed to observe the evil effects of caste will appear from the extract from one of his letters printed below :

"I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them, has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise..... It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort."

No. VIII of his *Sambad Kaumudi*, too, prints the plea of a philanthropist (probably himself) who, observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate "such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence." By crossing the ocean, dining with Europeans, and in other ways, the Raja, to a great extent, broke through the unreasonable and injurious restrictions imposed by caste. He published with a Bengali translation the first chapter of a Sanskrit work against caste, named *Vajrasuchi*, by Mrityunjayacharyya.

Among the causes of the political subjection of India, he mentions caste in the following passage taken from *The Brahmnical Magazine* .-

"We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries, and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and abstinence from the slaughter even of animals ; as well as our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us."

While civilization produces culture, refinement and sociability, its excess enervates and makes men too mild.

In recent years various means have been

suggested for bringing about the fusion of castes and sub-castes and sects by facilitating, inter-marriage among them. The means proposed by Rammohun Roy was the adoption of the *Saiva* form of marriage prescribed in the following *sloka* of the "Mahanirvana Tantra":

**Vayojati-vicharo'tra S'aivodvahne na vidyate.
Asapindam bhartrihinam udvahecchambhus'
asanan.**

"There is no discrimination of age and caste or race in the Saiva marriage. As enjoined by Siva, one should marry a woman who has no husband and who is not '*sapinda*' that is, who is not within the prohibited degrees of marriage."

Rammohun contended that orthodox Hindus ought to consider *Saiva* marriages as valid as *Vaidik* marriages. Had his views prevailed, widow-marriage, inter-caste and inter-racial marriage, and post-puberty marriage would all have been considered valid according to Hindu usage.

Pioneer and Promoter of Education

It is well-known that Rammohun Roy himself founded and helped others in founding schools. He took a prominent part in the great educational controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists" and sided with the latter. But for his opposition the clamour of the former for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies would most probably have prevailed. His *Letter on English Education* to Lord Amherst is a remarkably convincing production^b. For the direct and indirect beneficial results of Western education we are indebted to Raja Rammohun Roy as much as to Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, David Hare and others.

Father of Modern Bengali Prose

Raja Rammohun Roy wrote textbooks in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy, and Geometry. He may be considered as

practically the father of modern Bengali literary prose. He taught his people the use of marks of punctuation. There was in his nature a deep vein of genuine poetry too, as his Bengali hymns show. He was the first to write theistic hymns in Bengali. Pandit Ramagati Nyayaratna, a well-known Hindu historian of the Bengali language and literature, truly observes that they appear to possess the power of melting even stony hearts, of making the most irreligious devoted to God and of making hearts sunk in worldliness detached from the world."

The Raja as a Journalist

His Bengali journal, the *Sambad Kaumudi*, first appeared in 1821. He is practically the founder of native journalism in India. The *Sambad Kaumudi*^c was not exclusively or chiefly a political publication. It, as well as his Persian newspaper, *Mirat ul Akhbar* or Mirror of Intelligence had an educational purpose, too. Besides politics, subjects of a historical, literary and scientific character were treated of therein.

His legal writings

Lawyers of eminence have declared that the legal writings of the Raja, such as his *Brief Remarks on Ancient Female Rights*, *The Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal*, would do credit to jurists of the highest standing^d.

As A Political Reformer

To the public Rammohun Roy is best known as a religious and social reformer. To many he is also known as literateur and educationist. But he is not so well-known as a political reformer and agitator. A brief account of his politics may not therefore be out of place here.

Raja's Love of Freedom

Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary,

whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to his love of liberty :—

"He would be free or not be at all. . . . Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,.....freedom not of action merely, but of thought.....This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It was this love of liberty that was the source of all his political opinions and the mainspring of all his political activity. It made him take interest in and deeply sympathise with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom. Some instances may here be given of Rammohun's cosmopolitan sympathies in the region of politics.

"When the intelligence reached India that the people of Naples after extorting a constitution from their despotic king were crushed back into servitude by the Austrian troops, in obedience to the joint mandate of the crowned heads of Russia, Austria, Sardinia, and Naples, Rammohun felt it (so) keenly."

that in a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated August 11, 1821, he wrote :—

"I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening ; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe.....From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of

the same blessing than what they now enjoy."

"Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful."

"These noble words", says Miss Collet, "reveal how profoundly Rammohun felt with the Late James Russell Lowell that "In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim" and that

"Wherever wrong is done
To the humblest and the weakest,
'neath the all-beholding Sun,
That wrong is also done to us."

Rammohun's Persian weekly *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* contained an article on "Ireland, the causes of its distress and discontent." In this he dwelt on the evils of absenteeism and the injustice of maintaining Protestant clergymen out of revenues wrung from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. He said :—

How admirable is the observation of Saadi (on whom be mercy !) :

"Do not say that these rapacious ministers are the well-wishers of his Majesty ;

For in proportion as they augment the revenue of the State, they diminish his popularity ;

O statesmen, apply the revenue of the King towards the comfort of the people ;

Then during their lives they will be loyal to him."

When the news of the establishment of constitutional Government of Spain reached India, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall⁹. Some months before his departure for England, news reached Calcutta of the latest French Revolution, and, "so great was his enthusiasm that", we are told, "he could"

think and talk of nothing else." He viewed it as a triumph of liberty and rejoiced accordingly. On his voyage to England he landed at the Cape for only an hour or two. "Returning on board he met with a nasty accident. The gangway ladder had not been properly secured, and he got a serious fall, from which he was lame for eighteen months afterwards and indeed never finally recovered. But no bodily suffering could repress his mental ardour. Two French frigates, under the revolutionary flag, the glorious tri-colour, were lying in Table Bay, and lame as he was, he would insist on visiting them. The sight of these colours seemed to kindle his enthusiasm, and to render him insensible to pain."

During the days of the Reform Bill agitation in England, he considered the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers as a "struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice, and injustice, and between right and wrong." He publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, he would renounce his connection with England.

There are other indications, in his works, of what in our day is known as the spirit of non-co-operation. It is not difficult to believe that, had he lived now, this would have found expression in some movement of national self-assertion.

Attitude Towards Muhammadans

The attitude of Rammohun Roy towards Mussalman rule, society, character and culture was entirely unprejudiced and fraternal. He wore in public the dress worn in Muhammadan courts. In his "Judicial system of India", to the question—

Q. *What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Muhammadan lawyers attached to the courts?*

He replied :—

A. Among the Muhammadan lawyers I have met with some honest men. The Hindu lawyers are in general not well spoken of, and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public.

In the "Condition of India", he writes :—

I have observed with respect to distant cousins, sprung from the same family, and living in the same district, when one branch of the family had been converted to Mussulmanism, that those of the Muhammadan branch living in a freer manner, were distinguished by greater bodily activity and capacity for exertion, than those of the other branch which had adhered to the Hindoo simple mode of life.

Again :—

Q. *What is the state of industry among them?*

A. The Muhammadans are more active and capable of exertion than the Hindus, but the latter are also generally patient of labour, and diligent in their employments, and those of the Upper Province not inferior to the Muhammadans themselves in industry.

Q. *What capability of improvement do they possess?*

A. They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people.

Q. *What degree of intelligence exists among the native inhabitants?*

A. The Mussulmans, as well as the more respectable classes of Hindus, chiefly cultivated Persian literature, a great number of the former and a few of the latter also extending their studies likewise to Arabic. This practice has partially continued to the present time, and among those who enjoy this species of learning, as well as among those who cultivate

Sanskrit literature, many well informed and enlightened persons may be found, though from their ignorance of European literature, they are not naturally much esteemed by such Europeans as are not well versed in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Raja's Fight for a free Press in India

Raja Rammohun Roy believed that a free Press is one of the best safeguards of liberty. This conviction found expression in his Petitions against the Press Regulation (1) to the Supreme Court and (2) to the King in Council. The Press Ordinance prescribed that thenceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. The memorial submitted to the Supreme Court "may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East."

This Memorial proving fruitless, Rammohun and his co-adjudicators appealed to the King in council¹⁰ says Miss Collett :

"The appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought, recall the eloquence of the great creators of a century ago. In language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This Memorial too proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

Raja's Demand for Political Rights

The Jury Act of 1827.

A new Jury Act came into operation in the beginning of 1827. On August 17th 1829. Rammohun wrote to Mr. J. Crawford and

entrusted to him petitions against the Act for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, signed by Hindus and Muslims. He thus concisely stated the grounds of grievance :-

"In his famous Jury Bill Mr. Wynn the late President of the Board of Control, has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of every one conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mohamedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either Europeans or Native while Christians including Native converts are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or Mussulman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Mohamedans the honour of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow Hindus or Mussulmans. This is the sum total of Mr. Wynn's late Jury Bill of which we bitterly complain."

Rammohun went on to suggest a possibility "which is by no means so remote now as when he wrote" :-

"Supposing that 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in

the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of British empire or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy."

The letter quoted above is remarkable for the far-sighted glance into the future which it reveals. Here in germ is to be found the national aspiration which is now breaking forth into demands for self rule". Rammohun's English biographer Miss Sophia Dobson Collet observes that :-

"The prospect of an educated India of an India approximating to European standards of culture seems to have never been long absent from Rammohun's mind : and he did, however vaguely claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilisation inevitably involves. Here again Rammohun stands forth as the tribune and prophet of New India".

1. Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, the Raja's English Biographer, writes "Rammohun made no secret of the theistic passion which ruled his life. A favourite disciple remarked that, whenever he spoke of the Universal Theism, to the advocacy of which he had devoted himself, he was moved even to tears".

2. His habit, in his religious controversies with various sects, of taking his stand not merely upon pure reason but mainly upon their scriptures led some people to think that he was all things to all men. This, of course, is a mistake. His controversial method was meant to convince the followers of different faiths that even their scriptures, which they professed implicitly, to follow, enjoined the worship of the one true God.

3. *The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought* by Count Goblet d' Alviella. P. 233.

4. The passage quoted above is from the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj, of which the late Mahadeva Govind Ranade said :- "The spirituality, the deep piety and universal toleration of this document represent an idea of beauty and perfection which may yet take many centuries before its full significance is understood by our people".

5. Rammohun's advocacy of modern learning in his letter to Lord Amherst (1832) for "an enlightened system of education embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences", was written 12 years before Macaulay wrote his famous minute (1835). But whereas Rammohun laid emphasis on the teaching of Western sciences, Macaulay pleaded for the establishment of schools "in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught."

6. Some of the contents of the earlier numbers of the *Samad Kaumudi* may be given here :

No. i.—An appeal to the Government for the establishment of a school for the gratuitous instruction of the poor but respectable Hindus.

No. ii.—Humble address to the Government soliciting the extension of trial by jury to Mofussil Zila and Provincial Courts of Judicature.

No. iii.—An appeal to the Government to relieve the Hindu community from the inconvenience consequent upon there being only one Ghaut for the burning of dead bodies whereas an immense space of ground has been granted for the burial of Christians.

Appeal to Government for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of rice from Bengal to foreign ports.

Appeal to Government to enable the middle class of native subjects to avail them-

selves of the treatment of European physicians.

Appeal to the Calcutta Magistrates to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta from the serious grievances of Christian gentlemen driving their buggies amongst them and cutting and lashing them with whips, without distinction of sex or age, while they quietly assembled in immense numbers to see the images of their deities pass in the Chitpore Road, when many of them through terror and consternation caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators, fell down into drains, while others were trampled underfoot by the crowd.

7. The contents of the first issue of the *Mirat ul Akhbar* will prove of interest :—

- i. The Editor informs the public that although so many newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is none in Persian for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindusthan. He has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian Newspaper every week.
- ii. Government Regulation respecting the period Company's Servants can be absent from their duty on account of their health.
- iii. Difference with China.
- iv. Trial of John Hyes, Esq., Judge of Tipperah.
- v. Release of prisoners on the 23rd of April : King's Birthday.
- vi. Shipping Intelligence,
- vii Cause of Enmity between Russia and the Sublime porte.
- viii Exploits of Rungeet Singh.
- ix. Plentiful crop of corn this year in Hindooostan.
- x. Pair of Elephants for sale.
- xi. Price of Indigo and Opium.
- xii. Proposal sent to inhabitants of

Shajahanabad, by an officer of the Honourable Company, pointing out the advantages of having an English School instituted in that City, to which however the Natives paid no attention.

Welcoming editorially the advent of this Persian Weekly started by Rammohun, the *Calcutta Journal* (20th April, 1822, p. 561) of Mr. James Silk Buckingham wrote :—

"The Editor is a Brahmin of high rank, a man of liberal sentiments and by no means deficient in loyalty, well versed in the Persian language, and possessing a competent knowledge of English : intelligent, with a considerable share of general information and an insatiable thirst after knowledge."

8. The late Sir Gooroodas Benerjee, a judge of the Caleutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, in a speech that he delivered as Chairman at Rammohun Roy's Death Anniversary Meeting in 1889, said :—"His (Rammohun's) two essays—one on the rights of the Hindoo females and the other on the rights of a Hindoo over ancestral property—show at once his deep erudition as a lawyer and his broad views as a jurist ; and it is to the latter of these two essays that is due in no small measure the advanced state of the law relating to the free alienability of property in Bengal. The concluding paragraph of that essay is well worthy of Rammohun Roy and will do honour to any lawyer or any jurist in the country. Every one who belongs, will perceive here the rudiments of that discussion, which in the writings of Sir Henry Maine, have shed such lustre over his name. And Rammohun Roy was no professional Lawyer."

9. The dinner referred to above was given by the Raja, it appears, on receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish colonies in South America against the authority of Spain. In a letter written apparently by an English

riend of the Raja then living in Calcutta and appearing in the issue of the *Edinburgh Magazine* (Constable), for September, 1823, we read :-

"But the lively interest he (Rammohun) took in the progress of South American emancipation, eminently marks the greatness and benevolence of his mind, and was created, he said, by the perusal of the detestable barbarities inflicted by Spain to subjugate, and afterwards continued by the Inquisition, to retain in bondage that unhappy country.

'What' ! replied he (upon being asked why he had celebrated by illuminations, by an elegant dinner to about sixty Europeans, and by a speech composed and delivered in English by himself at his house in Calcutta, on the arrival of important news of the success of the Spanish patriots), "ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language ?"

This letter was reproduced in "The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature", Vol. XVIII. pp. 575-788 and has been unearthed by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, who published it in the *Modern Review* for March 1932.

10. A few passages from this memorable document are reproduced below :—

31. Men in power hostile to the liberty of the Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures, which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, your Majesty is well

aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed ; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

36. It is well known that despotic Governments naturally deserve the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloque which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression and the argument they constantly resort to is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as the people became enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advance in civilisation anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened any revolt against government, which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare,

and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been—not against the existence,—but against the abuses of the governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complains listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people became, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long

as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

11. That Rammohun looked upon the British domination of India as a period of political tutelage, will be amply born out by what he said (29th June, 1828) to Mr. Victor Jacquemont, the French man who has left his impressions of India, in his *Voyage Dans L'Inde* (Paris, 1841) :—“India requires many more years of English domination so that she might not have many things to lose while she is reclaiming her political independence.” [See Mr. N. C. Chaudhuri's translation of the interview in the *Modern Review* for June, 1926].



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

On Raja Rammohun Roy

Yoganda Das writes in *The Indian Messenger*:

Rammohun, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was a realist and a practical man, and not a mere visionary or a theoretician. One feature of his life and teachings has generally escaped notice. He never wrote on any subject which was not connected with his *contemporary* national or international affairs. His "multiple personality" was organically connected with multiple phases of contemporary social life, and was real and effective. In the language of journalism, his subjects were all "topical", including religion.

When the Charter of 1813 permitted Christian missionaries to propagate their religion, the missionaries started attacking Hinduism viciously as idolatrous. Rammohun's religious reforms were directly connected with this new development, in reply to the Christian missionaries.

His writings on the Suttee were directly topical. When the Governors-General hesitated to abolish the custom for want of public opinion to back their decision, Rammohun came forward to supply that want and to organise public opinion.

His tract on the Hindu law of inheritance was occasioned by his *contemporary* legal procedures and decisions by the British judges, and his tract deeply influenced all subsequent verdicts.

His writings in English were directed towards educating the rulers of India who were not closely acquainted with the life and culture of India. His Bengali writings were for the purpose of forming public opinion on current affairs and practices, and not mere theoretical discussions.

This practical feature of Rammohun's life and teachings is important because it is also a prominent feature of the Brahmo movement throughout its history. The spiritual worship of the samaj always went hand in hand with social reform—from the anti-Suttee movement of Rammohun to the Harijan uplift movement,—i. e., was always connected, as movements, with the social and moral evils actually prevalent in society.

The *Brahmo Public Opinion*, the first English organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was full of topical subjects. The editorial notes were mostly on topical subjects which concerned contemporary society.

Lessons from the history of the Brahmo Samaj and from the lives of great men, like Mahatma Gandhi, teach us that spiritual worship is linked with God on the one hand, and simultaneously with society and social problems on the other. Spiritually isolated from the material basis of society living social problems become theoretical and hence lose all vitality.

Rammohun's religion was a practical and social religion. Brahmoism as revealed in history was a practical and social religion which provided adequate answer to all the problems of the day, including political.

Mme Curie Discoverer of Radium

Polish Facts on File publishes a short biography of Madame Maria Sklodowska Curie which is reproduced below.

Maria Sklodowska was born in Warsaw in 1867. Her father taught mathematics and physics and it is to him that she owed her interest in science.

In 1891 Maria Sklodowska realized her dreams and left to study in Paris. She lived in poverty concentrating all her effort on her

work. In 1893 Maria obtained a licentiate in physics, taking first place, and in 1894 a licentiate in mathematics in which she took second place. She wanted to return to Poland and applied for the position of an assistant at the Institute of Physics, Jagiellonian University. But there was no room for a woman scientist, so Maria Sklodowska remained in France.

At first alone and then together with her husband, Pierre Curie, Maria Sklodowska-Curie studied the phenomenon of radiation of uranium ore. In 1898 the two scientists discovered two radio-active elements: polonium (named after the native country of Maria Sklodowska-Curie) and radium. The next stage of work was to isolate the two elements in their pure form from the uranium ore. The method developed then became one of the fundamental methods used in radio-chemistry.

During these years the only source of income for both was Pierre Curie's post at the School of Industrial Physics and Chemistry in Paris. Their financial situation was alleviated in 1900 when Pierre Curie was appointed Associate Professor at the Sorbonne, and Maria Sklodowska-Curie began to teach physics at the Higher Normal School for Girls at Sevres near Paris.

In 1903 Maria Sklodowska-Curie received her doctorate in physics and together with Pierre Curie, the Nobel Prize for their work in radioactivity. After her husband's death in 1906, Maria Sklodowska-Curie succeeded him to the Chair of physical science at the Sorbonne, as the first woman to ever hold this post. She continued her research on radioactivity and her effort was again recognized by the award of the Nobel Prize in 1911.

During the First World War Maria Sklodowska-Curie organized a travelling radiological service for the armed forces. Maria Sklodowska-Curie also had the distinc-

tion of propagating the use of X-ray in diagnosis. In 1918, her daughter Irene joined the group of her associates.

Maria Sklodowska-Curie remained in constant touch with Poland during the years she lived in Paris. In 1912 when the Scientific Society of Warsaw established a unit which would devote itself to research of radioactivity, Maria Sklodowska-Curie helped in its organization. In 1921 the scientist visited Warsaw and proposed that a Radium Institute be founded, to which she made a gift of a gram of radium.

The research conducted by Maria Curie laid the foundations for the development of knowledge of the construction of matter and were continued by her daughter Irene and her husband Frederic Joliot-Curie. Maria Curie died in 1934. She was one of the most eminent scientists in the history of humanity.

Lawless Laws

Peter Evans, Barrister-at-Law, writes in *The Review of the International Commission of Jurists* about the laws made by certain states for the internment of persons without trial. He opens his discussion as follows :

'Arbitrary imprisonment is an offence against human dignity, is criminal and poisons civilization...' states the second Vatican Council in para 27 of its report 'The Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the modern world', an admirable statement in its directness and unequivocability.

Internment, detention, administrative imprisonment, call it what you will, on suspicion without trial or legal protection is arbitrary imprisonment, is an immoral procedure and can only rarely be justified and when so justified only in the context that there are extensive safeguards against indiscriminate and unreasonable use of such powers. Yet such powers are widespread in the contemporary world and their use would seem to be

INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

increasing. It is paradoxical that democratically appointed legislatures seem all too often to find no difficulty in arming their executives with powers which are a fundamental breach of the Rule of Law.

The use to which such powers have been put in some of the newer democracies have often bordered on the scandalous, mere opposition to the existing government being often a ground for locking up whole parliamentary oppositions as 'subversive persons'. On the other hand it must be admitted that the boundary between legitimate opposition and conspiracy to displace such a government by coup d'etat has been all too often blurred, giving apparent justification for what is basically objectionable.

The power for the executive to use such powers has in general in the older democracies been restricted to war-time, e.g. the famous

English Defence Regulation 18b, or to situation of widespread violence, as in Northern Ireland, but in some of the newer states they derive from the constitution itself.

Art 22 of the Constitution of India permits legislation governing internments (called Preventive Detention) to both state and central governments, the new and unlawful constitution of Rhodesia does likewise, while in South Africa such powers are part of normal police powers in day to day use.

And concludes by the remark :

It only remains to be said that all such legislation is objectionable and when looked long after the events which have given rise to it, appears to the historian to have been a doubtful benefit—when not actually mischievous—in the solution of the civil disturbance which have at the time been said to justify it.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Course of American Economic Growth and Development by Prof. Louis M. Hacker, published by Wiley Eastern Private Ltd., (43) South Extension I, New Delhi-49, Demy Oct Pp 352 XVII Tables 44, Cloth gilt illust. jacket Price Rs. 10/- Prof. Hacker is a well known authority on American Economic History and he has given in this book a clear and precise picture of America's economic growth and development. His presentation of the historical background of the material progress achieved by the Americans enables the reader to understand the outlook and aspirations of the leaders who fought the War of Independence and thereafter went all out to build a land of free and prosperous men through hard work and intelligent handling of foreign relations. People who are interested

in American economic history will find this book informative in a well written and purposeful manner.

The Green Revolution and the Weak Section : by Prof. G. Parthasarathy, published by Thacker and Co. Ltd. Rampart Row, Fort, Bombay-1, Demy Oct Pp 46 Paper cover Price Rs. 0.00. This brochure is a revised version of two lectures delivered by Prof. Parthasarathy, one at the V. L. Mehta Institute of Cooperative Management, Poona, and another at the Motilal Nehru Institute of Business Management, Allahabad. The lectures were delivered during the academic year 1967-70.

India Speaks : being selected speeches of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during her tour abroad in Sept.—Nov. 1971 in various

countries. Published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Pp 126 Paper board illust cover Price Rs. 3.00. The speeches were delivered with a view to give out a correct picture of the Bangla Desh crisis to the world at large.

Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-74 : A summary published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Pp 152 Paper cover, Price Rs. 2.00. A very useful little booklet in which students and the general public will find facts and figures for ready reference in handy form.

Crises in Indian Universities : Edited by Dr. G. S. Mansukhani, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Development Officer University Grants Commission, New Delhi. Other contributors are Dr. S. C. Goel, Dr. Sushila Mehta, Dr. Santokh Singh Anant and M. P. Balakrishnan. Published by Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. Oxford Building, N-88 Connought Circus, New Delhi-1 and Park Hotel Bulidings 17 Park Street, Calcutta—16, Demy Oct. Pp 212+XVI cloth bound, illust jacket, one map Price Rs. 25.00. The management of the educational system in India ; or, for that matter in almost all countries, has been found to be a difficult task with endless problems that crop up at all levels from the highest University classes down to the primary schools. In India there is political interference with the Universities and the Colleges. Students have affiliations with political parties and corruption in state departments are reflected in the appointment of teachers and other matters connected with the universities. The question of employment after obtaining degrees also looms large and much of student unrest can be traced to the failure of the social organisation to absorb the qualified persons in gainful employment.

The Rubaiyat of Abu Sa'id bin Ab'il-Khair : Done into English verse by D. C. Datta

published by the International Library P. O. Box 149 Jaipur, Rajasthan crown oct Pp 74 paper cover, Price Rs. 3.00. The mystic poet Sheikh Abu Sa'id bin Ab'il-Khair was born in Khawaran in 967 A. D. His original poems are in Persian and are considered to be of very high standard in the field of mystic poetry.

Sonnets to Islam and the Arabs : by D. C. Datta, published by the International Library, P. O. Box 149 Jaipur, Rajasthan Crown Oct. Pp. 56 Paper Cover Price Rs. 2.00. There are 110 sonnets.

Woman Saints of Karnatak (Biographical Sketches) by Dr. S. M. Hunashal M. A., Ph.D. (Luck.), B. T. published by Taranath Prakashana, Raichur (Mysore). Crown Oct. Pp 46+ X, plates paper cover Price Rs. 3.00. There are 44 lives of woman saints in this booklet.

Return From Enlightenment : by Forest K. Davis, published by Adamont Press, Adamont, Vermont, Demy Oct. Pp. 160 paper cover. There are several essays which deal analytically from the psychological angle with many matters of common experience. In one article the author compares Christianity and communism and points out how in both, though the objects of worship differ, the prophets, priests or leaders preach to the people for their enlightenment and guidance, assuming as an irrefutable truth the people can never locate their own path of progress nor determine their ideals of conduct or standards of behaviour.

Under Your Sky : by Djordje Kostic, Printed and published by the Indian Institute of Speech and Languages, obtainable from Bengal Art Printers, 7 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-13. A book of surrealistic poems written in India by the poet who is an internationally reputed scholar and had come to India as a visiting professor. Previously

Professor Kostic had exhibited some of his paintings at the Academy of Fine Arts which were greatly appreciated by art lovers. His poems have a natural and direct appeal and communicate his emotions to the readers by suggestions made through imagery created with the help of a complex composition of ideas. The book is attractively printed on hand-made paper.

Siraj-ud-Daulah

"Siraj-ud-Daulah" by Kalikinkar Datta, Printed by P. B. Roy at Prabartak Printing and Half-Tone Ltd, and Published by Orient Longman Ltd, Calcutta, (Price Rs. 7.50).

In this book, the Author Dr. Kalikinkar Datta has given a detailed account of the life and activities of Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, whose exploits have been the source of much controversy among historians for years. Dr. Datta's sources of information he states are mostly original contemporary ones. Beginning with the early career of the Nawab, the author has proceeded to analyse the causes of the Nawab's conflict with the East India Company which subsequently resulted in the capture of the Kasimbazar factory, the Fort at Calcutta, and the controversial incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Siraj-ud-Daulah's expeditions against Shaukat Jang as well as the means by which the English recovered Calcutta, forcing a treaty advantageous to themselves have been described in detail, as well as the prevailing politics in Bengal at that time. Of interest to all students of history also are the sections dealing with the Battle of Plassey, Siraj-ud-Daulah's defeat and his very tragic end.

The Author attempts to give an objective study of the Nawab's character and personality about which there have been many opinions. For example Dr. Datta quotes the following opinion of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar who describes Siraj-ud-Daulah as being a cruel tyrant, that had been "given no education for his future

duties ; he never learnt to curb his passionate impulses ; none durst correct his views ; and he was kept away from manly martial exercises, dangerous to such a precious life. Thus the apple of Old Alivardi's eye grew up into a most dissolute, haughty, reckless and cowardly youth." Undoubtedly, Dr. Datta maintains Siraj-ud-Daulah had the vices and weaknesses of many members of the demoralised aristocracy of those days, but he also had a few redeeming features as well. He showed vigour and ability for the first few months of his reign, and by fighting the English proved that he was no coward or traitor. On the other hand he was surrounded by traitors and so much opposition and intrigue necessarily made him indecisive and vacillating.

Futhermore Siraj-ud-Daulah retains an important place in history because he lived during a most critical period of India's history, as also because he featured in the Battle of Plassey, which "decided the fate of India", as it brought in a new era by making the English virtual masters of Bengal, and thereafter enabled them to establish their supremacy over the whole of India. What complete degeneration and demoralisation existed in those times has been expressed by Clive in his statement before a committee of Parliament in 1772, and the Author quotes the following extract to prove that we cannot judge Siraj-ud-Daulah except in his own background....."Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure ; an opulent city lay at my mercy ; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles ; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone piled on either hand with gold and jewels ! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation." (The Life of Clive.)

Placed in his correct background one agrees with Dr. Datta that Siraj-ud-Daulah

lived in very critical times, and therefore all students and lovers of History will appreciate his character and career more sympathetically. And for this reason also this biography will be of interest to many.

—L. Chatterji

Jamsetji Tata

"Jamsetji Tata", by B. Sh. Saklatvala and K. Khosla, Published by the Director, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi, and Printed by the Manager, Government of India Press, Coimbatore (Price Rs. 3.50).

This biography of Jamsetji Tata forms one of the series entitled "Builders of Modern India", the object of which is to bring to the reader information regarding eminent Indians connected with the Political, Economic or Cultural revival in India. Jamsetji Tata was certainly one such and his biographers attempt to analyse his life and career in a manner whereby Mr. Tata's connections with various movements in India can be appreciated. It is interesting to note his background for he was born in a middle-class Parsi family in 1839, and till the age of 13, received no formal education. Following this he went to Bombay, and having obtained a scholarship at Elphinstone College, was provided with a liberal education there, despite the fact that these were very disturbed times politically.

Messrs. Saklatvala and Khosla have gone into great detail regarding Jamsetji's business ventures, some of which could perhaps have been more interestingly presented. It is true however, that without a resume of these achievements, it is not possible to understand the character and career of Jamsetji Tata. At the beginning of his career, India was virtually an Agricultural country, the British Government were yet to encourage any local Industries, and the political climate was far from stable. However, due to improved communications such as the Railways, Telegraph lines, Trade and Industry had been given a stimulus. There was obviously great scope for business in many lines, but there were very few businessmen who understood the Industrial needs of the country. It is perhaps Jamsetji's greatest attribute that no venture was considered improbable by him, whether it be the promo-

tion of Cotton and Textile industries, or Land Reclamation in Bombay, Educational and Technical research projects, or the possibility of founding Steel Industries in India.

Of all these ventures, these last mentioned are perhaps of greatest importance. These are namely Mr. Tata's connections with the foundation of the Research Institute at Bangalore, and the Steel Industry at Jamshedpur. Regarding the former, it must be mentioned that Mr. Tata had great foresight regarding the importance of developing a centre in India for research in technical and scientific matters which particularly affected local problems, and he made untiring efforts to organize the Bangalore Institute. This Institute was actually established in 1909, a few years after Mr. Tata's death, but this in no measure detracts from his contributions towards its formation.

Jamshetji has often been called the "Father of the Steel Industry" in India. Some people query this contention on the grounds that at that time everything was favourable to Mr. Tata investing in this manner. Because after all P. N. Bose had discovered the exactly suitable site for a Steel factory, the Government wanted Private investment in this line, while American technical knowledge was also available. But the point to remember is that there were many businessmen with plenty of money for investing in this line but none except Jamshetji Tata did so. It was this bold, courageous spirit in him that distinguished him from other businessmen of his times. And as in all endeavour it is this spirit of adventure that makes all the difference between the ordinary plodding individual and the unusual, so also in the history of industry we find the unusual man being responsible for the starting of new and original ventures,

In conclusion it may be said that this brief biography will interest many for the Authors have befittingly described Jamshetji Tata's career and achievements as being "the synthesis of visionary outlook and practical sagacity....., his achievements, the result of an enterprising mind and great business acumen," and thus place him firmly as one of the founders of modern industry in India.



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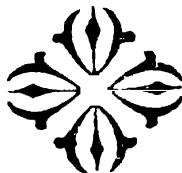


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NOTES

From Different Angles of Vision :

Points of view are various, contradictory to one another and apparently very full of meaning and political-philosophical significance. In fact clear thinking people quite often fail to discover the fundamental differences that the supporters of the different points of view claim existence for. For instance, whenever there are any attempts made by ruling political parties to curb the growth of revolutionary organisations ; the people on whom restraint is applied immediately refer to such arrangements for the control of their growth as fascistic efforts to usurp the power that rightfully belongs to the general public. Fascism historically means a military autocracy which manages and organizes the economy of the country for the military domination of the people. One cannot call a political system fascistic which permits the operation of private enterprise for a non-military and individual profit

making purpose. But the term fascist has apparently acquired a meaning which simply means autocratic domination by Governments of all socio-political and economic institutions for a purpose which may be vague, changeable and quite non-military. This is really not the historical meaning of fascism. In fact fascism was introduced by Benito Mussolini as a counter to socialism of a communistic type. But that does not mean that all attempts at countering power grabbing by the Communists in any country can be rightly called establishing fascism. If democratic institutions are left undisturbed and no attempts are made to establish a military autocracy, one should not refer to measures for the prevention of the growth of autocratic Communism as fascistic. For, quite often, Communism becomes utterly fascistic in the sense that it seeks to establish a military autocracy with a purpose which is entirely militaristic. All industries and most

social institutions in a Communist state can have a military purpose and, so, that sort of organization can be called fascistic quite correctly. Some Communist states have programmes of "liberation", which is a name given to conquest for establishing imperialistic overlordship. The Chinese "liberation" of the Tibetans is a good example. The Americans say that Hanoi's efforts to "liberate" South Vietnam are definitely for forcing the people of that region to accept Communist overlordship. The Communists say that Americans are trying to impose their overlordship in South Vietnam and the purpose of this military aggression by the Americans is imperialistic and fascistic as the Americans wish to establish themselves in South East Asia as all powerful conquerors. They ultimately wish to destroy the military supremacy of China and, perhaps, of Russia too. That America may have such designs is a definite possibility.

That the Russians and the Chinese also have militaristic plans is evident from their activities in various places during recent years. The Russians have imposed their will upon weaker nations on many occasions in order to make them to the so-called Marxist line. The case of the Asiatic Russian states and the iron curtain countries of east Europe, viz. Hungary and Czechoslovakia can be cited as examples. Theoretically Communist countries have the right to secede if they so desire ; but in fact no country has ever been allowed to secede so far and all attempts at separatist moves have been suppressed with an iron hand whenever there had been any moves from any quarters for "revision" of political rights or obligations on the part of any members of a Communistic assembly of nations. No one really knows what goes on in China where the minorities of the Peoples' Republic are concerned. The people who are of the Han or Chinese race dominate the State. Those who

are non-Han have to lump it wherever their language, way of life or regional interests clash with those of the people of Han China. We suppose they have the right to secede too but a right which cannot be exercised cannot be called a right unless in a farcical sense. The terms fascist, imperialist, liberation, conquest, democracy, human rights, etc., etc. have no clearly defined meaning in modern politics. They are used freely to signify anything or nothing. The old time meanings have lost their rigidly fixed significance. Communism does not, any longer, signify abolition of individual privileges or the prevention of exploitation. Workers, soldiers and peasants no longer rule Communist states. Coterie which successfully carry out their intrigues rule all states, more or less. The methods used by the persons who plan out the details of achieving their designs of domination, always destroy human rights, freedoms and praiseworthy aspirations. The people at large are bamboozled and bluffed in a shameless manner ; and they fall into the traps laid for them by the political leaders with a simple lack of carelessness which shows how effective psychological attacks on the mass mind can be when carried out by unscrupulous persons of ability in a dangerously subtle manner. In democracies the voters think they are voting their representatives into governmental power. But quite often they merely do what the political party leaders want them to do. And the governments that are set up are found to be of little advantage to the people. Many of the "people's representatives" are merely agents of the political parties which would sell the people every time for their own advantage. The representatives often indulge in floor crossing, that is changing sides, for their own benefit, which further proves that they are not representatives of the voters but are self-seekers or the mercenaries of the highest bidders. All these facts go to show

how difficult it is for people to be self-governing, free and the true possessors of fundamental human rights. The world is full of injustice, criminal dealings, political destitution and economic exploitation. Politicians and scheming exploiters do what they like and one cannot do much to prevent them from acting as they do.

More Talk about Black Money :

Ad nauseum is a good description of the manner of useless talk that impractical people indulge in when expressing their ideas about black money, its origin, socially dangerous uses and about methods of stopping its growth. We all know and the Wanchoo Committee have confirmed our belief, that black money has come into existence in India as a result of the extortionate nature of the Taxation system that our government have adopted with a view to raise funds for public expenses. The Wanchoo Committee have suggested that at no stage should Taxes exceed 65% per cent of any income. But people quite often pay more than 100%, per cent of their incomes in India, when all expenses in connection with Taxation are taken into account. Income Tax, Super Tax, Surcharges, Wealth Tax, Gift Tax, payments made to auditors, accountants and lawyers, etc., etc. can easily total up to something more than 100% per cent. But the Government of India is going along the same dangerous path as before and taxes are being collected in a manner which more or less creates a very favourable breeding ground for black money and black transactions. The various schemes that the Government are formulating for the control of black dealings are royal roads to a fool's paradise. No hing may come of these schemes excepting creation of grainful opportunities for those who specialise in matters connected with making out tax returns.

A Rs. 20 Currency Note

There is a press notice announcing the government's decision to issue a twenty rupee currency note. Of course all changes in the monetary system of the country nowadays make people think whether any proposed change aims at the control of the growth of black money. If so, in what manner? The issue of a twenty rupee currency note will however not help to restrict the earning and hoarding of illicitly acquired money. Many profiteers and black market operators make their transactions in ten rupee notes for the reason that the people still look upon higher denomination currency as traceable by their serial numbers. A twenty rupee currency note will enable one to transact the same business with lesser number of paper currency legal tenders. It will also enable hoarders or handlers of large quantities of cash to keep twice as much money in the same secret safes, cabinets or vault space compared to what they kept before there in ten rupee notes. There will no doubt be a move to change old ten rupee notes into new twenty rupee notes and if a close watch is kept on the circulation of the new notes, it might help to discover the persons who keep large stocks of paper money of small denomination. But that may only be a fond expectation; for tax evaders and participants in illicit trade are canny and cautious in the extreme. They will always make their old money flow out in a thousand narrow streams, get converted in small quantities in numerous deals and reassemble eventually as gigantic hoards of secret cash funds. There are millions of persons with bank accounts who can come to the assistance of black market dealers, knowingly or without even suspecting that they are doing anything that will help tax dodgers. The twenty rupee note will benefit government definitely by reducing

the cost of maintaining their paper currency system. They will now have to print half as many currency notes per crore of issued currency as they had to do previously in ten rupee notes. The demand for hundred rupee notes will also fall to some extent in so far as the use of twenty rupee notes will become popular. Generally speaking, this new token of value will not affect illicit trade or tax evasion in any noticeable manner. There will be increased banking activity for sometime following the release of the new currency notes in the market. But that will slowly ease off and banking will revert to normal as soon as the use of the twenty rupee notes assumes its natural economic size and velocity of circulation.

Going Back to Bangladesh

When the Pakistan army surrendered in Bangladesh at the end of 1971 there began much speculation regarding the return of the pre 1971 refugees from that region whom the Indian government had settled in various places within their territory. The most important centre for such settlement was the one managed by the Dandakaranya Development Authority. About 15000 displaced families had been settled in this area in a large number of village groups. As news of the freedom of Bangla Desh spread, about 30% per cent of the families began to pack up with the idea of returning to their home country. They sold off all that they could sell and began their homeward journey. But as their old homes had already been taken over by other people who showed no inclination to vacate the same for reoccupation by the original owners ; these returning refugees had to trek back to India, which they did reluctantly but with no choice in the matter of becoming Bangladesh citizens. Most of the families which started their move to return to East Bengal had to retrace their steps back to

India. People who had escaped to India after March 25, 1971 in order to save themselves from the organized killings by the Pakistan army ; could go back and did go back after the Pakistani surrender. The people who had come to India before 1971 found it quite impossible to return to their home country. We have no idea what attitude the Bangladesh Government adopted in this connection, but we think that they found it well nigh impossible to rehabilitate the old time displaced persons.

Statue of Rammohun Roy

Admission of indebtedness for intellectual, political, economic and general social progress is a good thing from more than one point of view. Such admissions help to record history correctly and give proper weightage to facts of human progress without allowing interlopers, falsifiers of realities and misinterpreters of history to carry out their plans of putting a wrong colour on everything to fulfil their desire to put propaganda above truth. There have always been detractors of the great men of history and it has therefore been necessary to commemorate the makers of progress in a manner which could resist and negative the activities of propagandists. The bicentenary of the birth of Raja Rammohun Roy is being celebrated everywhere by publication of books and articles and by holding meetings and melas in order to let the people of all countries know how Raja Rammohun Roy was the first Indian of modern times who introduced western education in India and worked fearlessly for the removal of evil social practices as well as for the revival of the intellectual glory of ancient India. The Raja was the first Indian of high caste to cross the "black waters" and go to Europe in order to acquaint himself, first hand, with Western civilization and to let westerners know the truth about Indian civilization and speculative

philosophy. A great scholar and linguist, Raja Rammohun Roy made such an impression on the intellectuals of Europe that he was compared by them with Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Erasmus.

The bicentenary celebrations include certain plans to build institutions which will arrange for the study of the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta have also set up a committee which will raise funds and arrange to have a large size bronze statue of the Raja made by a competent sculptor and to have it erected in a prominent place in Calcutta. Calcutta has several statues of important persons in various places, but somehow no attempts have been made upto now to have statues of Raja Rammohun Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and many other great Indians erected in the city. The bicentenary is a good occasion for erecting a statue of the Raja and we hope all Indians will send their contributions to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta in order to make the plans of their statue committee successful.

To Good Too Be True

The conference held by Presidents Nixon and Brezhnev to establish the political relations of the USA and the USSR on a firm foundation of peace and mutual good will went off with such speed and smoothness that one wondered how there ever were any clashes of interests between these super powers. It appeared that the two countries were eagerly awaiting an opportunity to establish brotherly relations and that there were nothing that really stood in the way of establishing a mutual fellowship on a firm foundation of brotherly love and amity. Pakistan, Vietnam, the Middle East and the Nuclear and Space competition just vanished like morning mist in the strong light of the ascending sun.

Peaceful and friendly co-existence was a mere matter of signing one or two lavishly worded documents which were now signed by Presidents Nixon and Brezhnev and the world no longer had any fears of a nuclear war or any war for that matter.

It all sounds too good to be true. Some continental political speculators have expressed suspicions that the USA and the USSR must have signed something more than what they have announced to the world press. Mr. Chou-en-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister has spoken without any appreciation about this great treaty or agreement which guarantees peace to the world. The Prime Minister of India thinks that there are no real guarantees in this agreement upon which one can depend for total prevention of nuclear war. In fact Mr. Nixon's handling of international relations is something like scheduled tourism as practised by Americans. Short cuts, summary arrangements, hustle and bustle as the driving force behind all movements were the essence of "doing" the world in three months. Net result a complex medley of sensory impressions worth nothing in point of knowledge or human experience. President Nixon is dealing with international relations in a manner which will fill up his sphere of political achievements with colourful bubbles of hopes, expectations and possibilities. It may help him to win his election : but will definitely not change the face of the world nor create any great immunities for humanity against the fears and threats that mankind faces at the present moment.

Right of Conquest

In olden days kings claimed the right of conquest as something that came to them naturally. It was a part of kingly virtue to mobilise vast armies and to go out in search of lands to conquer. Or a horse would be released and the royal armies would follow

the horse. Whosoever stopped the horse threw a challenge to the soldiers that came behind it and fights ensued to determine who would rule by right of conquest. Nowadays ideologies, instead of horses are sent out and the armies attack all who try to stop the free much of the ideologies. Thus Pakistan claimed to send armies to establish Pakistani theocracy in territories chosen for inclusion in the Islamic Republic. The wars over Kashmir are expressive of the right of conquest that Pakistan felt she had in regard to all territories with an Islamic majority. The communists feel they have a right to conquer (liberate) other lands and to set up communist governments in those lands. China's conquest of Tibet is a good example and the fight now going on in Vietnam also expresses the same feeling which justifies the spreading of a cult by force in other people's territories. When people defend their territories against advancing armies they also feel that they have a right to destroy those who attack them. They seek assistance from all who choose to help them to defend their land. That is how India was called in to help in the defence of Kashmir and America was invited to defend South Vietnam. This matter of right to conquer or to defend has led to warfare in the Near East. Pakistan is still busy trying to regain lost territory in Kashmir and the USA, China and Russia deploy soldiers in many places to defend or to conquer.

The Farakka Fraud or Fiasco

Economic planning made by competent men after careful examination of all pertinent facts can sometimes be reduced to a farcical caricature of what was originally planned when the execution of the plans are left in the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous persons unconscious of their moral obligations and possessing little knowledge of economic realities and their ultimate values and signifi-

cance. The Farakka Barrage Project which was a top priority plan for securing proper flow of water for the effective maintenance of the Calcutta Port and assuring the easy and efficient movement ships up and down the Hooghly river along which are situated the docks, moorings and wharves of the Port ; has been allowed to degenerate into something completely different from what was originally planned until, in its present shape and effectiveness, it will no longer serve the purpose for which it was drawn up. The reasons which have brought about this fundamental change in the actual development of the project are mainly to be found in the sanctioning of 34 major and 170 medium irrigation projects for the upper regions through which the Ganges flows before it comes to Farakka. The Farakka Barrage Project has cost the nation about 200 crores of rupees. The ministers who have spent this large sum of money had known all the time that the project was not developing according to plan and that the Calcutta Port will not get its extra water supply as needed for the free movement of ships throughout the year. The 40000 cusecs planned for progressively got reduced and the Ministers began to talk about 20000 and 15000 cusecs instead of 40000 ; knowing full well all the time that the reduced quanta of water would not save the Calcutta Port. The major and medium irrigation projects which were swallowing the 20000 cusecs originally meant for Farakka, were not of any great importance from the overall point of view of economic planning for India. If the Calcutta Port suffered due to water shortage in the Hooghly the losses would be reflected in the economy of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other states. The losses thus suffered might easily far exceed any gains made by the major and medium irrigation projects in the upper reaches of the Ganges. Calcutta also provides thousands of

persons with a living who originally belonged to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. If these people had to move out of Calcutta the losses suffered by them would also exceed the gains that their parent states would make by use of the increased irrigation facilities created at the cost of the Farakka Project.

Calcutta serves as the principal port of a very large area in Eastern India. The trade and commerce which the people of this area carry on have a value of hundreds of crores of rupees annually. If this work is interfered with and the services of ports other than Calcutta have to be utilised by the people of the area, economic difficulties will crop up which may lead to great losses to millions of persons directly and indirectly. The politicians who had been handling the Farakka project were not unaware of these facts and their silent acquiescence with the various local irrigation projects which has made Farakka a expensive fraud has been an act of criminal negligence. The persons also knew that the project was being torpedoed by these irrigation schemes and their silence therefore had an element of malice and mischief in it too.

What can the people of West Bengal do to counter the mischief that has been done to this great project to save the port of Calcutta? The first thing that they should do is to take over Farakka and make it a state project and not keep it any longer a part of National planning. If the other states can do things to sabotage a National Plan West Bengal too should exercise the right to handle her own affairs to suit her own limited purpose. The central ministers should be relieved of their responsibilities in respect of Farakka, responsibilities which they have not carried out with any degree of consciousness of their real purpose. How West Bengal can save Calcutta should be now considered by the people of West Bengal. The Farakka project appears

to have misfired. One may however consider whether the project can be used to any purpose. Other plans should be made to give back to Calcutta her time honoured position of importance as the greatest port of Eastern India.

Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath was the youngest son of Mahatshi Debendranath Tagore and was brought up by him in a very strictly moral and scholarly atmosphere. Mahatshi Debendranath Tagore was very well versed in Vedantic philosophy and his knowledge of the Upanishads was profound and thorough. Rabindranath Tagore studied Sanskrit and classical Bengali literature from his early youth. When he was quite young he was taken to England by his elder brother Satyendranath Tagore who was the first Indian member of the British-Indian civil service. In England Rabindranath Tagore acquired a very good knowledge of English literature. But he did not join any school in England for a regular course of studies. On his return to India he devoted himself to writing in Bengali. He wrote poems, dramas and composed songs to which he set tunes himself. His literary work of this early period is remarkably flawless and express his genius with perfection. His inspiration was by and large of Sanskritic origin though he also appeared to draw emotional nourishment from the medieval Bengali and Maithili writers. Rabindranath Tagore wrote short stories and novels of great excellence. His allegorical dramas can be cited as some of the greatest compositions of world literature. His patriotic songs and poems inspired millions to fight the imperialist oppressors of India. India's struggle for independence was greatly strengthened by the contributions of Rabindranath Tagore. He began to write in

English after the turn of the century and he also translated many of his Bengali poems into English. His translations however were not strictly literary. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. The book for which he got this prize was the *Gitanjali* a book of English poems which were translations from Bengali originals.

Rabindranath Tagore worked hard to create understanding between the nations of the world. It was only through the appreciation of the culture of other nations that all nations could work for the ideal of a universal brotherhood of man. That was why Tagore started the Viswa Bharati University where all nations could send their scholars with a view to enable everyone to understand one another. Somehow of course this idea could not be kept alive in the Viswa Bharati after the poet's death ; though it did become a centre of world culture during his life time. Poets, philosophers and humanistic thinkers from many countries chose to come to Santinikatan and many an unknown became intimately known by residing in that "abode of peace". The poet's heart was large enough to accept everything in it that was worth emotional integration. He was at once a poet, composer of songs, a dramatist, a novelist, a philosopher, a political thinker an educationist, a master of the theatrical arts, an artist, a satirist, a giant in the field of thought who could deal with the most complex problems in a simple and effective manner. He had the genius of many men in him and a personality which expressed all that was great and good with a grace that had no parallel. We have not said what a great religious Teacher he was. His sermons delivered from the Brahma Mandir at Santiniketan were superb in their spiritual content and they made one feel that the *Rishis* of yore could still come to life in India.

Death of Edward Duke of Windsor

Edward VIII, later Duke of Windsor' was king of England and Emperor of India for a

few days more than ten months, from January 20, to Dec. 11, 1936 ; succeeding to the throne after the death of his father George V and abdicating in order to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield (Simpson) an American divorcee. He married this lady in France on June 3, 1937 and made his home in that country. He died in Paris recently. As an act of renunciation achieving a romantic objective Edward's abdication has perhaps no parallel in history. That it was a case of true love has also been proved by the fact that the Duke and Duchess of Windsor have lived the life of a loving couple for 36 years. Edward's abdication was fully in keeping with his character and outlook. He was at heart a full fledged democrat, a believer in scientific truths as opposed to the superstitions that clouded man's vision in all spheres of life. The divine rights and obligations of kings left him cold and he tried to humanise everything in a manner which appalled the masters of protocol and proprieties like Prime Minister Baldwin. He was a realist and liked to go by facts rather than by accepted valuations of things. He tried to go into the firing lines in France during the first World War rather than do some decorative staff job. He went to Glasgow as Prince of Wales and tried to visit the slums with a view to see whether anything could be done to relieve the living conditions of the working classes. People who knew him when he was an undergraduate at Oxford or a Naval cadet found him much more of an ordinary mortal with human urges and aspirations than a prince out of the pages of a story book. When, therefore, he found his royal Prerogatives were bonds that bound him down rather than gave him greater opportunities to realise his ideal and aspirations ; he renounced his royal inheritance and chose of his own free will to become an ordinary man. He was made the Duke of Windsor by Royal decree later on ; but that did not in any manner change his outlook or way of life. He published his autobiography *A King's Story* in 1951.

INDUSTRIAL DECLINE OF EASTERN INDIA AND BIHAR'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The time has come to realize that Bihar's industrial backwardness is intimately related to the backwardness of the eastern region as a whole. West Bengal at one time was the leader in industry among the States. It had yielded that position long back. Perhaps that fact by itself would not have been of so much concern as it has in fact become, if the investors leaving West Bengal had turned to the States bordering West Bengal. This has not happened. The investors have given up West Bengal all right, but have not turned to the neighbouring States. Bihar is the most eligible State to the investors who are unwilling to invest in West Bengal. But investors have not come to Bihar. Investment in new companies in West Bengal came down from Rs. 19·68 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 8·96 crores in 1968-69. But this investment did not come to Bihar, where investment in the share capital of new companies in fact declined from Rs. 6·38 crores in 1967-68 to a mere Rs. 36 lakhs in 1968-69.

This decline was by no means confined to these two States of the eastern region but was to be noticed in every State of the region. In Assam investment in the share capital of new companies came down from Rs. 77 lakhs in 1967-68 to Rs. 28 lakhs in 1968-69 ; in Orissa the figures for these years were Rs. 89 lakhs and Rs. 43 lakhs respectively ; in Tripura Rs. 20 lakhs and nil. Manipur, where a sum of rupees four lakhs was invested in 1968-69 as against nil in the previous year, could be

said to be the only exception. But this did not at all alter the general picture of the decline of the eastern region as a whole in the field of investment.

It was thus possible to discern the decline of the eastern region as a whole, where the investment in the share capital of new companies came down from Rs. 27·92 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 10·57 crores in 1968-69. This decline was the peculiarity of the States in the eastern region, as can be seen by a reference to the situation in the States in the other regions—in all of which investment in the share capital of new companies registered an increase during this period. In the northern region (comprising Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chandigarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir), the improvement was marginal, the investment in new companies having gone up from Rs. 15·97 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 16·25 crores in 1968-69. But in the other two regions there was remarkable increase in investment. In the southern region (comprising Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Mysore and Pondichery), investment in the share capital of new companies rose from Rs. 13·41 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 24·78 crores in 1968-69. In the western region (comprising Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh) investment in the share capital of new companies increased more than two and a half times during the same period, having gone up from Rs. 50·19 crores to Rs. 128·99 crores.

Investment in New Companies

The economy, which had begun looking up in 1968-69, maintained its progress in 1969-70 so that investment in new companies in the country as a whole went up from Rs. 180.59 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 216.26 crores in 1969-70. Although there was a decline in the investment in the western region from Rs. 128.99 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 58.36 crores in 1969-70, the eastern region did not get the benefit of this decline of investment in the western region. The investment in the share capital in the States in the eastern region went up from Rs. 10.57 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 18.70 crores in 1969-70 but fell short of the figure (Rs. 27.92 crores) of 1967-68. Whereas the western region's investment in 1969-70 (Rs. 58.36 crores), although lower than in 1968-69 (Rs. 128.99 crores), was still higher than that of 1967-68 (Rs. 50.19 crores). There was an impressive rise in the investment in the northern region where new investment in 1969-70 was of the order of Rs. 62.08 crores

compared with Rs. 16.25 crores in 1968-69 and Rs. 15.91 crores in 1967-68. Similarly in the southern region the new investment (Rs. 77.12 crores) in 1969-70 was more than three times that in the preceding year (Rs. 24.78 crores) and nearly six times that in 1967-68. The point is that investment in the eastern region has been the lowest in two successive years 1968-69 and 1969-70. Out of a total investment of Rs. 180.59 crores in 1968-69 the share of the different regions was as follows : Western region Rs. 128.99 crores ; southern region Rs. 24.78 crores, northern region Rs. 16.25 crores and the eastern region Rs. 10.57 crores. In 1969-70 the figures were : Western region Rs. 58.36 crores ; southern region Rs. 77.12 crores ; northern region Rs. 62.08 crores and the eastern region Rs. 18.70 crores. In fact in each of the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the investment in one State in the western region (Maharashtra) has exceeded that in the entire eastern region comprising the seven states of Assam, Bihar, Manipur, Nagaland, Orissa, Tripura and West Bengal.

TABLE I
New non-Government Company Registration : Regionwise Distribution.

	Authorized Capital (in crores of rupees)				
	Northern Region	Western Region	Southern Region	Eastern Region	Maharashtra
1967-68	Rs. 15.91	Rs. 50.19	Rs. 13.41	Rs. 27.92	Rs. 40.69
1968-69	Rs. 16.25	Rs. 128.99	Rs. 24.78	Rs. 10.57	Rs. 119.00
1969-70	Rs. 62.08	Rs. 58.36	Rs. 77.12	Rs. 18.70	Rs. 36.74
Grand Total	Rs. 94.24	Rs. 237.54	Rs. 115.31	Rs. 57.19	Rs. 196.43

Investment In Government Companies

This picture of decline of the importance of the eastern region as an area of investment is not altered even if the investment in the new government companies is taken into account. During the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the

government companies totalled Rs. 197.07 crores of which the eastern States got only Rs. 6.82 crores or about 3.5 percent of the total, compared with Rs. 108.30 crores received by the northern States, Rs. 31.45 crores by the southern States and Rs. 50.50 crores by the

TABLE II
New Government Company Registration : Regionwise Distribution.
Authorized Capital in crores of rupees.

Year	Total Investment	Eastern Region	Northern Region	Southern Region	Western Region
1967-68	Rs. 71.02	Rs. 0.52	Rs. 50.50	Rs. 20.00	Nil
1968-69	Rs. 69.30	Rs. 2.20	Rs. 17.50	Rs. 2.10	Rs. 47.50
1969-70	Rs. 50.75	Rs. 4.10	Rs. 40.30	Rs. 9.35	Rs. 3.00
Grand Total	Rs. 197.07	Rs. 6.82	Rs. 108.30	Rs. 31.45	Rs. 50.50

TABLE III
New Company Registration Government and non-Government : Regionwise Distribution of Authorized Capital (in crores of rupees)

Year	Total Investment	Eastern Region	Northern Region	Suthern Region	Western Region
1967-68	Rs. 178.45	Rs. 28.44	Rs. 66.41	Rs. 33.41	Rs. 50.19
1968-69	Rs. 249.89	Rs. 12.77	Rs. 33.75	Rs. 26.88	Rs. 175.49
1969-70	Rs. 273.01	Rs. 22.80	Rs. 102.38	Rs. 86.47	Rs. 61.36
Grand Total	Rs. 701.35	Rs. 64.01	Rs. 202.54	Rs. 146.76	Rs. 288.04

The total investment in the eastern region was only Rs. 64 crores during the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 out of a total investment of over 700 crores of rupees ; the shares of other regions were : Southern Rs. 146.76 crores, northern Rs. 202.54 crores and western Rs. 288.04 crores.

Long-term Trend of Decline

It would be wrong to think, as many in this country tend to do, that the decline of the eastern region in new investment is of recent origin. In fact this downward trend has been persisting over a long period. An analysis of the industrial licences issued by the Government of India during the ten years 1956-66 shows that the States in the eastern region received only 24.75 percent of the approved licences, compared with 38.62 percent by the western region, 19.89 percent by the southern region and 16.74 percent by the northern region. In fact one State—Maharashtra alone claimed a higher share (27.37 percent) of the

approved licences than the entire eastern region which got only 24.75 percent, (Assam 0.94 percent, Bihar 5.16 percent, Orissa 1.18 percent and West Bengal 16.47 percent). A study of the production concentration of industrial licences made by the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee shows that more than 45 percent of the production of machine tools was concentrated in the two States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The concentration in these two States of some other selected industries was of the following order : Industrial machinery 47.19 percent ; metallurgical industries 28.31 percent ; non-metallurgical industries 35.34 percent ; road transport 40.38 percent ; bicycles and miscellaneous transport equipment 21.21 percent ; rubber and leather products 24.83 percent ; and fruit products and vegetable oils 31.05 percent.

"Regionwise distribution of industrial licences for the dyestuff industries shows", the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee notes, "that 31 out of 51 licences issued during the

period of our study went to Maharashtra and 14 to Gujarat, thus further accentuating the concentration of the industry which already existed. Similarly, in regard to the plastics industry, out of 145 licences granted 73 (over 50 percent) went to Maharashtra....." None came to Bihar. In the paper and pulp industries the western region got 90 licences, northern region 80 licences, eastern region 72 licences and the southern region 57 licences. In the pesticides industry, of the licences issued during 1956 to 1966, 61 percent went to the western region, 19 percent to the southern region, 13 percent to the eastern region and 7 percent to the northern region. The Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee found that 65 percent of the licensed capacity for the fertiliser industry was in the southern States (Andhra Pradesh 29 percent, Kerala 20 percent and Madras 15 percent), 9 percent in UP, 5 percent each in Rajasthan and Goa, 4 percent in Assam, 2.6 percent in West Bengal, 2.4 percent in Bihar, 2.3 percent in Gujarat, 2.6 percent in Maharashtra and 1.18 percent in Madhya Pradesh.

Position of Bihar

Bihar, being in the eastern region, has unavoidably suffered in the matter of new investment and licensing. In the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 fortyfive new government companies were registered in the country as a whole with a total authorised capital of Rs. 197.07 crores. Bihar accounted for only one such company with a paltry authorized capital of rupees two lakhs (see the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Annual Reports on the Working and Administration of the Companies Act 1956). During the same period three thousand six hundred and twentyfour (3624) new non-Government companies were registered involving an authorized capital of Rs. 504.28 crores. Bihar's share was fiftyseven companies involving an authorized capital

of Rs. 9.27 crores. In other words Bihar accounted for a little over 1.5 percent of the new companies registered during the period and about 1.71 percent of the authorized capital. In 1967-68 only 22 companies (three public and nineteen private) were registered in Bihar with a total authorized capital of Rs. 6.38 crores (Rs. 5.15 crores public and Rs. 1.23 crore private companies). In the following year the number of companies registered was even smaller—only 17 as a matter of fact (2 public and 15 private companies) involving a total authorized capital of Rs. 96 lakhs. (Did the ministerial uncertainties during 1968-69 have anything to do with this sudden decline in investment in Bihar in that year?) In West Bengal, where also there was a similar governmental instability investments in new non-government companies came down from Rs. 19.68 crores in 1967-68 to very much less than half of it—Rs. 8.96 crores—in 1968-69. It is interesting that during the same period investment in new companies in Maharashtra had gone up from Rs. 40.69 crores in 1967-68 to nearly three times the figure (Rs. 119.00 crores) in 1968-69. In 1969-70 only eighteen new companies were registered in Bihar involving a total authorized capital of Rs. 2.03 crores. In 1969-70 Bihar accounted for a little over 1.2 percent of the registration and less than one percent of the authorized investment !

Licences issued and Bihar

Turning to Bihar's share of licences issued during the twenty years 1952-1971 we find that Bihar had no share in the 2046 licences issued for one hundred and nine industries A list of these industries has been provided in Appendix 'A' to this article. The non-issue of licences for some of these industries is indeed the most puzzling. For example, in view of the programme of rural electrifica-

tion a unit should have been set up for the manufacture of transmission towers. It is strange that none of the twentyone licences issued for the industry was meant for Bihar. A lot of hullabaloo is made about developing agriculture in Bihar. Yet the extraordinary fact remains that none of the thirtyeight approved licences for agricultural implements was meant for Bihar. Similarly extraordinary was the fact that none of the thirtyfour approved licences for tractors, harvesters and the like was meant for Bihar. There has been a rapid increase in the number of radio receivers all over the country including Bihar. Yet none of the 150 approved licences for the manufacture of radio receivers was meant for Bihar. One licence was issued to M/s Hindustan Malleables and Forgings Private Ltd, Jalan House, Jharia on 10 October 1960 but it was revoked on 8 December 1962. Similarly no licences were obtained for Bihar for the manufacture of motor cycles and scooters (13), autocycles, mopeds (9), chemical machinery (78), X-Ray equipment (13), electronic equipment (20), scientific instruments (33), aluminium products (48), electric irons and heaters (32), tape recorders (5), electrical fans and ancillaries (42), loudspeakers (23), record players (3) which are being used more and more. (The figures in brackets signify the total number of approved licences.) In another fortyfive industries with a total of 3278 licences listed in Appendix 'B' Bihar's share was 128 licences or less than four percent of the total. Half the licences were accounted

for by licencees having their offices outside Bihar—45 licencees were based in Calcutta, 16 in Bombay and three in New Delhi, providing a poor commentary on the initiative of the residents of Bihar in investment and industrialization.

Lack of Initiative from Bihar

The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India in July 1967 noted in its report submitted in July 1969 that it was the lack of initiative from entrepreneurs in industrially backward States, rather than any fault in the operation of the licensing policy that retarded industrial development in the industrially backward States. The Committee analysed the total of 17310 applications for industrial licences issued during the ten years 1956 to 1966. It was found that 10,016 applications were approved and 7,294 applications were rejected. Out of the rejected applications, information about Statewise distribution was not available in the case of 3,225. On the basis of these figures it was found that applications for licences from Bihar totalled 4.89 percent of the total. The percentage of approved applications was higher at 5.16 percent of the total of approved applications. Rejections for Bihar formed 4.20 percent of the total of rejected applications. Many of the approved applications were for new units. The following table summarises the position in respect of implementation of licences in a few selected states.

TABLE IV

Implementation of Licences 1956-1966.

(1) States	(2) Total Applica- tions	(3) Licences Issued	(4) Col (3) as percentage of Col. 2	(5) fully implemented	(6) partially implemented	(7) non-imple- mented
Assam	152	95	62.5	43.2	5.3	51.3
Bihar	688	517	75.1	62.7	12.2	25.1
Orissa	198	118	59.6	50.4	9.4	4.2
Punjab	1051	632	60.2	60.3	8.1	31.6
Maharashtra	3645	2741	75.2	67.5	4.3	28.2

Source : Report of the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee 1969.

The Committee observes : "To some extent, the licensing system could not assist the industrially backward States much because the number of proposals for locating industrial units in these States was much smaller than that for location in other States. Thus, the number of applications received for location in Assam was only 152 in the whole period of our enquiry as compared with 3645 for Maharashtra. It is true that the proportion of approved applications was only 62 percent in Assam compared to 75 percent in Maharashtra, but there were relatively backward States such as Kerala where the proportion of approvals was as high as 82 percent. It may be noted that in no States was the proportion of approvals less than 58 percent and in the case of most States it varied between 60 and 75 percent. One cannot say that it was the rejection of applications that was mainly responsible for the licensing system not assisting the less industrialised States". *Report of the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee, Government of India, Department of Industrial Development, Ministry of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and Company Affairs, July 1969 Main Report Pp 109-110.*

Need for a Regional Approach

Economic development is possible only through adequate investment. Bihar has got ten percent of the population of the country. Proportionately about ten percent of the total investment of the country ought to be made in Bihar. But what obtains in fact is quite different—Bihar accounted for only 398 of the total of 28,948 limited companies at work on 31 March 1970 which worked out at less than 1.4 percent of the total. True, the number of companies does not automatically indicate the magnitude of investment ; but it is equally true that only a fraction of the nation's investment is in Bihar. During the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the total investment of the Government and non-Government companies was Rs. 701.35 crores out of which Bihar got only Rs. 9.29 crores or about 1.4 percent. Without investment there cannot be employment ; without employment people are bound to remain poor. Since investment in Bihar is so low, it is no wonder that Bihar has the lowest per capita income among the States in India.

To reduce unemployment and poverty, to improve the per capita income, more employ-

ment opportunities have to be created in Bihar through accelerated investment. The opening of rural branches by the nationalized banks would undoubtedly require organization. One of the most potent forms for channelising savings for investment in productive enterprises is the joint stock companies. Therefore active measures will have to be adopted for starting more new companies as well as for expanding the capital base of the existing companies. It is not reasonable to rely entirely on the companies from other States coming forward to carry the primary burden of the industrialization of Bihar. To achieve that end initiative has to be taken within Bihar. Active efforts will have to be made to obtain licences for starting many more industries—modern industries. Already valuable ground has been lost through lack of initiative so that a large number of modern industries has gone to the western region, particularly Maharashtra, some of which could have easily thrived in Bihar.

It is clear, however, that in addition to intensive efforts to float new companies in Bihar, efforts will also have to be made simultaneously to attract companies from other States to invest in Bihar. This will be necessary because these companies have the know-how of many products and would be in a better position than new ones to achieve quicker results. They may like to tap the new market of Bihar which has immense potentialities for expansion. Such a programme of action cannot meet with any great success if the most harmful campaign mounted by some self-seeking and short-sighted persons against what has been called "non-Biharis" is not given up. The stupidity of this slogan is to be seen in the fact that many outsiders have not felt secure to come to Bihar to invest. Such a meaningless slogan can have the only result of deterring prospective investors further. The utter harmfulness of such a

slogan for the future of Bihar would be immediately realized once one tried to visualize what would have happened if the 64 licences obtained for Bihar by the companies from outside Bihar had gone to other States. As the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee mentioned, rejections of applications did not stand in the way of the non-developed States. During the twenty years 1952-1971 only 64 successful applications were made for industrial licences from Bihar. This works out at about 1·2 percent of the total successful applications. Should any genuine lover of Bihar consider this a satisfactory rate? Can one realistically hope that this rate can be improved immediately with the efforts of the people of Bihar alone? Is it not in Bihar's interest to induce more and more "non-Biharis" to come and invest in Bihar? It is a sad fact that few Bihari intellectuals have come forward to decry this pernicious campaign which is vitally hurting the interest of Bihar's economic development.

Licensing Committee's View

In view of the almost complete centralization of economic decisions in New Delhi, the efforts within Bihar cannot achieve a major success unless the outlook of the decision makers in New Delhi also changes. The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee criticised the absence of an "overall regionwise plan for licensing of different industries" which in the Committee's view "was a part of the overall deficiency of licensing policy." (Main report p 108). The Committee's criticism of the working of the licensing authority in New Delhi is to be seen in its following observation: "It is sometimes said", the Committee observed, "that licensing as an instrument of regional dispersal has an important limitation in that, being merely a negative instrument, it can prevent certain industries from developing in particular areas." ■

but it cannot possibly assist the location of industries in others. This is not entirely correct. Licensing authorities could advise applicants that the applications would be favourably considered if locations were proposed in some States or regions as against others. That licensing was not so used was largely due to the fact that no clear policy and no overall guide-lines were laid down regarding the pursuance of this objective". (*Main report p. 109*). Thus sustained efforts—both through the official and non-official channels—have to be made to bring about a change in the orientation of the decision-makers in New Delhi so that licensing policy does not continue to be an instrument of discrimination against the States in the eastern region.

Inter State Migration

Even a cursory glance at the trend of economic development in the country over the quarter of a century since Independence makes one conscious of the urgent need to develop an area consciousness. Although Bihar had sufficient political and bureaucratic representation in New Delhi (at one time four Union Cabinet Ministers were from Bihar in addition to a number of Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers and departmental secretaries) as contrasted to Assam, Orissa and West Bengal (which have had very little political or bureaucratic influence in New Delhi after Independence), Bihar's gain has been only marginal and quite insufficient from the point of view of the impact on the standard of living of the people. True, as a result of political and bureaucratic influence in New Delhi, Bihar was the second largest recipient of central investment among the States, but in view of the absence of an area consciousness Bihar did not gain what it could have gained otherwise. The fact has to be borne in mind that for a long time to come

no single State can attain a state of economic autarky. For many things including employment the States will have to be mutually dependent on one another. The States developing particular types of industries would attract qualified personnel from other States as well. Similarly other States developing other industries would attract investors and employees from outside their State boundaries. This inter-State migration is neither unnatural nor undesirable. Once the inevitability of inter-state migration is kept in mind, the virtues of a regional approach would become fully evident.

That Bihar, in particular, stands to gain from a regional approach can be better understood with reference to the statistics on migration. Over 97 percent of the emigration from Bihar, and 85 percent of the immigration into Bihar, takes place from the five adjoining States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. It is seen that Bihar sends out 1,260,637 more persons (959,272 men and 301,365 women) than it receives. According to the 1961 census report Bihar had sent out 1,988,530 persons (1,263,635 males and 724,895 females) and received 727,893 persons (304,363 males and 423,530 females) from the five States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. Except for Uttar Pradesh from where Bihar receives more persons than it sends to that State, Bihar has been sending out more persons to the other States than it has been receiving from them. Bihar sent out to West Bengal three times more persons than it received in 1961. Bihar received a little over three lakhs of persons from West Bengal (120,729 males and 188,503 females) but sent out over thirteen lakhs of persons (944,714 males and 405,885 females) to West Bengal—losing in the bargain no fewer than over a million persons (823,985 males and 217,382 females). The following table sums up the matter.

TABLE V
Migration between Bihar and adjacent States 1961.

State (1)	Immigration to Bihar (2)		Emigration from Bihar (3)		Balance of Migration + gain for Bihar - loss for Bihar (4)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
West Bengal	120,729	188,503	944,714	405,885	- 823,985	- 217,382
Uttar Pradesh	133,607	170,222	60,542	166,636	+ 73,065	+ 3,586
Orissa	24,931	35,685	39,179	56,290	- 14,248	- 20,605
Madhya Pradesh	20,228	24,955	31,946	25,606	- 11,718	- 651
Assam	4,868	4,165	187,254	70,478	- 182,386	- 66,313
Total	304,363	423,530	1,263,635	724,895	- 959,272	- 301,365

Source : **Census of India 1961 Vol IV, Bihar Part IA(1)P 318.**

If these 1,260,637 persons who represent the net migration had stayed in Bihar undoubtedly they would have caused some additional strain on the State's economy. Although the best thing for them would have been if they could have stayed in Bihar, since Bihar did not afford them adequate opportunities for making a living they went out. When people migrate they generally go to the

neighbouring districts and States. Thus regional development indirectly contributes to the welfare of States in the region which might not be directly developed. While the utmost exertion should be made to accelerate the pace of industrialization of Bihar, it is in Bihar's own interest, as in the interest of all the States in the eastern region, to uphold the cause of regional development.

Appendix "A"

Bihar's Share of Licences Issued 1952-1971 (Industries in which No Licences were issued for Bihar)

Name of Industry	Total Licences Issued 1952-1971	Bihar's Share	Remarks
1. Iron and Steel (Metal) Pig Iron	25	Nil	
2. Ferro Alloys	23	Nil	One licence was issued to M/s. Ram Bahadur Thakur & Co. in 1954 but was revoked on 10 October 1956.
3. Steel shots and grits	14	Nil	
4. Iron and Steel Pipes (Fittings)	13	Nil	
5. Welded Steel Pipes and Tubes	16	Nil	
6. Conduit Pipes	9	Nil	
7. Other Products of Iron and Steel Box-strapping	8	Nil	

8.	-Do- Bright Bars and Shaftings	16	Nil
9.	-Do- Expanded Metal	3	Nil
10.	-Do- Welding Electrodes	28	Nil
11.	-Do- Building Material etc.	7	Nil
12.	-Do- Transmission Towers	21	Nil
13.	-Do- Screws (Wood and Machine)	46	Nil
14.	Aluminium Ingots & Billets	16	Nil
15.	Semimanufactures and Manufactures (Nonferrous Alloys & Castings etc.)	22	Nil
16.	-Do- Collapsible Tubes	5	Nil
17.	-Do- Aluminium Rods and Bars etc.	19	Nil
18.	-Do- Aluminium Sheets and circles	9	Nil
19.	-Do- Aluminium Foils etc.	6	Nil
20.	-Do- Aluminium. Miscellaneous Products	14	Nil
21.	-Do- Brass Sheets and circles	18	Nil
22.	-Do- Utensils	54	Nil
23.	Boilers and Steam Generating Plants	30	Nil
24.	Electrical Furnaces	5	Nil
25.	X-Ray Equipment	13	Nil
26.	Electronic Equipment	20	Nil
27.	Household Appliances such as Electric Irons, Heaters and the Kiln	32	Nil
28.	Storage Batteries	15	Nil
29.	Dry Cells	12	Nil
30.	Telephones	7	Nil
31.	Telegraph Equipment	1	Nil
32.	Wireless Communication Apparatus	4	Nil
33.	Radio Receivers including Amplifying and Public Address Equipment	150	Nil
			One licence was issued to M/s. Hindustan Malleables and Forgings Pvt. Ltd., Jalan House, Jharia on 10 October 1960. It was revoked on 8 December 1962.
34.	Tape Recorders	5	Nil
35.	Loud Speakers	23	Nil
36.	Record Players	3	Nil
37.	Microphones	2	Nil
38.	Television sets	2	Nil
39.	Teleprinters	2	Nil

40. Aircraft	8	Nil	
41. Ships and Vessels	15	Nil	
42. Auto Cycles, Mopeds etc.	9	Nil	One licence was issued to M/s. Dharam Singh & Co. (P) Ltd., Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi on 29.8.61 but was revoked on 20 April 1963.
43. Jeeps and Rovers etc.	4	Nil	
44. Motor Cycles, Scooters etc.	13	Nil	
45. Automobile Cars	2	Nil	
46. -Do- Trailers etc.	15	Nil	
47. -Do- Springs, Laminated Leaf, Coil etc.	21	Nil	
48. -Do- Wheels, Rims etc.	9	Nil	
49. Bicycle-Hubs	12	Nil	
50. -Do- Rims	12	Nil	
51. -Do- Steel Balls	8	Nil	
52. -Do- B. B. Fittings	15	Nil	
53. -Do- Free Wheels	11	Nil	
54. -Do- Frames	6	Nil	
55. -Do- Saddles	11	Nil	
56. -Do- Spokes and Nipples	11	Nil	
57. -Do- Chains	16	Nil	
58. Industrial Machinery	2	Nil	
59. Jute Mill Machinery	31	Nil	
60. Rayon Machinery	6	Nil	
61. Sugar Mill Machinery	32	Nil	
62. Tea Processing Machinery	13	Nil	
63. Chemical Machinery	78	Nil	
64. Pharmaceutical Machinery	6	Nil	
65. Conveying Equipment-Hoists Pulley, Blocks, Winches etc.	40	Nil	
66. -Do- Conveyors etc.	31	Nil	One licence was issued to Kamani Brothers Pvt. Ltd., Ballard Estate, Bombay on 22.6.63 but was revoked on 5 December, 1964.
67. Size Separation Units Screens, Classifiers and the like	11	Nil	
68. Mixers and Reactors	12	Nil	
69. Filtration Equipment-Filter Presses,			

	Rotary Filters and the like	3	Nil
70.	Centrifugal Machines	3	Nil
71.	Distillation Equipment	10	Nil
72.	Air and Gas Compressors and Vacuum Pipes	40	Nil
73.	Refrigeration Plants for Industrial use	21	Nil
74.	Fire Fighting Equipment and Fire Engines	4	Nil
75.	Speed Reduction units etc.	17	Nil
76.	Tractors, Harvesters and the like	34	Nil
77.	Agricultural Implements	38	Nil
78.	Plastic Moulded Goods	92	Nil
79.	Hand Tools-jigs, Fixtures etc.	13	Nil
80.	Steel Measuring Tapes, Gauges etc.	6	Nil
81.	Hacksaw Blades	14	Nil
82.	Bandsaw Blades	12	Nil
83.	Other saws etc.	18	Nil
84.	Steel Files, Rasps etc.	13	Nil
85.	Taps Dies, Chasers etc.	44	Nil
86.	Reamers etc.	22	Nil
87.	Tungsten Carbide	19	Nil
88.	Twist Drills etc.	21	Nil
89.	Tool Bits etc.	18	Nil
90.	Double-ended Spanners etc.	13	Nil
91.	Milling cutters	25	Nil
92.	Portable Electric Tools etc.	2	Nil
93.	Small tools etc.	3	Nil
94.	Other Misc. Mechanical and Engineering Industry	45	Nil
95.	Razor Blades and strips	11	Nil
96.	Calculating Machines	10	Nil
97.	Airconditioners and Refrigerators	30	Nil
98.	Domestic Refrigerators	9	Nil
99.	Water Coolers	8	Nil
100.	Sewing and Knitting Machines	27	Nil
101.	Hurricane Lanterns	4	Nil
102.	Medical and Surgical Appliances	18	Nil
103.	Water Meters	23	Nil
104.	House Service Metres, Electricity Metres etc.	56	Nil

105. Indicating, Recording and Regulating Devices for Pressure, Temperature, Rate of Flow, Weights, levels and the like.	28	Nil	Two licences were issued to M/s, Bihar Instruments Manufactures Co. Ltd., Patna on 1.3.60 and to M/s. Industrial Tools Private Ltd., 25 Swallow Lane, Calcutta on 6.11.61, but were revoked on 1.8.64 and 1.9.62 respectively.
106. Weighing Machines	7	Nil	
107. Scientific Instruments	33	Nil	
108. Mathematical, Surveying and Drawing Instruments	13	Nil	
109. Electrical Fans and Ancillaries	42	Nil	One licence was issued to M/s. Usha Automobile & Engineering Co. Pvt. Ltd., Ramgopal Ghosh Road, Calcutta on 25.2.60, was revoked on 25.8.62.

2046

Appendix "B"

Bihar's Share of Approved Licences 1952-1971.
(Industries for which one or more licences were issued for Bihar)

Name of Industry (1)	Total approved licences (2)	Bihar's Share (3)	Location of Head Office of Licence holder (4)
1. Iron and Steel (Metal) Steel Billets and Ingots	36	1	Ranchi (HEC)
2. Iron and Steel Castings and Forgings	370	13	Five outside, Bihar (one each in Delhi & Bombay)
3. Iron and Steel Structural	183	6	4 outside Bihar (one in Bombay rest in Calcutta)
4. Malleable Iron and Steel Pipes	21	2	One in Calcutta
5. C. I. Spun Pipes etc.	70	4	3 in Calcutta
6. Seamless Steel Pipes and Tubes	8	3	3 in Calcutta
7. Hume Steel Pipes	4	1	Bombay
8. E. R. W. Steel Pipes and Tubes	8	1	Calcutta

9. Steel pipes and tubes (others)	22	1	Calcutta
0. Special Steel	41	4	2 in Calcutta
1. M. S. Bars etc.	69	1	Bombay
2. Iron and Steel Strips	14	2	One each in Bombay
3. Iron and Steel Bolts, Nuts etc.	68	1	Chakradharpur
4. Iron and Steel Containers	104	3	One in Calcutta
5. Iron and Steel Wires etc.	100	3	Two in Calcutta
6. Misc. Iron and Steel Products	71	4	Two in Bombay, one in Cal
7. Precious Metals Alloys	3	2	One in Calcutta
8. Other Non-ferrous metal alloys	10	1	Calcutta
9. Copper sheets	26	2	New Delhi
10. Internal Combustion engines	99	1	Calcutta
11. Transformers	85	3	One in Calcutta
12. Equipment for generation transmission and distribution of electricity	232	5	One in Calcutta
13. Electrical motors	110	1	Patna
14. Electrical lamps	145	12	All but one in Patna
15. Electrical cables, conductors etc.	193	6	4 in Calcutta
16. Railway locomotives	14	2	Both in Bombay
17. Railway Rolling Stock	64	7	2 in Calcutta
18. Automobiles	221	1	Calcutta
19. Automobiles chassis	39	6	One in Calcutta
20. Bicycles (complete)	30	1	Patna (Sahayas)
21. Fork lift Trucks	11	1	Bombay
22. Textile Machinery	153	1	Patna
23. Mining Machinery	42	7	6 in Calcutta
24. Metallurgical Machinery	8	1	Ranchi (M. E. C.)
25. Cement Machinery	11	1	Calcutta
26. Paper Machinery	32	3	One Bambay 2 Dalmianagar
27. Crushers	12	1	Patna
28. Cranes etc.	64	2	One in Bombay One Calcutta
29. Lifts	11	1	Dhanbad
30. Power Driven pumps	74	1	Dhanbad
31. Grinding Wheels and Abrasives	26	1	New Delhi
32. Machine tools	277	2	One in Calcutta One Ranchi
33. Earthmoving machinery, Bulldozers etc.	51	3	All in Bombay
34. Typewriters and accessories	11	1	Dumraon
35. Ferrous	35	2	One Calcutta One Jamshedpur.
Total	3278	128	

THE PUBLIC SECTOR—A DISHEARTENING PROFILE

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

At least three incidents of importance indicate the growing concern of the Government to lift the public sector enterprises from the morass of inefficiency : its decision to raise a special management cadre drawn from the Industrial Management Pool, the I. A. S., the private sector and the units' own personnel, the announcement of an upward percentage of bonus and the AICC's approval in appointing a committee to investigate the workings of this sickening sector.

There can be no denying that the earlier system of deputing civil servants to top and middle-ranking executive posts in the public sector had hardly anything to commend itself. For, the deputationists had the habit of relinquishing their parent services in favour of public sector posts only to wait in the wings to return to the former when good time prevailed. They did not have any scope for following a consistent policy towards labour and productivity. This has definitely done a great deal of harm to an already sick sector. The Government's decision to end this system and simultaneously to raise a special management cadre will help in administering to this sector the correct remedy of professionalised management.

However, a sense of irretrievable hopelessness seems to have gripped the policy-making body of the Government, as evident from Mr. C. Subramanian's frank confession, "We have diagnosed the disease of the public sector, we know even the medicine which has to be administered, but unfortunately we are not administering it."

This attitude contrasts sharply with the desire of the Government to extend its arm

over as many business fields as possible in its stride towards socialism. The recent take-over of the 214 coking coal mines through an Ordinance is self-expressive. But unless profitability is raised and greater efficiency ensured in this sector, the credibility gap will widen about the Government's wisdom. In tune with the cult of laxity in the Government enterprises, the Rourkela steel melting shop had a roof collapse in July entailing a loss of about Rs. 37 crores in terms of production lag and repairing charges. Coming as it does after another accident that occurred in 1964 this recent one only pinpoints the need for greater efficiency and vigil in the maintenance departments of various plants.

Saga of Loss

In terms of production the public sector enterprises have a saga of loss to present. According to an estimate of the Economic Times, 16.6.70, 73 running concerns had shown a net loss of Rs. 27.7 crores during 1968-69, whereas the annual report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General for 1969-70 puts the net loss of 78 Government firms at Rs. 332.94 Lakhs. Barring a few public enterprises most of the undertakings have registered a net loss in their accounts for 1970-71. Bharat Heavy Electricals (Rs. 65 lakhs), Hindustan Insecticides Limited and Hindustan Machine Tools are among the few showing profits, while on the debit side are such giant steel complexes as Hindustan Steel Limited whose cumulative losses stand at Rs. 178 crores in 1970-71. Mr. K. P. M. Sundharam (The Radical Humanist, No. 17), quoting a table from Lok Udyog shows that in 1967-68 industries like

Chemicals and Fertilisers, Petroleum, Shipbuilding, Trading and Aviation showed profits after depreciation but before interest on loan and taxes as percentage to effective capital employed. But business in Steel, Engineering, Mining and some other miscellaneous fields registered a net loss in the same financial year. Even after crediting Rs. 296 crores paid in excise duty from the year of production to its profit account, it may be said that HSL has incurred a net loss, not profit over the years.

Under-Utilisation

This sorry mess has been created by the severe capacity under-utilisation that prevails in almost all the public sector units. Idle capacity envisaged for 1970-71 in different units is as follows : HMT : 60%, HEC : 77%, Durgapur : 62% and Rourkela : 44%. Durgapur's image is tarnished by work stoppages, production loss and inter-union rivalry. Against an estimated capacity of 1.6 million tonnes, production has been whittled down to 7,00,000 tonnes only.

Of the many problems that plague this sector the most serious is the bad management-labour relationship. According to Mr. K. T. Chandy, HSL Chairman, man-hour lost in Rourkela in 1970-71 was 2,92,000 while in Durgapur it was a staggering 17,60,000. At the Alloy Steel Plant it was 8,10,000. If Bhilai Steel Plant has registered a net profit in 1970-71, it is due to the fact that it suffered no loss of man-hour.

There is thus a strong case for an improvement in this tenuous relationship. The Government's recently adopted personnel policy is expected to show better results, because it is only professionals who can tackle the labour issue most effectively. But trade unions should also recognise their social responsibility. An enhanced bonus rate may minimise bonus disputes, but intractability on

the trade union front in this regard will complicate matters. INTUC, HMS and AITUC are still insisting on 8.33% as minimum bonus. Unless optimum capacity utilisation is achieved, the public sector will hardly have a self-sustaining growth. The only answer to over-manning (HSL alone employs a very high number of workers : 1,11,564) is this optimum utilisation of capacity.

Other factors governing its viability are better marketing device and enlargement of foreign markets. There is enough scope for exporting Indian engineering goods. In fact it is better performance which has earned BHEL a Rs. 10 crore export order from Malaysia recently.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the National Productivity Council's efforts in creating a "productivity consciousness" among workers will succeed. Already it has offered to labourers' representatives good terms for sharing productivity gains but they have not been found acceptable to them. Labour representation on the management can help matters immensely. Merger of splinter unions may increase their bargaining position and may save the public sector plants from severe inter-union rivalry that hampers production.

After everything is said, it remains to be seen how the Government's awareness of granting more autonomy to the public enterprises is translated into practice. The shoddy manner in which Mr. B. C. Ganguli, Chairman of the Railway Board, has been retired points the direction in which the wind of autonomy consciousness is blowing in Government circles. The little that emerges from the maze of allegations and counter-allegations in the murky Hanumanthaiya-Ganguli affair suggests that if the ex-Rail Board Chairman acted in an authoritarian manner since last June, the Railway Minister's interference in day-to-day administration cannot be denied.

GANDHIJI'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MANKIND

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

This being the birth centenary year, which ends on October 2, 1970, it is therefore pertinent to study Mahatmaya's (Singhala) contributions to India in particular and mankind in general. He was aware of the reasons for the decline of the Indian civilization, mainly due to the decadence of her social structure. He was also aware that the Asokan era of Indian history (3rd century B. C.) was one of the greatest periods in the human annals. It was a period of moral excellence rather than a period of military grandeur. Naturally Gandhiji, as a saintly politician, favoured a democracy with moral and ethical excellence.

Albert Einstein was a great admirer of Gandhiji and he said of him, that Mahatma's great contribution of our time lay in his determination to moralize politics. Gandhiji, like the Buddha and Asoka before him, constantly insisted that the same moral law must be applied to politics as in private life, and he tried throughout his life like Asoka—to apply moral law to his political actions.

Gandhiji liked a true democratic self government. He said that a democracy will not come by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. That is to educate the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. Therefore it is not surprising that India and Ceylon have maintained ancient traditions,

a blend of Indo-Ceylon wisdom, left over from Buddhist councils of ancient times, with modern Anglo-American democratic principles.

Mahatmaya once wrote on the weaknesses of the democratic system :

"There is no human institute that has no defects. The greater the institution, the greater the chances of abuse. Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy, therefore, is not avoidance of democracy but the reduction of the possibility of abuse to a minimum."

That Buddhism helped greatly in the evolution of democratic forms of government in ancient India is borne out by what Marquess Zetland, a former Viceroy of India, says in his introduction to the book, "Legacy of India". Lord Zetland says :

"We know indeed that political science—*Arthashastra* in Sanskrit—was a favourite subject with Indian scholars some centuries before the Christian Era. The Social Contract as the origin of Kingship is discussed in the now famous work attributed to Kautilya, the Chief Minister of Emperor Chandragupta, about the year 300 B. C. And it would seem that the people who contracted for a king in these early days did so in order that there should be some external authority capable of ensuring that the laws and regulations of the various corporate bodies which had come into existence, were respected. 'The King,'

wrote Yajnavalkya, 'must discipline and establish again on the path of duty all such as have erred from their own laws, whether families, castes, guilds or associations.....' It is notable that the tendency towards self-government evidenced by these various forms of corporate activity received fresh impetus from the Buddhist rejection of authority of the priesthood and further by the doctrine of equality as exemplified by its repudiation of caste. It is indeed to the Buddhist books that we have to turn for an account of the manner in which the affairs of these early examples of representative self-governing institutions were conducted. And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in the Assemblies of the Buddhists in India, Ceylon and Burma two thousand or more years ago are to be found the rudiments of our own parliamentary practice of the present day. The dignity of the Assembly was preserved by the appointment of a special Officer—the embryo of 'Mr. Speaker' in our House of Commons. A second Officer was appointed whose duty it was to see that when necessary a quorum was secured, the prototype of the Parliamentary Chief Whip in our own system (British). A member initiating business did so in the form of a motion which was then open to discussion. In some cases this was done once only ; in others three times, thus anticipating the practice of Parliament in requiring that a Bill be read a third time before it became law. If discussion disclosed a difference of opinion the matter was decided by the vote majority, the voting being ballot."

As Lord Zetland says the Buddha's doctrine of equality made a profound impression on the social and political life of the people of India and Ceylon, and other parts of Asia where Buddhism prevailed, and this influence has lasted to this day to some degree.

Therefore it is not surprising that India

and Ceylon since attaining new independence have adopted and sustained democratic values successfully for the last 20 years, with adult franchise granted to both sexes.

The preamble to the Indian constitution bears striking resemblance to the Declaration of Rights of the American Constitution. The fundamental rights of all citizens are guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, which countenances no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, creed and sex. "Untouchability" has been abolished and the practice of it is made a criminal offence under the law. The freedom of speech and expression, assembly and association, migration, acquisition of property and choice of occupation or trade are guaranteed. There is perfect liberty to follow and practise one's own religion, and minorities are especially protected in respect of their language, religion and culture.

Ceylon, on the other hand, following British Parliamentary practice, assumes all unwritten traditions of the British Constitution, which are considered equal to the above. Furthermore, India and Ceylon strive towards the goal of economic democracy and their foreign policies promote peace and security and maintain just and honourable relations between nations. The foreign policies are based on Buddha ideal of peace and universal goodwill.

Thus Ghandiji is a realist, a modern democrat as Asoka was in ancient India. Dr. Rasgota states :

"Ghandiji wanted women of India to be free and to assume their proper place and role in the free society in New India. He would be pleased to see women of today's India, in their thousands, occupying high places as Members of Parliament, as doctors, nurses, teachers and technologists."

The women in Indian society in the Buddha's time did not receive much recognition. It was the Buddha who raised the status of women. The Buddha foresaw the danger of admitting women to the SANGHA, and had not granted Yasodara's quest three times to be admitted to the order as a Bikkhuni. But later, observing the zeal of both Pajapathi and Yasodara for leading a religious life, he no longer could resist it, and assented to have them admitted to the Sangha. When Venerable Ananda asked the Buddha whether women are competent to lead a Bikkhuni's life, He declared them to be competent to be admitted to the Sangha and to attain release from a wearisome repetition of rebirths and to attain sainthood. The equality in social, economic and political life of women with men in Hindu-Buddhist lands is not at all surprising. India and Ceylon have produced women Prime Ministers in these modern times. Mrs. Sirimo Bandaranaike of Ceylon and Mrs. Indira Gandhi are shining examples. These two great women symbolize both the womanhood and motherhood of their respective countries.

Thus Gandhiji reaffirmed the Basic Rights of women that had existed in ancient India but disappeared in her decadent times.

There are people who claim that Gandhiji did not want industrialization of India. What Mahatmaya had in mind was a balanced technological development of India without multiplying problems for peasants who are the backbone of India. He devised the spinning wheel and rural education, as more sophisticated systems of universal education and industrialization would take another two to three decades to spread all over India, to cater for the illiterate peasants who are nearly one-third of mankind.

The following passages will indicate that •Gandhiji was inspired and strengthened in a

new India by not abandoning her ancient heritage, and when he stated : "In the midst of all this India remains immovable and that is her glory. Many thrust their advice on India and she remains steady. This is her beauty."

In the practice of Buddhism knowledge and wisdom are stressed. During the reign of Asoka educational institutions sprang up in every temple in the land. And thereby every Buddhist temple became a veritable centre of learning, some of which later grew up into world-famous universities, from the second century C. E., at Nalanda, Taxilla, Wickramasila, etc.

The Buddhist civilizations of India, Burma and Ceylon were the first to have university education in the annals of mankind. Admittance was based on competence and not on wealth, race or creed. Students from Afghanistan to China resided in these centres of learning. The universities flourished up to around the 10th century C. E., and they were totally destroyed by the invading Mogul armies from the North—in the 14th century C. E., onwards.

During the 3rd century B. C., both India and Ceylon had hospitals for both man and beast. These facts are noted in the *Outlines of World History* by H. G. Wells. Emperor Asoka was the first to establish hospitals in India and be encouraged, in the 3rd century B. C., the cultivation of medical herbs. No wonder the late H. G. Wells calls Asoka the noblest king in the history of mankind.

The Buddha laid the foundation for this movement. Once it is said an old Bikkhu of a surly disposition was afflicted with a loathsome disease the sight and smell of which was so nauseating that no one would go near him. It is said that the Buddha came to the Vihara where this unfortunate man lay, and on hearing his case he ordered warm water and

went to the sick room to nurse him. He administered unto this sick Bikkhu daily and as long as he stayed in that place, and declared, "Whoever monks nurse the sick will nurse me."

Mahatmaya occupied his life in fighting the evil of religious fanaticism of Muslims and Hindus of India ; and he thereby upheld a cardinal principle of Basic Human Rights. He died at an assassin's hands in his lifelong efforts to protect the religious rights of all.

Upali, a disciple of Jaina Mahavira, accepted Buddhism, and the Buddha requested him to respect and support his old religious teachers as he used to (Upali sutta). Similarly Asoka proclaimed in an edict (pillar Edict II) —"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion, and at the same time does service to the religion of other people."

Gandihji spent only five cents per diem on daily personal diet and used to wear simple clothing, for which he was nicknamed "half-naked fakir." This symbolised the cruel poverty of his countrymen, expressing the Buddha's conception of compassion (Karuna) and loving kindness (Maitreya) for all suffering humanity.

Bodhisattva Gautama did give up his royal attire (robes) for the rags of a poor peasant after his great renunciation from his father's palace, after taking a look at his son and wife. Mahatmaya often fasted to bring social and economic justice to the masses of his country, and to bring freedom and independence to India and other colonial countries. This most fascinating little 'giant' of a man not only achieved independence for his own mother India and her daughter Ceylon, but also retained the goodwill and friendship of the great British people—a great contribution to the peace and understanding of all humanity. Incarceration in British Indian jails did not

bring hatred but love and affection to the British rulers by his universal Karuna and Maitreya.

Gandhiji took great care of his ageing father, a civil servant whose health and career were both declining during his son's youth. In the Maha Mangala Sutta of the Buddha, which is highly cherished in all Buddhist lands, there is a comprehensive summary of Buddhist ethics. Here the support of mother and father, wife and children, are greatly stressed.

Here are three of twelve verses that pertain to this essay. The English translation from Pali is the work of Dr. R. L. Soni of Burma :

With the fool no company keeping,
With the wise ever consorting
To the worthy homage meeting ;
This, the Highest Blessing.

Mother, father aptly serving,
Children, wife duly cherishing,
Life's business coolly attending—
This, the Highest Blessing.

Acts of charity, righteous life,
From all alarms the kins protecting,
Blameless pursuits fully ripe—
This, the Highest Blessing.

These verses indicate why the problems of the old are not so acute in Hindu Buddhist lands, as people look after their parents in their old age. Illicit traffic in women and slavery were abhorred by the public. Although no civilization is perfect, but at least the influence of Buddhist ethics dominated the life in these Asian lands. It is not surprising that these great teachings of the Buddha impressed Gandhiji.

Mahatma had a premature and in many ways a disastrous marriage, which left him with horror of sexuality, which also made impossible the monastic retreat to which developing religiosity might have led, especially in India.

The Prince Gautama gave up a premature married life to become the Buddha, but Gandhiji abstained from sexuality later in life to become a total practitioner of brack-machariyn (celibacy).

"Self restraint and holy
Witnessing Truths of noble might,
Vision of Nibbana's height—
This is Highest Blessing."
—Buddha—Maha Mangala Sutta.

Gandhiji always condemned India's hideous caste system as the Buddha did over 2,500 years ago. He recognized this as one of the factors of the decline of the Great Indian Civilization.

No man is noble by birth
No man is ignoble by birth
Man is noble by his own deeds
Man is ignoble by his own deeds.

—Vasala Sutta—Buddha.

Gandhiji transformed the image of India on mankind and turned the national idealism from its mere adulation of the past, to blend India's ancient wisdom with modern Western thought. He made Indian elite to face the reality that India is a poor, starving and helpless country, and the fabric of her civilization had been tarnished by a hideous caste system and that it should be repaired, and he showed the ways to bring social and economic justice to her masses.

RELIGION AS SAVIOUR OF DEMOCRACY

VIJENDRA SINGH

Present democracies are only 'formal democracies', Sarvodaya leader Jai Prakash Narain declares. "The present democracies are only democratic oligarchies in their practical form. It is doubtful if the free spirit of man would even remain satisfied with it."¹ Another very strong hit on democracy was made by another Sarvodaya leader in the following words : "It is in name only that authority resides in the people and that government is merely their servant. Representatives once elected do what they like, and it is a delusion to think that the people can control policy by changing them at the next election. In modern conditions, their tenure of five years or so are equivalent to the old regimes of fifty years. Within their five years they can do so much and of such a nature that their successors would not be able to undo it."²

True democracy can never be established through untruthful and violent means. Untruthful means will remove all opposition by suppression or extermination. Suppression is another name of autocracy on the part of suppressors and of slavery on the part of suppressed. The suppression in all its forms will have to be done away with by the propagation of religious ideals. Fear of law can check the outward violence but not that violence which is seated in the mind or soul. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has very aptly remarked; "Politicians are not generally reputed to take religion seriously, for the values to which they are committed, such as the political control of one people by another, the economic exploitation of the poorer and weaker human beings, are so clearly inconsistent with the values of religion that the latter could not be taken too seriously or interpreted too accurately."³

Transgression of one's right is a common sickness. Therefore Sarvodaya lays special emphasis on man's duties and obligations. There should not be scramble for power. Power hunger has increased to such an extent that a people's representative sticks to office like a leech. He does not hesitate to change the party for selfish ends without taking consent of those who elected him. This is but a betrayal of trust reposed in him. Whatever it may be, he is not ready to risk the loss of his seat or office.

Man's perfection is the panacea for all human ills. If religion is the carriage which takes the man to the goal of perfection, it means that it is a cure for all human maladies. Then why its necessity has been emphasized for the survival of democracy alone? In monarchy and aristocracy the power is concentrated in a few. Persons are not equal in these systems. But in the democratic system where all are made equal and are granted rights there is a necessity that a sense of morality prevails. Otherwise everybody would strive to get more and to offer less. The result would be all pervading grudge and enmity. In communistic countries too influence of religion is not so necessary because there is concentration of power there also.

In democratic systems there is a necessity of moral sense in the electors and those who are elected for various offices. Though there are appropriate laws to check malpractices but laws in democratic systems have their own limitations. That is the reason why only one out of a thousand cases is held guilty by the courts. Malpractices adopted during electioneering can be checked only when fear of law is supplemented by religious fervour and moral sense.

Violence used in elections and after is also due to lack of religious fervour in the masses. In a despatch in the Hindustan Times, its

London representative Mr. V. R. Bhatt, said that 'The Archbishop of Canterbury has said that there is a wave of moral madness in the world which manifests itself in senseless and purposeless violence.'⁴ After the brutal murders of President John Kennedy, civil-rights leader Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy in quick succession as a part of rampant violence in a big democracy, had obviously shaken the faith in the democratic system in the minds of great persons the world over.

Condoling the death of senator Robert Kennedy, aggrieved and shocked Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, former President of India remarked "We talk of democracy and profess to decide issues by discussions and give and take but gangsterism prevailed."⁵ Principles of truth, morality, religion and non-violence are capable of providing a device which would safeguard democracy from going to ashes. "To a world lost in error and beset by the illusions of time, Gandhi announces the value of the timeless principles of the truth of God and love of fellow men as the only basis for establishing right human relationships."⁶ Gandhiji struggled hard for doing away with violence from the political life. "The greatest thing he taught us was that in our personal relations and in every phase of life, whether political or social, our behaviour must be forthright. Our objective may be very noble and high, but if the means employed are wrong it can not be truly achieved. Therefore the way of truth and non-violence is the only way to achieve our goal."⁷

In a democratic system power is wielded by people's representatives. It is therefore, likely 'to rouse their passion and exposes them to great temptations'. But if it is so, should we abandon the system? Instead of doing away with it we can try to resist those passions and temptations. Would we destroy a build-

ing which had developed certain cracks. Ghanhiji has a solution to overcome those cracks. His solution is "an abiding faith in the absolute value of truth, love and justice and a persistent endeavour to realize them on earth."

Democracy without religion is like a lame person walking without crutches. But one thing is there. If special efforts are not made masses are bound to degenerate. Spiritual advancement requires efforts. Nature of a man like water has a tendency to flow downwards. If it has to be taken to heights, checks are essential. Legal checks will not do. Religious or moral checks are essential for the uplift of man. Man can escape from the rigours of law but not from rigours of morality and religion.

Contemporary political philosophies study man psychologically but Gandhiji has studied him spiritually. He reestablishes a relationship between man and God. He wants to reconstruct the society with the help of religion. Truth and morality will prevail in it. Plato wanted a few to be philosophers

for his Republic because he wished to establish an aristocracy but in democracy power vests not in a few but in all and hence all are required to become 'philosophers' to a certain degree. Philosophers in the sense that they should not be immoral, violent and irrelegious.

1. Jai Prakash Narain, A plea to Reconstruction of Indian Policy. p. 47
2. 'Vinoba Pravachan' vol. III-69 p. 67 (Quoted by Vishwanath Tandan, The Social and Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya and Gandhi)
3. S. Radhakrishnan, Mahatma Gandhi : Essays and Reflections (Edited by S. Radhakrishnan) p. 13.
4. The Hindustan Times : Sunday the 9th June, 1968.
5. The Hindustan Times : Saturday the 8th June, 1968.
6. Dr. S Radhakrishnan, Mahatma Gandhi : Essays and Reflections Edited by S. Radhakrishnan) p. 258.
7. Rajendra Prasad, Legacy of Gandhiji, p. 111



INDIAN CULTURE IN SOUTH EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

RAVI S. VARMA

Introduction :

India has played a very important role in forming the cultural tradition of Asia. The Indian colonies in the Far East must ever remain the high water mark of maritime and colonial enterprise of the ancient Indians. An awareness of the unity of all life ; a love for the ultimate and the universal in preference to the immediate and the particular : tolerance ; cooperation ; and pacifism are some of the elements contributed by India to these countries. The account of the process of this contribution is very interesting.

The Extension of Indian Culture :

Cultural institutions in Burma or Siam or Indonesia are just an extension of the Indian institutions. The territory stretching from Burma to Indonesia was known in the ancient days as the Land of Gold and Indian merchants and princes settled there and founded their own colonies and spread Indian cultural influences. The Buddhist missionaries carried the torch of a new religion to these countries. All these people introduced Indian customs and manners, religion and philosophy, ritual, art and literature wherever they went. Indianised kingdoms soon came into being, either as a result of an Indian imposing himself on the native population, or else through a native chief adopting a foreign civilization.

The spread of Indian influence was in the nature of 'waves'. There were five such waves extending from the second or third century to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries when following the Muslim invasion of India Buddhist monks and teachers were forced to seek shelter in these countries. As a result of the impact of these waves there was total

'Indianisation' of some parts while in others Indian culture acted as a stimulus calling forth a rich response from the local genius. From this point of view we can put these countries into two zones—the Western and the Eastern. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra which fall in the Western zone underwent a thorough-going Indianisation whereas in the Eastern zone comprising the parts of Indonesia and Indo China the local genius was not completely submerged by Indian influence.

The Western Zone :

Ceylon was the first of all outer lands to come under the Indian influence. Prince Vijaya landed here in the 5th century B. C., married a local princess and became the father of the Sinhalese people. Indian arts and crafts began to be practised in Ceylon as also the rice cultivation. In the 3rd century B. C. Ashoka sent his son and daughter to Ceylon with a message of Buddhism and King Tissa of Ceylon received them cordially and adopted Buddhism. He built the first stupa and the first monastery in Ceylon. King Dutthagamani constructed Ruanweli Degaba and the Brazen Palace. Several gigantic stupas reveal the influence of Gupta art and architecture. The paintings of Sigiriya are an extension of the Ajanta School.

The Burmese legends claim long association with India. Buddhism had become established in Burma by the 1st century A. D. and Prome, the capital of Pyu became its chief centre. The Pyu alphabet is greatly influenced by Indian alphabet. Brahmanism also found a fruitful soil in Burma but finally Therawada

became the official religion and Pali helped the Burmese language "to grow, deepen and expand continually." Under the kings of Upper Burma Indian religion and learning, arts, music, architecture and sculpture flourished there.

Burma maintained close religious contacts with Ceylon and Pali Buddhism of Ceylon became dominant throughout the whole of Burma. Some eight hundred pagodas still stand in good condition in Upper Burma. When the Muslims invaded India a large number of Buddhist monks sought shelter in Burmese monasteries and brought a fresh influx of Indian ideas with them. The Indian influence is reflected in Burmese customs and manners, script and literature even today.

The Indianisation of Siam took place in the 2nd century A. D. when a colony which flourished till the 6th century A. D. was established at Pong Tuk. Dvaravati, the Indianised kingdom of Siam ruled from Cambodia to the Bay of Bengal till the 10th century and Gandhar, another such kingdom for three centuries till it was conquered by Kublai Khan. Buddhism became the official religion of Siam and in the 13th century the Thai King built a Buddhist temple which was a replica of the famous Bodh-Gaya Temple. The Siamese language borrowed its script from India and Pali deeply influenced its development. Indian sanskars have become a part and parcel of Siamese custom and ritual. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata have exercised a great influence on the Siamese literature and art.

At the site of ancient Kedah in the Malay Peninsula a Buddhist dedication of the 4th century has been discovered which shows an Indian settlement where the people followed Buddhism, flourished there. The most impressive monuments in Malaya are at Chaiya and Nakhon Sri Thammarat. The Kings bore

Indian names and Sanskrit was taught and understood in these kingdoms.

Indian ships and Indian religious missions visited Sumatra from the very early times. The Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya rose to great eminence in the 7th century A. D. There were about a thousand Buddhist monks in the capital and the Buddhist colleges of Srivijaya were held in high repute.

The original home of this empire was at Palembang but soon it planted its colonies in Java, Borneo and Phillipines. The rulers of this empire were known as Sailendras. They reached the height of their glory in the 8th century A. D. but the empire came to an end in the 9th century A. D.

The Sailendra kings were ardent Buddhists and Mahayan spread under them. They were a great naval power and had frequent contacts with India. They introduced a new alphabet and adopted the name Kalinga for Malaysia. They built many important temples in central Java such as the Chandi Sevu and Chandi Plaosan groups in the Parambanam valley and Chandi Mendut in the Kedu plain.

The Chandi Kalasan temple devoted to goddess Tara is the most magnificent specimen of temple architecture.

The Chandi Lara-Jongrang group of temples consists of eight main temples. These temples contain beautiful images of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The Shiva temple is the most magnificent.

The most renowned Buddhist monument is the famous stupa of Borobudur in central Java. It was built in the latter half of the 8th century and is notable for its massive proportions. It is built on a mountain top which has been carved into nine stone terraces, the lowest of which is nearly 400 feet long and the topmost has a diameter of 90 feet. From terrace to terrace, up the centre of each side, are staircases with covered gateways. The temple

has 432 images of Dhyani Buddhas and fifteen hundred sculptured panels depicting the scenes from the life of Buddha. They are fine works of art and have many features in common with the classic Gupta Sculpture.

Matram was another Indianised Kingdom in central Java. It soon came under the sway of the Sailendras. In Eastern Java new kingdoms arose in 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The kings erected many temples devoted to Hindu gods and goddesses. Sanskrit literature supplied the inspiration for temple sculpture. The Javanese Society also adopted a caste system but it was not so rigid as in India. The decay of Indian tradition started in the 15th century.

Another Indian colony Bali seems to have developed its culture independently of Java. King Ugra Sen ruled Bali in the second half of the 10th century. Bali retains its old and indigenous culture even to this day.

The Eastern Zone :

Indian culture played an important part in the history of ancient Indo China. This was known as Kambojdesha and consisted of two parts Funan and Chenala. The capital of Funan was Vyadhpura and its rulers descended from Kaundinya, a Brahmin who came from the Indianised colony of Malay in the third century A. D. and married a local Nagi princess. This kingdom ruled over the area for about five centuries and was very prosperous. More than a thousand Brahmins resided there.

It appears that there was a second wave of Indianization in Funan during the 4th-5th centuries. A second Kaundinya is said to have come from Panpan to reform the social and political institutions on the model of India. Kaundinya was succeeded by Jayavarman during whose time Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism flourished peacefully alongside of each other. Funan was annexed by

Kambuja after about a hundred years after the death of Jayavarman.

Kambuja or Chenala was founded by Rishi Kambu who married an Apsara called Mera. Their descendants were known as Khmers. They struck terror into the hearts of the neighbouring chiefs for eight long centuries. King Bhavavarman overthrew the kings of Funan and declared his independence, but the rise of Siam and wars with Champa brought about a decline of this kingdom in 15th century A. D.

The Khmer kings were Hindus and had their names ending in Varmana. King Yashovarmana founded the most glorious city of Augkor Thom in the heart of Cambodia in the 9th century. The city was surrounded by a high stone wall which had five gates with five great avenues each a hundred feet wide and running straight from one end of the town to the other. These avenues converge on the temple of Bayon which is a masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. Fifty huge towers surrounded by two hundred faces identified with Avalokiteshvara, the all merciful Bodhisattva, still stand facing the vagaries of the weather.

The most famous monument of the Khmers is Angkor Wat, the largest temple in the world. In combined magnitude and magnificence, it stands alone. It was built by Suryavarmana in the 12th century. An idea of the massive character of this temple may be had from its measurements. A two and a half mile long and 650 feet wide moat surrounds the temple. The broad paved avenue which runs from the western gateway to the first gallery is 1560 feet long. The first gallery measures about 800 feet from east to west and 675 feet from North to South. There are three such concentric galleries each double the preceding one in height. The central stone

ower on the third stage rises to a magnificent height of 213 feet.

All this vast edifice has been chiselled into endless beautiful designs and patterns. Even the outer walls are sculptured. In the first gallery there are panels ninety or hundred yards long, depicting the stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Vishnu in all his incarnations reigns supreme at Angkor Wat.

The religion of the Khmers was a curious mixture of the cult of Devaraya and Tantric Hinduism. There was a spirit of religious toleration and the king supported all the temples irrespective of the deity to whom they were dedicated.

The Khmers patronised Sanskrit and their inscriptions were drafted in classical Sanskrit style. Very often these inscriptions excel in literary merits the inscriptions so far discovered in India. The Khmers had a higher and deeper spiritual view of life which is the true essence of all religions. Education was widespread in Kambuja and students went to Ashrams which were on the model of Indian ashrams. These ashrams were powerful centres of Indian culture in Kambuja.

Like Kambuja, Champa was also a great centre of Hindu culture. The earliest colonists came from India and the Hindu king Sri Mara established a dynasty in the 2nd century A. D. which lasted till the 15th century.

The Chams created remarkable sculptures and a highly original type of brick temple architecture. The best known groups of

temples are at Myson Dong Duong and Po-Nagar. The Myson group has about sixty temples ranging in date from the 7th to the 12th centuries. The temple remains at Dong Duong date from the 9th and 10th centuries. The Cham figure sculpture closely followed Gupta models both in theme and technique.

Shaivism was the official religion of Champa but Buddhism also flourished there. A fine standing image of Buddha has been discovered at the Dong Duong site.

The people followed a caste system similar to that in India but the Brahmins, although holding a high position in the society, did not dominate the king. Hindu customs and festivals were prevalent and Sanskrit was the official language of the country. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were widely studied besides Hindu Philosophy and sacred texts of the Shaivites. Champa disappeared from history in the 15th century.

Conclusion :

The achievements of the Indian colonists in the South East Asian countries have been very great. They introduced Indian religions, literature, philosophy, social and political institutions and art to millions of people who readily accepted whatever ancient India had to offer. The Indian expansion was purely cultural and there was never a military conquest or annexation. This cultural conquest produced brilliant results of an abiding value. India, thus, played the role of a great civilizing force in the life of the people of South East Asia.

DISCIPLINE IN INDUSTRY

TARUN KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

To obey rules, to mould one's life according to law, not to ask 'why' but to keep oneself ready to do and die—these are the very essence of discipline. It means a systematic training or instruction and control which produces self-control, orderliness, obedience to some laws and regulations, and capacity for co-operation. It is formulated to obey some principle and regulations to give a check to reckless conduct. Again discipline may be defined as a systematic training intended to develop the mind along certain lines to teach restraint, respect for and willing obedience to recognised authority. Discipline reigns supreme on everything ; from the solar system to the tiniest ant we can find a strong sense of discipline.

Discipline in every walk of life is the most essential factor in a civilized society. In fact, discipline is the backbone of civilization and it is essential to a useful and happy existence. This applies to the individual and to the group, of which the factory is an excellent example. Therefore, discipline is essential in any undertaking where there is to be order instead of chaos. It helps towards maximum productivity. In order to increase production in the industries—it is essential that the workers put in their best as a disciplined army of artisans. Discipline and industry are closely inter-linked. In the words of Sri G. L. Nanda ; "Where the workers lose their sense of discipline, they and the community have lost something very precious. Without a high standard of discipline, there can be no prospect of either improved productivity or any effective participation of the workers in Management."

Now discipline can be defined as the 'orderly behaviour of subordinates'. It is a means of motivating employees. Discipline wants that each employee should work for the good of all and should not interfere in the rights of others.

In every sphere of industrial life discipline is necessary. "An industry without discipline is like a crowd without a purpose". Foyol has said that it is 'absolutely essential for smooth running of business and without discipline no enterprise could prosper'. Discipline in the broad sense means orderliness—the opposite of confusion in the plan and other segments of society. "It is a condition" write Koontz and O'Donnell, "to be achieved in the interests of the future welfare of the firm". It is all the more essential because the prosperity not only of the worker but of the entire nation, depends on the sustained growth of industrial development. It should not be considered as medium of punishment. Punishment is necessary to compel minimum performance, so that discipline is not broken further in future.

Morale and discipline are inseparable; if the morale is good the discipline will be excellent. A Personnel Manager who is sensible in all these things both tangible and intangible which build up and maintain good morale, the right spirit, the right attitude of mind in the men and women who work with and for him, will have little or no trouble in maintaining discipline. Discipline starts from the top. The people at the top must set exemplary conduct to be followed by the people at lower ranks. A consistent Personnel Managerial action throughout the organization is necessary

to ensure discipline. Discipline has to be reformative and punitive. It has to be basically founded on leadership, loyalty and dignity of labour.

There are three types of discipline :

- (1) Command or Enforced or Army Type.
- (2) The discipline which guides and instructs.
- (3) The Self-imposed discipline.

This (1) or (2) type of discipline is neither necessary nor acceptable in Industry. The Self-imposed discipline is the highest form of discipline and should be encouraged and desired. In it, all are regulated ; and all are force.

Under self-imposed discipline the employees themselves feel to maintain orderly behaviour for the prosperity of all. They place common interest above their personal interests. Such is essential for any co-operative work. But the environment or employment climate must be so created through effective management that such a spirit is developed spontaneously.

Problem of Disciplinary Action

The causes of indiscipline among the workers in India can be traced to rivalries among Trade Unions, ignorance and illiteracy among the workers, instigation and misguidance by outsiders and a fear psychology. With the advent of time, emergence of the concept of a social welfare state, the development of trade and industry and placing of numerous Acts on the Statute Book since the Independence of India, there has been a general awakening. The worker has started realising that he is an important component in the machinery of industry and is more critical about his rights and privileges. Naturally the master too has started feeling the pulse of his workmen. He cannot afford to be at the cross with the workers. Thus both master and workmen, in their respective fields, desire to have amicable relations with each other. It is now a legend of the past

when the services of an employee could be dispensed with, with one stroke of pen at the likes and dislikes of one person occupying the chair of the employer. Once a worker is taken into employment he starts feeling that his future is secured and so long he would discharge the duties entrusted to him faithfully, diligently and sincerely, nobody can deprive him of his livelihood. But there are workers who, inspite of the fact that all facilities and comforts have been provided to them in their working condition, do not play a fair-game. Wherever the conduct of such workers are deemed to be incompatible with the faithful performance of the duties entrusted to them in the employment of the management, it would amount to "Misconduct" in the broader sense which may warrant their dismissal from service. In order to get rid of such delinquent workers, disciplinary action has got to be instituted against them, so that they may not succeed in the furtherance of their evil deeds.

The code of discipline symbolises the current policy of Government to build up an industrial democracy on voluntary basis and to preserve industrial peace with the help and co-operation of employers and workers. It represents a voluntary moral commitment and is not a legal document. It becomes a living force in the day to day conduct of industrial relations. A good disciplinary policy involves two major factors :

- (1) Sound principles
- (2) Effective administration

As such a supervisor must be concerned quality, production cost, methods and any number of other things ; certainly one of his most important concerns is people. And one of the more difficult aspects of the art of handling people is handling discipline.

The present industrial relations situation is bedevilled with indiscipline and defiance of

legitimate authority. The working class, notably the younger generation, is being stirred with such ideas of democracy and egalitarianism that it tends to regard the authority of the management as inimical to freedom and equality. The frustration of rising expectations is compounding the spirit of revolt. The social context is such that discipline can no longer be imposed on an enduring basis by the mere exercise of management power. Labour legislation and the growth of the Trade Union movement have put severe restrictions on the erstwhile management prerogatives. The days of master ordering the 'servant' have gone or if they have not yet gone in some sectors, they are bound to go ere long. Much of labour discipline at the present juncture seems to arise from a situation in which the autocratic authority of management is no longer effective and there is nothing else in its place to fill the vacuum. Perhaps here lies the most important role of workers' education. 'Discipline'

must now acquire a meaning and entirely different modes have to be adopted for realizing it.

It should mean the voluntary acceptance by the workers in general of the legitimacy of management authority based on the realisation that no organisation can reach its goals without adherence to the necessary rules of the game by all concerned. Such an understanding can be promoted only through what may be called 'political education' in the sense of an education in the true nature and purpose of authority and the real significance of democracy. It is the function of workers' education to clarify misconceptions and to harmonise current social values and ideologies with economic necessities. In conclusions we can say, strong Trade Unions, proper education, labour management co-operation and human relations in industry can, therefore, lead to discipline among the workers. We must remember that "One step of discipline was indeed a giant step for industry".

THE GENESIS OF GENOCIDE AND BANGLADESH

K. C. JOSHI

That a state is answerable for its barbarous acts aimed at eliminating a particular tribe or race within its political sway was first proposed in 1933 by Dr. Raphael Lemkin to the International Conference on Unification of Criminal Law held in Madrid. His proposal was, no doubt, rejected then but in 1945 the German war criminals were indicted, *inter alia*, on the charge of genocide.

Genocide is a hybrid of Greek and Latin words. In Greek 'genos' means race, nation or tribe. In Latin 'cide' denotes killing. The concept of genocide was developed by Dr. Lemkin in his important work *Axis Rule in*

Occupied Europe published in 1944. He defined genocide as involving a wide range of actions, including not only the deprivation of life but also the prevention of life and also devices considerably endangering life and health. The intention behind this offence is permanent destruction of or crippling a human group.¹

This idea was carried by Dr. Lemkin to the United Nations and the result was the adoption of a unanimous resolution by the general assembly of the United Nations on December 11, 1946. The general assembly in this resolution affirmed that 'genocide is a

crime under international law'. It also said that the 'principals and accomplices' committing the crime 'are—punishable'. Thus, genocide was declared a new international crime similar to piracy.²

The general assembly of the United Nations adopted at its Paris session a resolution on December 9, 1948 approving the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The representatives of twenty states including that of Pakistan signed the Convention on December 11, 1948. Thus, the Convention on Genocide emerged in international law.

Genocide, which, is only a species of crimes against humanity,³ under the Convention means and includes acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups. In article 1, the contracting parties only confirm (and therefore, do not create a new crime) that genocide is an international crime which they undertake to prevent and, in case of commission, to punish the persons who commit it. It does not matter whether the crime of genocide is committed in peace time or during war. All persons whether they be constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals are covered by the Convention if they commit, incite or conspire the crime. The plea of act of state will therefore not be available to the states also.

The very important provision of the Convention is article VI which provides for the trial of persons charged with genocide by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed or by an international penal tribunal having the jurisdiction.

Applying the provisions of the Convention to Bangladesh, there is not even an iota of doubt that open genocide was committed in Bangladesh by the Pakistani Junta. The

criminal intent of liquidating the Bengali group is sufficiently proved by the indiscriminate and systematic killing of men, women and children since March 1971. About one lakh people were alone killed in Khulna town.⁴ Therefore, Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, the head of Bangladesh mission in India was perfectly right when he declared that his country would set up tribunals to try Pakistani soldiers who were guilty of the crime of genocide in his country.⁵ In fact, it is the only competent authority to try and punish those charged with genocide for there is no international penal court for the purpose.⁶ The trial of the criminals in this case will have to be vouched by providing the observance of the rules of natural justice. Though not obligatory for Bangladesh government, it would add to the objectivity of the trial if the noted jurists of the world and observers of the International Commission of Jurists are also invited to observe the trial.

There should not be any question of the jurisdiction of the Bangladesh courts for the trial of genocide perpetrated before the emergence of that state. International precedents are not lacking where persons were prosecuted for their offences before the state came into existence. The Yugoslav court of cassation has ruled that the courts of the country had jurisdiction to try and punish crimes committed on the territory before it came to form part of Yugoslavia.⁷ Similarly, in the *Eichmann case* (1962), the Supreme Court of Israel, sitting as a court of appeal, relied in part upon the principle of universal jurisdiction in upholding the conviction by a court in Israel of Eichmann, a Nazi German war criminal, for war crimes against humanity, thereby overruling the objections that the offences were committed before Israel was actually founded.⁸ The same proposition of law is applicable to the Bangladesh and she can try the criminals and punish them for all-

crimes they had perpetrated in clear breach of existing law by killing not less than three million Bangali peoples.

Connected with this is the question of extradition of the Pakistani army officers and soldiers prisoners of war in India. Article VII of the Genocide Convention specifically stipulates that genocide and other acts listed in article III shall not be considered as political crimes. The contracting parties pledge for extradition of such criminals in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

There is no extradition treaty yet between India and Bangladesh. But the Indian law of extradition is consolidated and codified in the Extradition Act, 1962. Under the Act, a foreign state may make requisition for the surrender of fugitive criminals and upon such requisition the Central government may direct a magistrate to enquire into the case.⁹ The magisterial enquiry is judicial and if he considers that a *prima facie* case is made out, he will commit the fugitive criminal to prison and report to the Central government. The Central government then decides on the requisition for extradition.¹⁰ The extraditable offences under the Indian Penal Code are listed in the second schedule to the Act. The offences of genocide are covered under the

Penal Code. However, the Central government can specifically add the offence of genocide to this schedule by notification.¹¹

The question of protection to the Pakistani prisoners of war in India under the Geneva Conventions also does not arise in extraditing the prisoners. The Geneva Conventions do not protect the war crimes and crimes against humanity. Moreover, the Genocide Convention is applicable for such crimes whether they are committed in peace or in war.

1. 41 *American Journal of International Law* 145 (1947).
2. *Ibid* at 150.
3. Gerald Fitzmaurice in *Horizons of Freedom* 52 f. n. 17 (1968).
4. *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 5, 1972 p.7.
5. *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 2, 1972 p. 2.
6. For the need of such court, see A. K. Kuhn in 41 *American Journal of International Law* 430 (1947).
7. See A. G. Noorani in *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, Feb. 1, '72.
8. Starke *Introduction to International Law* 248-49 (6th edn.).
9. *The Extradition Act*, 1962 Ss. 4-5.
10. *Ibid* Ss. 7-8.
11. *Id* Sec. 2 (C).



INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RETROSPECT : THE NEW FRONTIERS

GIRISH CHANDRA ROY

One of the significant facts emerging from the war of liberation of Bangladesh is that India has emerged a powerful nation in the world. India's emergence as a power was not due to the military supremacy which was demonstrated in the recent small range war with Pakistan. Rather the supremacy could account for the long needed change and turn, in the policy levels, which this country gave through her historic leadership, in the greater field of international relations. Those who wanted to blunt this immanent surge for the turn were sadly defeated and now are engaged in the act of heart searching—to find faults in their previous policies. A major defeat in this respect was suffered by the United States of America, which had, in an arbitrary way, dwelt in the self-created theory of balance of power. The military planning and the deployment of American forces had basically followed the same pattern in the post World War II period, to cope with a set of realities, as were generated by this theory. The chief motive, inherent in the balance of power theory was that, it was to preserve the status quo power relations, if not to create new changes in the American favour. This means, the pattern in the international relations were to continue which were a product of the colonial period as far as the new, developing nations were concerned in relation to the developed, Western nations ; and a status quo balance of power relations were to be preserved which were created after World War II, as far as the Western nations were concerned. Both of these goals, it should easily be recognized, were antithetical to the concept of freedom which India sought to establish in

the international relations field, for herself and for others after achievement of her freedom.

After World War II, the American foreign policy has been guided by the one ostensible objective, that of 'containing Communism.' This has accounted for the American one-sided and rather obsessive interpretations of the new realities in the international world. The new nations not only were dependent for the economic and technical aid for their material advancement on the advanced and rich nations, but they also have faced the internal pressures for change, in their internal social relations, consequently demanding new adjustments in external relations. The programmes of Western and American aid have pressurized the forces of change, depriving the Governments of the newly independent nations options to seek new associations, to recognize new realities, in the interest of preserving the old system.

The new societies have consistently sought leadership not only to find means of material progress and change for attaining greater measures of prosperity for their peoples, but also they have felt the demand for overcoming many of the confused entanglements and obstacles which restricted their freedoms for free action. This contradictory set of demands, emerging from a relationship with the advanced and powerful nations in relation to the newly developing, poorer nations, has exercised pressures on the Governments of these nations, making them unsteady in the domestic field and in their foreign decisions. In some basic respects, the freedoms of smaller and dependent nations almost have

been strangulated because of the overriding concerns of the super-powers.

The creation of the non-aligned group, the third block countries in relation to power blocks, was only a stop-gap measure, before actually reaching any meaningful equilibrium sought after by the new nations, after the end of World War II, and after their freedom from colonial rules. India provided the main leadership to the organization of the non-aligned nations, giving the group a credible philosophy and a recognizable platform, but later the non-aligned group lapsed only to the status of a pressure group, sinking down in the mires of power block politics.

The policy of non-alignment, which has from time to time been the object of severe criticism—for diverse reasons—at home and abroad, has been the foundation stone, and the pivot of Indian foreign policy, after independence. In 1962, in the United Nations General Assembly, Prime Minister Nehru in his memorable speech, quoting Buddha, said that India worked for a world order where all nations were equally victorious, and none vanquished. This in fact lays down the basic objective of non-alignment. Non-alignment as a polity did not evolve only after the formulations of the Panchasila, when as an independent nation India had to work out her relations with such close, immediate neighbours as China and Burma, in 1953, which further led to the staging of the Bandung conference of the Afro-Asian nations in 1955, in Indonesia. The basic principle of non-alignment has been intrinsically the part of India's historic freedom struggle, representing the ethos of the traditional culture of India. To seek truth through the means of non-violence has been the characteristic part of cultural aspect of India's independence movement. One can say without exaggeration that, the historic links of the

non-alignment policy extended farther back to her cultural history, and her cultural way of life as a historic nation. The military threats and the exigencies of modern power politics could not crush this thrust in India's cultural life. As the modern component of an ancient policy, the policy of non-alignment essentially sought to secure the basic liberties of nations, to safe-guard the freedoms of peoples to pursue their own creeds, to preserve their integrity and sovereignty and to pursue the political systems of their choice to work for the benefit of their peoples. The non-alignment policy was to sustain a dynamism in international relations, allowing nations to exist truthfully and to work for their own prosperity exercising their own faculties freely to select the avenues of cooperation of their choice in the international field.

The role of Pakistan, in the international field, in fact consistently went to contradict India's thrust for seeking out larger modes of integration and truthful modes of inter-relations in the international field. In fact, Pakistan was an inimical creation which violated the very spirit of India, and was created by the colonists to demolish it. The two-nation theory, placed convincingly before the British by the late Mr. Jinnah, were to create two nations in the Indian sub-continent on the basis of communal representations. This contention of the Moslem League was rejected by the Indian National Congress from the very start to the end. (See : Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation*, Harvard University.)

In case of India versus Pakistan, the American policy was to favour Pakistan. It is not difficult to understand why. The United States sought to neutralize India's sphere of influence by arming a small power in the sub-continent which was a rival, as a wedge against India's thrust to seek new dimensions

in international relations. It is not entirely true, as is stated in propaganda, that the American policy failure in the recent Indo-Pakistani conflict was due chiefly to President Nixon's favouritism to Pakistan, or his anti-Indian bias. (Reference : Publication of Anderson papers.) For, President Nixon was not the true architect of the long-term American policy, in relation to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Even the Americans themselves were not the real framers of this policy. They only pursued the balance-of-power theory, after their country became a super-power in all fields, after World War II. The real framers of the historic policy in this respect were the British. The Western policy in the Indian subcontinent were a product of the colonial entanglements ; the 'divide-and-rule' policy of the British further aggravated the Hindu-Moslem rivalry in this sub-continent, which led to the partition, because it was in their interest.

With the successful emergence of Bangladesh, as an independent, sovereign, secular nation, India has been able to recover the concept of freedom which had been lost in 1947 due to the partition on the communal formula. The liberation of Bangladesh sustains the continuity of a historic trend, which has been the life-principle of this nation. The wide-spread joy and rejoicing which was experienced in the national life in our country recently was due to the recovery of this freedom, and a resustenance of those objectives which the people of a nation hold precious.

It is said that the people of Bangladesh owed their freedom in a large measure, to the help they received from this country in their freedom struggle, and they are in historic indebtedness to us. The truth is that, it is the heroic stand, and sacrifices borne by the people of Bangladesh, to which this country remains in historic indebtedness. It was not

within the range of any one's expectations that the political map of India would alter so easily, within such a short period of time and this country would be free from the clutches of the communal tyranny, the seeds of which were planted only in 1947 by the creation of Pakistan. There is in this respect an indispensable link between the events. India and Bangladesh are in this respect historically linked, forming parts of one and the same culture. Pakistan is not only now a vanquished nation, as a concept it stands liquidated for ever. For this, our country also owes a great deal to the visionary leadership of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the fateful hour.

In the international world India has attained new measures of recognition and it has emerged as a new power, at least in the Asian continent. In the immediate future it would require consolidation of India's position in relation to the nations of South-East Asia, and the greater world. This way, as a power it could work to create new dimensions in the emerging field of international relations. The new mode of approach, in relation to the immediate neighbours and other countries on a bilateral basis, would naturally include three specific and broad avenues of relationships. First, the diplomatic field, which would include the programmes of cultural exchange, and the exchange of technical knowledge ; second, trade and the extension of technical cooperation ; and third, foreign aid. All these may require judicious planning, austere assessments of needs, and implementation of plans of change through the means of sound technical knowledge.

In the foreign policy field, it may prove of prime importance to abide with the policy of non-alignment with singular firmness. In the new surge of national enthusiasm for 'power', the country should be cautious to avoid

international power and military alignments. It may prove obvious, in course of time, that any abstention from the non-alignment policy would lead to national policy debacles. The recent Indo-Soviet treaty of Peace, Friendship and Progress, which was criticised as marking a departure from non-alignment, was a step in advance to strengthen the non-alignment policy. The major powers, as the experience proves, tried to prevent the rise of non-alignment policy in the international relations as a positive policy. The policy of non-alignment seeks to safeguard the basic liberties of nations against the super power domination, and thus it is a policy of positive modes of action. If thus examined, the treaty with Russia proves to be a significant landmark in the evolution of the non-alignment foreign policy. As the Prime Minister has stated, similar treaties with other nations could be signed, in keeping with the basic set of objectives of non-alignment.

In the recent conflict, it was revealed that the role of the U. N. O. was a 'passive' one. This was a factor of frustration to the many major powers also. It is only implicit in the nature of an organization, that when an organization grows old it becomes static and a preserver of the status quo. The United Nations as a world body was created by the Western nations, as a legacy to the League of Nations to preserve the balance of interests, to tackle an unsettled situation which was present after World War II. As far as the

new nations were concerned, it was clear that any real change of a revolutionary nature in international relations, could not come mainly from the precincts of the U. N. O. This fact should not be ignored as of minor importance, since it imposes graver responsibility on the new powers, prescribing positive roles of leadership for them. In this respect, to create new patterns in the international relations, after the old stagnant form, India's leadership comes to be of an exemplary nature, and proves a crucial factor in the field.

In the domestic field, broader modes of social control by the state, in the vast domain of economic and social life would be increasingly necessary to attain a minimum degree of social welfare in relation to the down-trodden masses in the population in the country. This internal development is significant for all purposes. Liberty actually has not flourished in a society which has not sustained a planned programme of social welfare, introducing social developments as an effective measures of social change in an integrated way in a society. To allow the broader segment of society to participate in the broader field of social welfare would actually permit the population to develop the concept of liberty in its true sense. On this fact would depend India's adequacy to play powerful roles in international field. This is the original role of our country in the international field envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, a society of truthful relations and constructive prosperity through the non-violent way.



REMINISCENCES OF 1943 BENGAL FAMINE & PUNJAB'S GENEROSITY

S. N. ROY

West Bengal has passed through many calamities since the Partition but none so great as the present one. The refugees, the flood and the cyclone have each contributed their full share to the mounting distress of this unfortunate state. But even this pales into insignificance in comparison with what overtook the whole of undivided Bengal in 1934. A million and a half people died in the famine of that year. Nine millions of refugees have come over to India since April, 1971, yet the number of death has not exceeded ten thousand. And most of this was due to cholera contracted on the way during the long journey and extreme exhaustion caused by malnutrition but none died of starvation in India.

The disaster of 1943 was the result of the utter callousness of the British Government if not of its vindictive policy.

I was in Lahore during this time as a teacher in the D. A. V. College. Punjab, the land of Lala Lajpat Rai, was then in the forefront of all great movements in the country—political, social, and educational. A number of the most outstanding people could be pointed out in every walk of life. Apart from Lala Hansraj, the founder of the D.A.V. group of schools and colleges, great figures like Sir Gangaram, the philanthropist and Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, the founder of the *Tribune*, Dyal Singh College and Dyal Singh Public Library, had left their mark on our contemporary history. Punjab indeed was throbbing with a new life.

As I have said before, famine had broken out in Bengal. The immediate cause was no doubt the natural calamities like flood and cyclone followed by a tidal bore from the Bay, twenty feet high, sweeping everything before it. The British rulers, instead of coming to the rescue of the people, aggravated the distress by their scorched earth policy. The Japanese had overrun southeast Asia like a whirlwind and were poised on the border of Bengal. The I. N. A. led by Netaji Subhaschandra Bose had penetrated into the Manipur state. Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, was shaking in his boots on the Simla heights. His advisers became so panicky that all food stocks in the eastern districts were burnt and all boats were sunk to prevent the movement of the enemy. Food could not be moved from one part of the country to another. This was what was then known as the Denial Policy. The Government could have reduced the ferocity of the famine by statutory rationing if it was so minded, but did nothing in the matter.

It must be remembered that the British Government had all along been callous in such cases. Whether in the earthquakes of Quetta or of Champaran or in the East Bengal cyclones or in the North Bengal floods, it had never come forward to help the people. All relief work was undertaken by private agencies. At the time of the Bengal crisis, Mahatma Gandhi was in jail and Acharya P. C. Ray, who had always taken a

lead on such occasions, was lying seriously ill. Besides, it was beyond the power of private agencies to do anything when the Government was in a mood to punish the people for their sympathy with the freedom fighters.

Rice and other kinds of cereals were to be found in plenty outside Bengal. In Punjab no one felt any pinch. Even *Basmati* rice was available at Rs. 15/- per maund, then considered a very high price. But not an ounce could be brought to Bengal. Hungry people roamed from village to village in search of food and unscrupulous hoarders made piles of money. (One Haryana merchant, who later on became a wellknown philanthropist, was one of them.) The coastal people invaded Calcutta—an invasion of beggars, alas, rather than of fighters. People in a similar situation now would take their food out of the bulging bellies of overfed people and would not die without a protest. While these people were dying like flies on the foot-paths of the city, the more fortunate looked on helplessly and thanked their stars that they had two square meals, minding not what the costs were and how they were met.

This tragic situation touched the hearts of some Arya Samaj leaders headed by Lala Khushal Chand (now Swami Anand Swarup Maharaj), the editor of the *Milap*. He and the other leaders of the Samaj (amongst whom Dr Mehrchand Mahajan was one) decided to raise funds and work amongst the unfortunate people. Their appeal had an immediate effect and a sum of three lakhs and a half was collected and more promised in cash and kind. One Amritsar cloth merchant promised one lakh and a half in cash and rice.

The work was then taken up in right earnest and Lala Suraj Bhan, then Head Master of the D. A. V. School, Lahore, (now Vice-

Chancellor, Punjab University) was put in charge of the mission.

But as he was a complete stranger to this city, it was decided that I should accompany him and do the spade work. I recollect with pleasure how during my short association with the D. A. V. College I could earn the goodwill and confidence of the leaders of the Samaj, particularly of Dr. Mehrchand Mahajan, Lala Khushal Chand, Principals Mehrchand and Sain Das.

The 1942 movement had caused great damage to the railway line and bridges. The Punjab Mail, instead of travelling by the usual route, followed a circuitous course and we arrived at Howrah late on the third night instead of in the early morning of the third day. The midnight sight of the Calcutta streets was heart-rending. There was a black-out and with great difficulty we went through the crowds of hungry people crying for food and pathetically striking their empty stomachs to show how empty they were.

We reached our destination, the house of a relative of mine in Ballygunge, at about 1 A. M. When we were about to take our late meal, the ground floor dining room was surrounded by people piteously crying for just a little morsel, the leavings of our plates. It was impossible to eat anything. We were overwhelmed with grief. The dining table next morning was shifted to an inner room to save us from embarrassment.

The first thing we could think of next morning was to plan our strategy for relief work. The local Arya Samajes were to be utilized for opening the *langarkhanas* (free kitchens) but the question was where to get rice or any other kind of cereals. Rice, as I have said before, was cheap in Punjab in spite of the war. We had been promised a free supply of the food-stuff. But it could not be brought to Bengal unless the Govern-

ment permitted it. The first thing we decided upon was to consult Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee for guidance. He knew me rather intimately and was glad to receive Mr. Bhan. He advised us first to meet Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy, then Food Minister in the Nazimuddin Government in Pre-Partition Bengal. Like Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the political star of modern Pakistan, he was a rhetorical sort of personality, swaggering and theatrical. After a long wait when we were admitted to his presence, he asked us : "Hello, Ray and Bhan, what's your game ?" When we explained the purpose of our visit, he flatly refused permission to bring rice from outside Bengal. I suspect he took us for traders in rice seeking a smooth business under a philanthropic garb. At any rate it suited his lofty pose.

Thus baffled, we met Mr B. B. Sen Gupta, the Managing Director of the U.P.I., to whom we were introduced by my esteemed friend, Mr. S. C. Roy (Padma Bhushan), now a wellknown industrialist and social worker. Mr. Sen Gupta was kind enough to circulate an account of our mission. This was published in all the local newspapers which in their turn spoke rather flatteringly about us and the purpose of our visit to the city. This started a little thaw in the Government circles. Eventually we came to know of the presence in the city of Sir J. P. Srivastava, then Member-in-charge of Food in the Central Government. He was staying at the Great Eastern Hotel. An interview with him was no difficult matter. Listen-to our case, he held out the promise to do all in his power to help us in our difficulties.

After a short interval, we received the necessary permission to get our supply of rice fram Punjab and eventually rice did come. Langarkhanas were opened at four or five places in Calcutta and Howrah and about a lakh of starving people facing sure death were

saved. Later on a centre was opened at Munshiganj (Dacca district) at the request of Shri Suryakumar Basu, Managing Director of the Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills. I conveyed a request of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the former premier of Bengal, to the leaders of the Samaj for help in cash to start a centre in his own district, Barisal. But as Mr. Huq fell seriously ill in consequence of a boat accident while touring his constituency, the proposal did not materialize.

I was in Calcutta for about three weeks in connexion with the relief work. When the work got going, I resumed my work at the college leaving Mr. Suraj Bhan behind in charge of the operations. He was succeeded by Lala Bhagwan, now Principal of a D. A. V. college in Punjab.

In one sense, it was a great relief (a shamelessly selfish sentiment no doubt) to be away from the horrible sights of Calcutta. Young and healthy people walking the streets in search of food fell dead before me on the pavement as though struck by thunder. In front of the European hotels, the Great Eastern and the Grand, resounding with the hilarious shouts of tomies, yankees, army contractors, smugglers and the new rich, desperate people fought for the leavings of their table. Even the vomit of the drunken revellers was not spurned. I have seen such scenes in front of the Great Eastern Hotel facing the Governor's house where a scramble for the dustbin was a familiar sight.

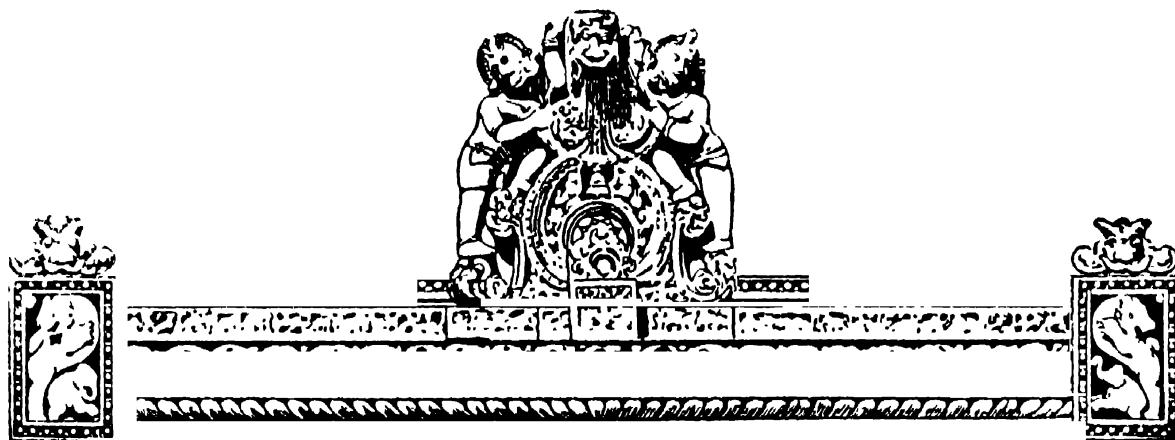
Brothels sprang up everywhere in the city, but particularly between Dharamtala street and Park street, where the unfortunate girls drifting abroad in search of food sold themselves for a morsel. If Calcutta has become what it is today, one must go back to those dark days to look for a special meeting of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha presided over by Lala Khushal Chand. I was asked by Lalaji

to give a first-hand account of our activities in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. I did this in my faulty Hindi but was acclaimed by the vast crowd that had assembled. There were eloquent speeches by the leaders of the Samaj, including one from the President who at the end held out a piece of cloth between his outspread hands asking for donations. I was thrilled to find how money came pouring in. At the end of the meeting a lakh and twenty five thousand was collected on the spot with promises of more. A skein of *khaddar* yarn spun by some political prisoners in the Lahore jail fetched three thousand rupees. This was an unforgettable scene which I vividly remember even after twenty-eight years. These were the glorious days of Punjab and it was a proud privilege to be associated with such a novel work.

There was a small Brahmo community in

Lahore those days. On my return to the city, I approached some of its leaders to do their bit in those momentous days. I am glad to remember that a small committee was formed with Rai Bahadur Dr. Jiwan Lal, Professor of Pathology of the Lahore Medical College, as Chairman and myself as Secretary. We managed to raise about five thousand rupees, Dr. Jiwan Lal having paid nearly half of the amount. Prof. Upendra Nath Ball, formerly Professor of Dyal Singh College, was then living at Contai (Midnapur district) after retirement. He started a relief centre with our money. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta augmented its funds later on.

I left Lahore in 1944 and, as far as I remember, those dismal days continued till the end of the war. Then came the Great Calcutta killings in 1946 to be followed by the Partition and the exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal to this part of Bengal in 1947.



SOME CONSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE REPORT OF THE CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS INQUIRY COMMITTEE, TAMIL NADU

D. N. BANERJEE

(i)

The object of this article is to discuss in brief some constitutional implications of the Report of the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee, 1971, which had been appointed by the Government of Tamil Nadu on 22nd September, 1969. This Committee had been constituted with a view to examining "the entire question regarding the relationship that should subsist between the Centre and the States in a federal set-up, with reference to the provisions of the Constitution of India, and to suggest suitable amendments to the Constitution so as to secure to the States the utmost autonomy." It consisted of Dr. P. V. Rajamannar as Chairman and two other members, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and Mr. P. Chandra Reddy. It will be referred to hereinafter as the Rajamannar Committee.

It seems to me from a careful perusal of the Report of the Committee that its members had started in their argumentations, as will appear from what follows, from a wrong assumption about the true nature of the Indian Union. This has materially influenced their recommendations as recorded in the Report. The Committee has said in the course of its Preface to its Report :—

"In making our recommendations, we have

not disturbed the essential framework of the Constitution (of India); nor have we jeopardised the integrity of the country. Our aim was not to destroy the present Constitution and frame another in its stead."

As we shall see later on, it is difficult to agree with this view. This observation of mine is practically confirmed by the following remark of the Committee in the concluding part of its Preface :—

"We believe that if our recommendations are accepted and implemented, our Constitution will provide for an ideal federal system of government."

As will appear from what is stated below, the provision for an "ideal federal system of government" was not the objective, for various reasons to be indicated later on, of the authors of the Constitution of India which came into force on 26th January, 1950.

(ii)

It should be evident from a careful examination of the main provisions of our Constitution with regard to the legislative, administrative and financial relations between the Centre and the constituent States of the Indian Union, that there might be, under these provisions, specially during emergencies, a tremendous concentration of power—legisla-

tive, administrative and financial—at the Centre. Under what category, then, should we place our Constitution—Unitary or Federal? “Unitarianism”, says Professor Dicey (*Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 157), “in short, means the concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible sovereign power, be that power Parliament or Czar.” And Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution.” The British Constitution is a good example of unitarianism, and the United States of America presents, to quote Professor Dicey (*ibid.*, p. 118) again, “the most completely developed type of federalism.” The principles underlying our Constitution are a compromise between the demands of regionalism and local patriotism and the requirements of unitarianism. As a result, our Constitution has in it some of the characteristics both of federalism and of unitarianism. It is, therefore, neither truly federal nor truly unitary. It is *quasi-federal* in character. That is to say, it is federal in form, with a pronounced unitary bias in certain circumstances. In normal times it is federal in form and character, but in times of emergency it has been so “designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system.” I may note in this connection what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India, stated before the Constituent Assembly on 4th November, 1948, with reference to the nature of the Indian Constitution as envisaged in the Draft Constitution of India. “The Draft Constitution”, he said, “is Federal Constitution inasmuch as it establishes what may be called a Dual Polity. This Dual Polity under the proposed Constitution will consist of the Union at the Centre and the States

at the periphery, each (being) endowed with sovereign—the term ‘autonomous’ would perhaps have been better—powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution. This Dual Polity resembles the American Constitution. The American polity is also a dual polity, one of it is known as the Federal Government and the other States (Governments) which correspond respectively to the Union Government and the States Government(s) of the Draft Constitution. Under the American Constitution the Federal Government is not a mere league of the States nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Federal Government. In the same way the Indian constitution proposed in the Draft Constitution is not a league of States, nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Union Government. Here, however, the similarities between the Indian and the American Constitutions come to an end....All federal systems including the American are placed in a tight mould of federalism. No matter what the circumstances, it cannot change its form and shape. It can never be unitary. On the other hand, the Draft Constitution (of India) can be both unitary as well as federal (sic) according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. Once President (of India) issues a Proclamation which he is authorised to do..., the whole scene can become transformed and the State becomes a unitary State. The Union under the Proclamation can claim if it wants (1) the power to legislate upon any subject even though it may be in the State list, (2) the power to give directions to the States as to how they should exercise their executive authority in matters which are

within their charge, (3) the power to vest authority for any purpose in any officer, and (4) the power to suspend the financial provisions of the Constitution. Such a power of converting itself into a unitary State no federation possesses. This is one point of difference between the Federation proposed in the Draft Constitution, and all other Federations we know of."

The logical corollary to this statement of Dr. Ambedkar with regard to the nature of the Indian Constitution as envisaged in the Draft Constitution is that the proposed Constitution was not really intended by its authors, as the Rajamannar Committee appears to think, to be a truly or ideally federal Constitution. I, therefore, reiterate, in view of the provisions of our Constitution in regard to the legislative, administrative and financial relations between the Centre and the constituent States of the Indian Union, that our Constitution is *quasi-federal* in character. It may be argued that this *quasi-federal* character of the Constitution may mean, in effect, in certain circumstances, a considerable erosion of "State" autonomy. I agree. We have, however, got to put up with this in view of the past history of our country and the danger of centrifugal forces still operating in it in the shape of regionalism, linguism, and other anti-national, fissiparous tendencies, sometimes working even under foreign inspiration. Events in our country since 1950 have justified the political foresight and statesmanship of the authors of our Constitution in framing it as they did. Indeed, the unitary elements in our Constitution are great safeguards against any possible operation of the forces of disintegration in the country. Thus, they are rather ultimate controls for ensuring efficiency and stability to the working of its constitutional machinery. Without them our

country may go the way of the Republic of the Congo in 1960-61.

I may also note here what that distinguished jurist, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India, stated before the Constituent Assembly on 23rd November, 1949, on the question of Centre-State relationship under the (proposed) new Constitution of India. He observed :—

"In regard to the distribution and allocation of legislative power, this Assembly has taken into account the political and economic conditions obtaining in the country at present and has not proceeded on any *a priori* theories as to the principles of distribution in the constitution of a Federal Government. In regard to distribution, the Centre is invested with residuary power, specific subjects of national and all-India importance being expressly mentioned. A large list of subjects has been included in the Concurrent List to enable the Centre to intervene wherever there is necessity to intervene and override State legislation, though normally, when the coast is clear, it would be open to the State legislatures to legislate. The existence of a large list of Concurrent subjects is calculated to promote harmony between the Centre and the Units, and avoid the necessity of the courts having to resolve the conflict if there is to be only a two-fold division of subjects. In order to meet unforeseen national emergencies and economic situations, special provisions have been inserted providing for Central intervention. In this connection, it has to be remembered that the whole concept of federalism in the modern world is undergoing a transformation. As a result of the impact of social and economic forces, rapid means of communication and the necessarily close relation between the different units in matters of trade and industry, federal ideas themselves

are undergoing a transformation in the modern world.....The problem is one to be faced by each country according to the peculiar conditions obtaining there, according to the particular exigencies of the particular country, not according to *a priori* or theoretical considerations. In dealing with a matter like this, we cannot proceed on the footing that federalism must necessarily be of a defined or a standard type."

Further :

"The break-down provisions in the Constitution are not intended in any way to hamper the free working of democratic institutions or responsible Government in the different Units, but only to ensure the smooth working of the Government when actual difficulties arise in the working of the Constitution.....The Central Government in India in future will be responsible to the Indian Parliament in which are represented the people of the different Units elected on adult franchise and are responsible to Parliament for any act of theirs. In one sense the break-down provision (*sic*) is merely the assumption of responsibility by the Parliament at Delhi when there is an impasse or break-down in the administration in the Units."

(iii)

Considerations of space do not permit me to quote any further view on the question of the Indian Union. I agree, however, with the authors of our Constitution that there are advantages in describing India as a *Union of States* rather than a *Federation of States*, although the Constitution is *ordinarily* federal in form and character. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the use of the word *Union* in the description of India is deliberate, and no State in it has any right to secede from it. "The Federation" (of India), he observed on 4th November, 1948, "is a Union because it

is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different States for (the) convenience of administration, the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single *Imperium* derived from a single source. The Americans had to wage a civil war to establish that the States have no right of secession and their Federation was indestructible. The Drafting Committee (of the Constituent Assembly) thought that it was better to make it clear at the outset rather than to leave it to speculation or to dispute."

The Rajamannar Committee appears to have given practically no importance in its Report to the observations of Dr. Ambedkar and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, as quoted before. This will be evident from what follows.

(iv)

I have explained above, with reference to the views of some of the authors of our Constitution, the true nature of our Union as contemplated by them. I propose now to deal with the particular recommendations of the Rajamannar Committee, the acceptance of which will produce, to my mind, disastrous consequences on the unity, integrity and progress of our country. It may be noted here that it is not possible to discuss within the scope of an article like this all the recommendations of the Committee.

With a view to ensuring the stability, vigour, effectiveness and the workability of the Indian Union, the authors of our Constitution provided in it for the issue of directives by the Centre to the constituent States of the Union in certain circumstances. For instance, under Article 256 of the Constitution, the executive power of every such State is to be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the

laws made by Parliament as well as with any laws existing from before the commencement of the Constitution and applying to that State, and the executive power of the Union is to extend to the giving of such directions to any such State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. (There is an additional provision in this connection for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, for which reference may be made to the Constitution.)

Again, under Clause (1) of Article 257 of the Constitution, the executive power of every constituent State, is to be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union, and the executive power of the Union is to extend to the giving of such directions to the State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. And under Clause (2) of the Article the executive power of the Union is also to "extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the construction and maintenance of means of communication declared in the direction to be of national or military importance" (*sic*). But nothing in this Clause is to be taken as restricting the power of Parliament to declare highways or waterways to be national highways or national waterways, or the power of the Union with respect to the highways or waterways so declared, or, again, the power of the Union to construct and maintain means of communication as part of its functions with regard to naval, military and air force works.

Further, under Clause (3) of the Article the executive power of the Union is also to extend to the giving of directions to a constituent State as to the measures to be taken for the protection of the railways within the State.

The Article has provided, however, that if, in carrying out any direction given to a

State under its Clause (2) or Clause (3) as shown above, costs have been incurred in excess of those which would have been incurred in the discharge of the normal duties of the State if such direction had not been given, then there must be paid by the Government of India to the State such sum as may be agreed upon, or, in default of any agreement, as may be determined by an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of India, in respect of the costs so incurred by the State.

It should be evident from what has been stated above that the Centre can give, under Articles 256 and 257 of our Constitution, directions to the constituent States of the Indian Union in certain circumstances. There are some other provisions in the Constitution, such as Article 353 and Article 360 thereof, under which also the Centre can give directions to the constituent States in certain circumstances. Now, a question may legitimately be asked as to what would happen in the event of the failure on the part of a constituent State to comply with, or to give effect to, any such direction given by the Centre. The Constitution has adequately provided against any such contingency. Under Article 365 of the Constitution,—this Article does not apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir,—if "any State has failed to comply with, or to give effect to, any directions given in the exercise of the executive power of the Union" under any provision of the Constitution, then "it shall be lawful for the President (of India) to hold that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions" of the Constitution. This implies that Article 356 of the Constitution will be immediately brought into operation against the recalcitrant State and that the President will take necessary action under it.

I may refer in this connection to a very instructive discussion in the Constituent Assembly of India on 15th November, 1949. Grave objections were raised by some members of the Constituent Assembly to the insertion of the proposed Article 365 in the new Constitution of India, on the grounds that it would be a very drastic provision ; that it would place in the hands of the Centre arbitrary powers which might be used by it capriciously ; and that such powers might thus be abused by the Centre to a great detriment of the autonomy of the constituent States of the proposed Union of India. On the other hand, it was argued by some members of the Constituent Assembly that the insertion of the proposed Article in the new Constitution of India was very necessary for strengthening the position of the Centre in the Indian Union ; that it would conduce to the unity, stability and vigour of the entire system of government in the country ; that it would act as a great safeguard against the operation of any centrifugal forces in its politics ; and that it would considerably help the new Constitution to work effectively.

For instance, what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, stated in this connection in the Constituent Assembly on 15th November, 1949, is particularly worthy of note here. "It is quite clear in the judgment of the Drafting Committee", he observed, "that this is not only necessary but consequential, for the simple reason that, once there is power given to the Union Government to issue directions to the States that in certain matters they must act in a certain way, it seems to me that not to give the Centre the power to take action when there is failure to carry out those directions is practically negativing the directions which the Constitution proposes to give to the Centre. Every right must be

followed by a remedy. If there is no remedy, then obviously the right is purely a paper right, a nugatory right which has no meaning, no sense and no substance. That is the reason why the Drafting Committee regarded that such an Article was necessary on the ground that it was a consequential Article. Therefore, my contention is that Article 365 does not introduce any new principle at all. It merely gathers together or assembles the different sections in which the power to issue directions is given and states in general terms that wherever power is given to issue directions and there is a failure, it would be open to the President (of India) to deem that a situation has arisen in which there has been a failure to carry out the provisions of this Constitution....The object of Article 365 is to make the thing complete...This provision, if I may say so, is very necessary because we all know—those of us who were Ministers during the time of the war, how these mere powers of giving directions turned out to be infructuous when the Punjab Government would not carry out the food policy of the Government of India. The whole Government can be brought to a standstill by a province not carrying out the directions and the Government of India not having any power to enforce those directions. This is a very important matter and I submit that the change (i.e., the proposed insertion of Article 365 in the new Constitution of India) made is not only consequential but very necessary for the very stability of the Government."

These arguments rightly prevailed upon the Constituent Assembly and Article 365 was very wisely incorporated by it in the Constitution of India (*The Constituent Assembly Debates* of 15th, 16th and 17th November, 1949).

It appears that the Rajamannar Committee did not attach any importance to the observations of Dr. Ambedkar quoted above,

as well as to those of some other members of the Constituent Assembly like, for instance, Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad and Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, who also strongly supported, in view of the past history of our country, the insertion of the proposed Article 365 in our new Constitution. Otherwise the Committee would not have recommended that "Article 365 should be repealed". It has made this recommendation obviously on the ground of the incompatibility of the Article with its conception of the autonomy of the constituent States.

The Rajamannar Committee has also recommended that Articles 256 and 257 of our Constitution to which I have referred before, should be deleted. It has held that these Articles are "repugnant to a federal constitution", and "contrary to the federal principle". They are, therefore, "objectionable and constitute a serious intrusion into the executive field" of the constituent States. Further, they are "unprecedented and affect the autonomy of the States". The Committee seems to have ignored the fact that our Constitution was rightly intended by its authors, as I have shown before, to be a *quasi-federal* Constitution and not an ideal federal Constitution. It has suggested, however, an alternative that if Articles 256 and 257 are to be retained, then no direction, "as contemplated in Articles 256 or 257 should be issued, except in consultation with, and with the approval of," an Inter-State Council to be constituted in the manner and with the functions proposed by it in its Report. Such an alternative would practically defeat the purposes for which Articles 256 and 257 have been inserted in our Constitution. I consider, however, that these Articles and some other Articles of this nature in our Constitution as jinches of our constitutional mechanism. Deletion of these Articles in the interest of

the so-called autonomy of our constituent States would ultimately lead our country to its reversion to its eighteenth century condition. This would result in the disintegration of India as some political parties with their extra-territorial loyalty mischievously desire.

The Rajamannar Committee should have borne in mind that, as Professor Wheare has shown in his *Federal Government* (2nd Ed., pp. 20-22 and 238-39), "the law of the constitution is one thing ; the practice is another.... Legal powers which might turn Canada into a unitary state have been subordinated to the federal principle in practice.... The fact is that Canada is politically federal and that no Dominion government which attempted to stress the unitary elements in the Canadian Constitution at the expense of the federal elements would survive."

Again :—

"Although the Canadian Constitution is quasi-federal in law, it is predominantly federal in practice. Or, to put it another way, although Canada has not a federal constitution, it has a federal government. Its constitution is, as a matter of law, not completely federal ; it is quasi-federal. But its constitution in practice, its system of government, is federal predominantly. For the student of the working of federal government, it is obvious that the practice of the constitution is more important almost than the law of the Constitution."

I have no doubt in my mind that in actual practice usages and conventions will also grow --if they have not already grown--in our Union which will prevent unnecessary interference by the Centre with the autonomy of its constituent States. At the same time, I must emphasize that the Centre must interfere, and interfere effectively, if such interference becomes necessary in the interests of the unity

and solidarity of our nation and for the maintenance of law and order in the country.

It should also be noted here that we should not be very dogmatic in regard to any particular form of government for a country. Those who argue that the centripetal elements in the Constitution of India militate against the spirit of federalism, should not ignore Montesquieu's doctrine of the relativity of political institutions. "Federal government", to quote Professor Wheare (*op. cit.*, pp. 33-34) again, "is not always and everywhere good government. It is only at the most a means to good government, not a good in itself. And, therefore, while I have maintained that it is necessary to define the federal principle dogmatically, I do not maintain that it is necessary to apply it religiously. The choice before those who are framing a government for a group of states or communities must not be presumed to be one between completely federal government and completely non-

federal government. They are at liberty to use the federal principle in such a manner and to such a degree as they think appropriate to the circumstances. Strict federalism in a few matters, or modified federalism in all matters, or any other variation in the application of the federal principle may be the wise solution to a particular problem. Whether federal government should be adopted at all, and, if so, to what extent, are questions the answer to which depends on the circumstances of the case."

This is political realism and the authors of our Constitution have shown a due deference to it in framing the Constitution. The Rajamannar Committee appears to have ignored this important aspect of the question. What we wanted for our country was a strong centre along with an adequate autonomy for the constituent States. The Constitution has, on the whole, provided for this, and that is its best recommendation.



THE PLAGUE OF 1897-1907 AND ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

GANESHILAL VERMA

The plague epidemic, with varying intensity, had been there in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, for nearly a decade (1897-1907). The plague had actually followed on the heels of famine there. The North West Province and Oudh had suffered a terrible famine in 1895. The plague was a new, widespread and dangerous disease; its origin was not known even to the medical men. The uncertainty of the causes of plague had led to a number of conjectures, hypotheses and rumours. The government was not oblivious to the danger of plague epidemic and had adopted a programme to fight and eradicate it. The Anglo-Indian and the vernacular journals too had their own view of the problem. The behaviour pattern of the common people showed that they too were guided by certain notions and apprehensions about the plague and anti-plague rules. All these diverse factors, associated with plague had left an impact on the social and political life of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.¹ An attempt has been made in this paper to study these diverse factors, to enable us to understand the socio-political repercussions of the plague epidemic in that period of history.

1. The Plague : Nature and Duration

The bubonic plague ravaged India in the closing years of the 19th century and the

opening decade of the 20th century. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the plague lasted in epidemic form, mostly between 1897-1907. It started at the fair of Haridwar in 1897. A few hundred cases of plague were detected there after the fair was over. The number of plague casualties was stated to be 73 only.² In 1898, too, the plague was mostly confined to Haridwar, Kankhal and Jwalapur areas. The number of plague victims in that year was 116.³ In 1901, however, the plague assumed serious epidemic form in Allahabad, Ballia, Benares and Jaunpur. Small outbreaks and sporadic cases occurred in other districts as well. Altogether 9,778 deaths from plague were reported in that year.⁴

The plague showed an increased mortality in 1902. It claimed 40,223 lives. In 1903, the plague established itself in epidemic form in all the divisions except Kumaon and Rohilkhand. 27 districts were severely attacked and 84,449 lives were claimed. Plague virulence increased further in 1904, hitting the eastern districts badly. The total number of deaths in that year was 179,082. The height of calamity was reached in 1905, in which year 383,802 lost their lives.

The plague thereafter began to subside. The death rate was reduced to 69,660 in 1906. In 1907, plague-mortality decreased further.⁵

Numerically speaking the plague was not the main agency of the destruction of human lives between 1897-1907. For even in 1905 (climax year of the plague) the deaths from fever were nearly three times more.⁶ The deaths, caused by cholera, small-pox, dysentery, diarrhoea and similar other diseases were many times more than those caused by the plague. Yet the plague was the most dreaded disease. This was so because of two reasons. Firstly, the origin of the plague was a mystery even for the medical persons. The doctors were not able to diagnose the real cause of the plague epidemic. Many hypotheses were prevalent among them such as the contagion might be carried through human agency, or through merchandise ; through grains, etc.; insanitary living might be responsible ; rats might carry it. Secondly, the disease was highly contagious. In India it had at first broken out in Bombay in 1896. It was supposed that plague's contagions were unwittingly imported with the goods from Hongkong, which suffered plague's ravages in the preceding years. In Bombay, however, the plague had spread with alarming rapidity. In September 1896, about 20 cases were detected there. In October 276 persons died as a result of plague. In November of the same year, there was further increase in the plague-mortality. In December (1896) there were 1160 deaths from plague, while in January (1897), nearly 1,700 people were dying per week. The Bombay plague was causing anxiety in the Red Sea Littoral, the Mediterranean countries and other countries that traded in Bombay.⁷

It was natural, therefore, that anxiety and concern was felt in the official circle in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, when some cases of plague were detected at Haridwar in 1897.⁸

2. The Government's anti-plague policy and changes in the organizational set-up

The unusual rapidity profoundly influenced the British administrators in India. The Government of India had already passed the Epidemic Diseases Act and obtained the services of the doctors of international fame like Dr. Hoffkine, Dr. Yerson, Dr. James Lawson and Mr. Hankin to serve on the plague commission.⁹

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was headed at this time by Sir Antony MacDonnell, who enjoyed the prestige as the most efficient officer in the British India. When plague appeared, therefore, in 1897 in the villages near Haridwar, certain important changes were effected in the organizational set up, besides the instructions given to the Haridwar Municipality for enforcing sanitary measures. A system of circle organization and inspection was established in the vicinity of Haridwar, in order to check the disease effectively. In 1899, when plague showed signs of increase in the areas of Punjab, health officers were appointed in all the large cities of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. A circular was also issued to the district magistrates, prescribing Act XX in all towns and villages. The maintenance of village sanitation body was made necessary and inspecting officers were directed to record their notes on the important features of local sanitation.¹⁰

Meanwhile the plague spread menacingly in the Calcutta city. This brought danger close to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Large proportions of Calcutta's mill-hands, domestic servants, syces and punkha pullers, etc. belonged to Benares and Gorakhpur divisions. Owing to the alarm of plague in the Calcutta city, these men had

begun to return to their homes. The influx of these emigres made it necessary for the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to create special administration in order to cope with the situation. Special arrangements were enforced, therefore, in the eastern districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. There circles under European officers and with suitable medical staff were established. The circles were divided into sub-circles, in charge of native officers. The duty of these officers was to inspect villages on a weekly or biweekly basis. Accompanied by the village officials and the landlord, these officers were to examine all the newcomers to the villages in order to find out the existence of any suspected plague case.¹¹ The arrangements for the observation of the plague cases, were made at all the important railway stations. The observers' aim was to intercept the suspiciously ailing travellers and to take down the names of all those passengers, who were not ill but who had come from the plague infested tracts. The destination of such persons were to be put into the registers and the officers at their destination were to be informed about their coming.

The fact that people's reaction against the anti-plague rules was very strong, led the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to relax the preventive measures against the plague. The emphasis thereafter was put on the sanitary measures. The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh felt certain that the sanitary improvements would be welcomed by the people.¹² As a result of this policy sanitary improvements were effected in the cities and towns of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Great attention was paid to drainage system. The construction of large and important drainage works was

undertaken at Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Benares and Farrukhabad. The other important projects in connection with drainage were planned for Saharanpur, Kosi Hathrasa, Haldwani, Deoband and Dehradun. Important sanitary improvements were also effected at Mussoorie.¹³

This shift in emphasis in anti-plague policy of the government was the result of rethinking on its part. The government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh increasingly left it to the people to adopt the preventive measures on their own. It had abandoned the practice of establishing the inspecting and reporting agencies because of the irritation of the people and the huge expenditure. The only alternative which remained for fighting plague and which was adopted by the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was the improved sanitation. Favouring the sanitary measures against plague, Sir James La Touche, the Lieutenant Governor had written to Lord Curzon that cleanliness was a great gain and that they should have some results for their expenditure in the shape of surface drains, paved lanes and cleaner towns. He also informed him (the Viceroy) that the one preventive, which the people would not object to was sanitation, and that they would welcome it in towns.¹⁴

The reaction of the press and people

The educated public was very much exercised over the mysterious nature and the seriousness of the plague epidemic. As the exact cause was not known various views were held about the origin and nature of plague. Broadly speaking, two kinds of views were prevalent in the contemporary Press. The Anglo-India Press ascribed the outbreak of plague to the filthy habits of the Indian people, who were not willing to live a clean life. According to them, the Indians lived like savages in dark, ill-ventilated and over-

crowded houses and not like civilized people in accordance with the laws of sanitary science. As a practical suggestion to check the ravages of plague, the *Pioneer* (Allahabad) and other Anglo-Indian journals advocated the destruction of rodents. The efforts of the Anglo-Indian journals for the rat-destruction and for the sanitary improvements, had the support of many native newspapers such as the *Nasim-i-Agra* and the *Gauhar-i-Hind* (Bijnore).

The nationalist press was, however, not convinced of this view of the Anglo-Indian papers. According to the nationalist press the exact cause, for the outbreak and spread of the plague in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and elsewhere, was the poverty and undernourishment of the people. For the greater number of death from the plague was among the classes, who were comparatively more clean, but who were physically weak and could not efficiently feed themselves.¹⁵ The Brahmins had lost heavily on account of plague, but none could accuse them of being filthy. Among the Sudras, the Ahirs were not as filthy as other lower castes were, yet they too had lost larger numbers than other lower castes had done.¹⁶ The nationalist newspapers had asserted that plague followed on the heels of famine and that there was a close connection between the two calamitous visitations. The best preventive, according to the nationalist journals, was improvement in the condition of the people. In the circumstances of poverty and pestilence, such measures as rodent destruction, which was, by the way, disagreeable to a large number of Hindus, would be inadequate and useless.¹⁷

This should not, however, give the impression that the nationalist journals were entirely against the preventive measures. In fact the Indian press, including the nationalist

journals, had protested against the policy of reticence, practised by the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, after 1901. For instance in 1902, when the plague was bringing havoc in Allahabad, and people were fleeing to other places, many journals like the *Advocate* (Lucknow), the *Hindusthan* (Kalakankar) and the *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) demanded stricter preventive measures. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) had demanded 'a clear statement of the number of attacks and deaths in every town and of the steps taken to eradicate the disease'.¹⁸ The *Hindusthan* (Kalakankar) after describing the situation at Allahabad, wrote : 'it behoves the authorities to take the strictest measures to suppress the epidemic or else there is great danger of spreading'.¹⁹ The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) also wrote to bring to the attention of the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the fact that owing to the increasing virulence of plague at Allahabad, 'a number of the people of that town had already sought refuge in Lucknow and many of them are coming in. The examination of passengers at Lucknow station should therefore be strictest'.²⁰

While the educated people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were engaged in controversy over the causes of the plague epidemic and measures to prevent its ravages, different kinds of rumours were spreading among the common people. The *Riyal-ul-Akhbar* (Gorakhpur) had described a number of rumours, which were current among the common people.²¹ These rumours are interesting as well as expressive of the ignorance of the masses. It was rumoured, for instance, that, inoculation was intended to discover 'Mahdi'. For 'Mahdi' veins, in accordance with Muslim superstition, would give out milk instead of blood. Rumours continued to prevail throughout the period.

Such was the height of ignorance of the people that a large number of them attributed the spread of the plague to the British government itself. An old woman was reported to have asked the Municipal Secretary, in a sadly earnest accent, not to sprinkle any more red powder, as he had killed enough men in that quarter.²² Another interesting rumour had also reached the ears of Sir John Hewett, the Lt.-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, when he was to visit Agra in November 1907. It was rumoured that the Lieutenant-Governor was going to Agra in order to spread plague there. As a precaution, to ensure the success of His Honour's special object, the strike was said to be engineered on the East India Railway, by the Government itself, so that the people might not escape from the city of Agra.²³

As a result of these wild rumours, plague-phobia took possession of the people's mind. They had begun to fear plague rules more than the plague. There was panic among the people. They used to run away at the approach of doctors. In a fancy show at Fyzabad, a rumour about the impending visit of a lady doctor, made the people run helter-skelter.²⁴ The *Etawah Punch* had described the effect of plague inspection at the Etawah railway station to the following effect. There was consternation both among the people and the villagers. The latter had given up travelling by rail and avoided going to the towns. The bazaars looked gloomy and the courts were deserted.²⁵ The mere inspection at the railway station had given the impression to the people there that plague had broken out in their area.

The Kanpur riot was also the result of such apprehensions and uneasiness, felt by the people. The feelings in the people there ran high, when an only son of a tradesman was removed from his house in the Nawabganj

mohalla of the Kanpur city. A rumour to the effect that two children had also been taken to the plague-hospital, made the people excited and they rushed to the plague-hospital, burned it to the ground and killed 5 hospital attendants. The riot was a serious one. The army had to be called in to restore order and peace was ultimately established by the Lt.-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, himself.²⁶

Reason for common people's opposition to the anti-plague measures

At first, this kind of the behaviour of the people seems strange and devoid of any knowledge of health and sanitation. They opposed anti-plague measures, which were for their welfare and when normally cooperation could be expected of them. That this opposition to the anti-plague policy of the Government had been confined to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was not the case. A more militant opposition to the anti-plague measure was evident in the Bombay Presidency. Yet the important and very interesting part of the situation was that the common people in the native states were cooperating fully with their respective governments for the eradication of plague. The example of the native state of Baroda can perhaps help here. There also, the plague was raging violently and had claimed 10,196 lives in 1902-3. The number of plague deaths in 1903-4 was 14,946 in Baroda State.²⁷ The Government and the people had tried to face the calamity of plague in cooperation with each other. The Sanitary Commissioner (Dr. Krishnarao Vishwanath Dhurandhar) and other high officers were touring the state and inspiring confidence in the people. Popular lectures were delivered on sanitary subjects, such as personal care of health,

cleanliness, purity of water, uri and soil, mosquitoes and malaria, etc. By the command of the Maharaja, small tracts on sanitary subjects were published in the vernaculars and distributed broadcast.²⁸ The fumigation of houses with the neem (*indica nimbolia*) was tried. A pill, prepared by the chief medical officer Dr. Shamsuddin Suleman, was widely distributed among the people.

The people's cooperation was admirable in all the measures that the Government of Baroda State took for fighting plague. The people, there did not even object to inoculation. 51,198 persons got themselves vaccinated in 1902-3. 52,802 persons were vaccinated next year.²⁹ The educated people had extended their unstinted support to the state government for fighting the plague. There was no controversy in the press, because the administration had already accepted their view on the origin of the plague. It was admitted that famine and plague were closely linked calamities.³⁰ In fact the Government of the Baroda State had continued the famine relief measures, such as suspension of land revenue, remission of accumulated arrears, advances in the form of *Taqavi* to cultivators on a large scale, during the time of plague.³¹ Moreover, the Baroda State shared the responsibility of fighting plague with the newly organized Panchayats. The village panchayats, with the help of the school teachers were to take care of village sanitation. The village panchs and sarpanchs were to arrange for the removal of rank vegetation from the vicinity of wells, the assignment of places [for washing, the regulation of manure heaps and repairs of roads, etc.

This explains the difference of approach for fighting plague, that was adopted in the British Provinces and the native States. In native states, people's cooperation was sought in order to eradicate plague ; in the provinces

the emphasis was on the efficiency of the anti-plague organizational set-up. The efforts of the anti-plague administration were crippled for want of sympathy and cooperation on the part of the people. The racial and social differences had made the cooperation in the British provinces between the people and the government well nigh impossible. One had to agree, perforce, with the view expressed by Maulana Mohamed Ali who had said at that time that 99 Indians out of every hundred did not understand the Englishman and all without any exception feared them.³² The two races practised social aloofness and that had produced suspicion and misunderstanding between them. This was why, the simple anti-plague measures provoked resentment and caused riots in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and elsewhere in the British administered provinces.

The effects on society and literature

The plague had the effect of uniting the Hindus and Muslims. As the anti-plague rules infringed the privacy of ladies, the Muslims and Hindus alike felt the prick, because of the observation of 'Pardah' by the house-wives. The two communities had shed animosities to each other and became united in opposition to the anti-plague rules. The contemporary press had noted the cordiality developing between the Hindus and Muslims, with satisfaction. The *Dabdab-i-Qaisiri* (Bareilly) found the Hindus and Muslims, making mutual advances for friendship and love and was more than satisfied with this 'good out of evil', as the preceding 8 or 10 years were marked by Hindu-Muslim riots.³³ The *Hindusthani* (Lucknow) wrote more in a martial tone about the Hindu-Muslim unity. The journal said that the cordiality between the two communities was surprising and causing discomfiture and sham to the professional mischief-mongers.³⁴ Sir Antony

MacDonnell had related a very interesting incident, which throws remarkable light on the plague's contribution to the Hindu-Muslim unity. In Azamgarh and Ballia districts, there was likelihood of an anti-cow killing agitation in 1899. The secret meetings of the Hindus on the one hand and the Muslims on the other, were going on. A Hindu-Muslim riot seemed imminent. Shortly afterwards the plague spread to Azamgarh and Ballia and the plague inspectors came for observation. This was enough for the Hindus and Muslims to end their enmity. The possibility of plague had induced them to end antagonism and to unite in opposing the anti-plague rules.³⁵

The plague had its effects on the educated classes also. Their social conscience was aroused by the suffering of the common people. The educated people seemed to recognize the value of the preventive measures. Through their efforts, the sick people got themselves admitted into the hospitals. In 1904, the number of persons, treated at dispensaries of all kinds, amounted to about one-tenth of the population of the province.³⁶ In fact, it was felt that the province needed a larger supply of hospital assistants and a college for training assistant surgeons. In the closing months of 1904, a movement was started to found a medical college at Lucknow as a memorial to Prince of Wales' visit. The popularity of the proposal was shown by the spontaneous liberality with which all classes contributed to the cost.³⁷

The misery and the suffering of the common people, during the years of plague ravages, deeply touched the hearts of sensitive and literary persons. In fact, there happened as a result of this phenomenon a great change in the style and motivation of the popular Hindi literature. Henceforth the Hindi literature had begun to reflect the true condition of the society. The foremost

literaryman of the period, Pt. Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi had advised his fellow poets and prose-writers to stop writing novels like '*Rasa Kusumakar*' and '*Jasvantjasobbusan*', which degenerate the taste of society. He called upon them to write about the great ancestors and emancipators of the past ; for that would be an immense gain for the Hindi literature.³⁸ It is noteworthy that most of the Hindi writings of this period, reflect the criticism of the British rule. It is particularly remarkable, for in the last decades of the 19th century, the Hindu poets had been profuse in the praise of the British rule.³⁹

The Political Repercussions

Certain political repercussions too followed as a result of the plague calamity. The view of the educated people about the origin of the plague was that the famine and the plague were inevitable twins, that the latter must follow the former. The true causes of the plague, in the opinion of the educated people, were the poverty, and the undernourishment of the people. In fact, there was an acrimonious and long controversy between the educated classes and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, over the issue of the poverty of the Indian people. The former held and latter denied that the Indian people had become poorer under the British rule and the repeated occurrences of calamities like plague and famine were the result of the impoverishment of the Indian people. As a result of this controversy, the criticism against the British rule grew and became sharper. The people were pointing out to each other that while the Indians were dying in shoals like birds and flies, there was no end of concerts and parties among the rulers, who considered themselves immune.⁴⁰

As a result of the growing dissatisfaction against the British rule, militancy was gaining ground in the common people. In the press

too, there was the carping criticism of the British rule in India. Even the moderate papers like the *Advocate* (Lucknow) had urged upon the government to suspend railway programmes and to starve other spending departments in order to spend every pie for preventable deaths from plague, because it was the first and foremost duty of the government.⁴¹ That the militancy was growing was admitted by the responsible British officers. Sir Antony MacDonnell had written to the Viceroy that there was a growing spirit of independence, apparent among the people; that the control of the British officers over the masses was getting weaker and that the movements of the Maulvis and Mullahs was noticeable.

Conclusion

The plague was a bad thing. For nearly a decade or so, it hit our society hard. There were blessings in disguise in it. The Hindu-Muslim unity was a good thing. The new motivation in the Hindi literature was a change of immense significance. The attention of the educated people and the government was turned towards the problem of public health, medical facilities and public sanitation. Last but not the least was the growth of militancy in the national movement. Certainly these were not the direct results of the plague but nobody would deny that these socio-political factors were greatly strengthened by the plague epidemic of 1897-1907 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

1. North-Western Province and Oudh was renamed 'The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh' in 1901.
2. *The United Provinces of Agra & Oudh Administration Report 1897-98* (Allahabad, 1900), p. 168.
3. *Ibid.*, 1899-1900, p. 177.
4. *Ibid.*, 1901-2, p. 59.

5. All these figures have been taken from the chapter on 'Health and Sanitation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Administration Reports' of the relevant years.
6. Plague deaths=383,802
Fever deaths=1063,596
Source : *The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Administration Report 1905-6*, chap. on health and sanitation.
7. *The Report on moral and material progress and condition of India, 1896-97*, as laid before the House of Commons, by the Secretary of State for India, pp. 29-30.
8. Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to Margaret, April 27, 1897 ; *Harcourt Butler Correspondence*.
9. *The Report on the moral and material progress and condition of India 1896-97*, op. cit., p. 30.
10. *The U. P. Administration Report 1898-99*, op. cit., p. 169.
11. Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, dated April 7, 1899. *Curzon Correspondence*.
12. Sir James La Touche's letter to Lord Curzon, dated June 10, 1903. *Curzon Correspondence*.
13. *The U. P. Administration Report 1902-3*, op. cit., p. 51.
14. La Touche's letter to Lord Curzon, June 10, 1903. *Op. cit.*
15. *The Advocate* (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
16. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1902.
17. *The Bharat Jiwan* (Benares). August 25, 1902.
18. *The Advocate* (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
19. *The Hindusthan* (Kalakankar), February 24, 1902.
20. *The Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), February 25, 1902.
21. *The Native Newspapers Report of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh, 1902*, p. 170.

22. Afzal Iqbal (ed.), *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 18-19.
23. Sir John Hewett's letter to Dunlopsmith, December 5, 1907. *Minto Correspondence*.
24. *The Oudh Punch* (Lucknow), June 23, 1898.
25. *The Native Newspapers Report of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh* 1902, September 1, pp. 556-57.
26. Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, April 29, 1900. *Curzon Correspondence*.
27. Baroda Administration Reports 1902-4 (Bombay, 1905), p. 208.
28. R. C. Dutta, *Baroda Administration Report* (Bombay, 1906), p. 164.
29. Baroda Administration Report 1902-4 (Bombay, 1905), p. 208.
30. Ibid., pp. 116-17.
31. Baroda Administration Report 1904-5 (Bombay, 1906), p. 277.
32. Afzal Iqbal, *Select Writings of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (Lahore, 1944), p. 18.
33. *The Dabdaba-i-Qaisiri* (Bareilly), March 23, 1898.
34. *The Hindusthani* (Lucknow), June 15, 1898.
35. MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, dated April 21, 1899. *Curzon Correspondence*.
36. *The U. P. Administration Report* 1904-5, p. XII.
37. Ibid.
38. Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, *Kavi Kartavya Saraswati* (Allahabad, 1901), p. 252.
39. Lavmisagar Varsneya, *Bhartendu ki Vichardhara* (Allahabad, 1948), p. 3.
40. *The Advocate* (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
41. Ibid., April 20, 1902.
42. Sir Antony MacDonnell to Lord Curzon, September 29, 1899. *Curzon Correspondence*.



Current Affairs

Farakka Barrage and Feeder Canal

Dr. K. L. Rao has spoken about the Farakka barrage and the feeder canal which is expected to carry 40000 cusecs of water from the dam to the Bhagirathi river at Calcutta. His words have two points which require to be examined by the public of West Bengal. Point one is that Dr. Rao considers 20000 cusecs good enough for maintaining the easy movement of steamers in the Calcutta Port. He being a person who deals with irrigation, should not have made a statement of this sort. People who have made a special study of the subject of movement of steamers in Calcutta Port have found that 40000 cusecs would be required to increase the depth and flow of water here, and Dr. K. L. Rao should not have expressed a contrary opinion just because it suits his purpose. Using river water for irrigation is not an absolute necessity. Well irrigation is widely practised in Uttar Pradesh and there are no special reasons why well irrigation should not be availed of to meet the requirements of the farmers of Uttar Pradesh. There are many lakhs of Uttar Pradesh citizens in Calcutta who earn their living here by working directly or indirectly in connection with the traffic of goods and persons handled by the Calcutta Port. If the farmers of Uttar Pradesh require Ganges water so badly that the interests of the Calcutta Port should be sacrificed for their irrigational needs, then all Uttar Pradesh dwellers should be asked to leave West Bengal, so that this state has fewer persons to provide employment for. If Calcutta has to maintain

10/20 lakhs of Uttar Pradesh people, then the health of the Calcutta Port has to be maintained in full strength and the farmers of Uttar Pradesh have to find water for their fields from sources other than the rivers which feed the Ganges. Further, Dr. Rao has said that 20000 cusecs could be spared for two months for the Cauvery project. He also says that Calcutta should get 20000 cusecs only for two months. If that is so then a dam should be built somewhere in Uttar Pradesh for accumulating the 20000 cusecs for two months and then using that water for irrigation later on without interfering with the working of the Farakka project.

The main thing to remember is that W. Bengal has an economic structure which can be kept going only if the Port of Calcutta functions effectively. A very large number of South Indians and people from North Indian States live in West Bengal. All these people and the managers of their States of origin should know that unless every help is given to West Bengal to run her economy smoothly, West Bengal would not be able to play host to all South and North Indians who choose to come to this State for trade, commerce, industry or service. If West Bengal has to depend entirely on her own immediately available resources, she will have to recast her economy in a new pattern which may not accommodate a few million outsiders.

Confiscation of Savings a National Policy ?

If a technical person or some one who has excelled in the sciences or the arts chooses to

go out to a foreign country, he or she can command a salary which might work out at 100000 rupees per annum. Even after paying income tax and other dues and expenses in foreign countries one may save about 10000/20000 rupees per annum out of this income. The accumulated total of these savings for 25 years would be 400000/800000 rupees. In India a person will first pay out a major portion of his or her income in taxes and if a good standard of living is maintained the expenses may just about leave a saving of 10/20 percent which may accumulate to 5/6 lakhs of rupees in 25 years working life. Our national managers are now busy working out how much they will permit an earning member of society to keep as savings. Rajasthan being a land of profit and saving makers has chosen to declare that 2½ or 3 lakhs of savings should be enough for a family of five persons. They will, perhaps, decide that earnings too must not exceed Rs. 50000/- gross per annum. That means all well qualified persons in India will get half the salary that they will be able to obtain in other countries. There is a brain drain from India and thousands of Indians have already gone out to other countries as wage earners. As even sweepers earn higher salaries abroad compared to what Magistrates or Professors earn in India; this drain of skill will be intensified as "Socialism" takes clearer shape in India. In another twenty years, if "Socialism" develops along the lines laid down by our politicians, India will be a land of third raters and all good workers, scientists, artists, scholars and technicians would find it better to leave the country. One may think that the state will force people to stay and work in the country at the rates of wages fixed by the state. Everyone knows this does not work out in practice as envisaged. People will go abroad as salaried workers at

low rates of wages and then qualify to earn higher wages. They will not come back thereafter to India. Even in Russia the minimum wage paid is about a very low percentage of the highest wages paid to qualified persons. In India if the minimum wage is fixed at Rs. 2000/- per annum, the highest wage rate must come to about Rs. 150,000 per annum. Such wage rates will have their savings which may come to 20000/25000 rupees per annum. How would all that fit in with the economic norms that our politicians dream of?

The Sorrows of Railway Travel

In pre-independence days the Indian railways had four classes for passengers. First, Second, Intermediate and Third were the four classes. There were many more lavatories and much more privacy in all classes. One must however admit that the third class passengers had a raw deal, though they paid very low fares which were considered the lowest in the world. Now-a-days we have four classes too, viz. A. C. class, First class, Second class and Third class. All classes have sleepers and a system of reservations. But the lavatories are fewer proportionate to the number of passengers and the compartments are connected by corridors. As the locking arrangements are quite often found defective, safety is not assured. There are many cases of crimes committed in railway trains and the reasons are mainly found in lack of safety devices. When one comes to other comforts one has to say that the Indian railways are ill equipped to travel by, unless one travels A. C. class which is very expensive and the increases in fares are still continuing. The food supply used to be very good during the British managed days. But when independence came our politicians, as has been their practice, saw profits and gains where there

were none or only normal profits existed, and wanted to abolish the contractual system of food supplies. After a trial of direct food supply the contractors came back with reduced competence to do their work. Then they were sent out again for reasons best known to our all knowing politicians. The food supplies became execrable and the tourists who visited India went back highly dissatisfied. The contract system has been reintroduced by Shri Hanumanthiah again and his choice of contractors has not been happy. We found the waiters in A. C. class compartments on the Kalka Mail dressed in blue jeans and the food served was inedible. Shri Hanumanthiah possibly has food habits of the congress ascetics ; but when one pays a good price for food one expects something better than gourds boiled in chilli water. The fish was unrecognisable and the chicken hacked to pieces in a manner which would cause a nervous break down to good cooks. We were told the contractor supplied food to members of Parliament. We have not studied the health reports of M. P.s but we may assume that they have iron constitutions to survive after partaking of the Hanumanthiah menus. In any case, we North Indians like to admire South Indian cooking from a good distance and not by actually eating it. We suppose this reaction is similar in South Indians when they are given North Indian food. But South Indian railways have no North Indian managers.

Pollution From Thermal Power Station Concerted Timely Action Needed

Although electricity is a clean form of energy at the point of consumption and it can have growing uses for environmental protection purposes, such as mass transit systems to replace the growing demand of automobiles, in recycling wastes and for other purposes, thermal power production is also a

formidable source of pollution. Large quantities of waste products from thermal power plants in the form of solids, liquids, gases or heat are discharged into air, water or on the land.

There is increasing concern about the effects of such discharges on the environment and the resulting problems. These concerns have led to greater attention being given to pollution control and aesthetics in the planning, construction and operation of power stations. Many of the environmental problems, however, are inherent in the technology and a considerable research and development efforts are needed and are currently under way in advanced industrial countries to overcome some basic drawbacks.

Although the problems in the Indian context have not quantitatively reached alarming dimensions which they have reached in some advanced countries, the problems have already started showing up at certain locations. But in the dynamic context of a rapidly growing sector, this is at best a brief breathing spell not to be wasted in complacency but for planning ahead, exercising foresight and taking timely action to farestall or mitigate potential environmental hazards.

POLLUTION SOURCE

The gaseous and solid effluents due to burning of coal and oil in the thermal power plants create hazards. Smoke is not normally emitted by power stations except for short periods when lighting up from cold or when a station is used as a peak load station. Power stations are potential sources of serious pollution by grit and dust partly because of vast quantities of coal consumed and partly because much of it is fired in pulverised form.

In India the oil sources are meagre. There are however abundant reserves of low grade high ash (nearly 30-40 per cent) coals which has become the primary fuel in thermal

power generation. The high ash content of coal gives rise to problem of fly ash when the escape rate of fly ash in the atmosphere becomes very high. Some power stations have to burn middlings and rejects from washeries having nearly 35-45 per cent ash content.

Pulverised fuel fired boilers are normally provided with mechanical collectors which arrest 80 to 85 per cent of the fly ash in the fuel gas. Electrostatic precipitators, when provided singly or in combination with mechanical collectors, can collect 98 per cent of the fly ash in fuel gas. With the use of tall stacks and by using high efficiency precipitators the pollution can be reduced to a desired level.

Disposal of the solid ash either retained at the bottom of the furnace or arrested by the mechanical collector and electrostatic precipitator always presents a major problem for the power station. Most of this ash is used for dumping and land filling. The unplanned operation of ash filling in the low lying land may cause serious problems of pollution of water course during rainy seasons. A possible use to which this ash can be put is in the manufacture of concrete. It can find use in brick making as additive clay and also in road making.

Large quantities of sulphur dioxide are emitted daily by the thermal power stations using coal oil. These emissions beyond a certain level can cause danger to human health. Exposure to sulphur dioxide have been found to damage the animal and plant life and also materials. Long exposure to sulphur dioxide at low concentration level can be dangerous.

To meet the growing demands for power, it is expected that by 1981, nearly 50 million tonnes of coal will be burnt in the various power stations, producing (on the basis of

complete burning) nearly 15 million tonnes of ash. If no methods are adopted nearly 20 per cent of this ash, i. e. 3 million tonnes per year or 8800 tonnes per day will be getting into the atmosphere. With the use of mechanical collectors, this quantity gets reduced to 1,325 tonnes per day and with electrostatic precipitator, this quantity can further be brought down to nearly 180 tonnes per day. At a site having a 100 MW station the ash getting into the air, after adopting all methods, will be nearly 1 tonne per day.

Although Indian coals have low sulphur percentage (0.5 to 0.6) 50 million tonnes of coals will discharge nearly 600,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide per year into the air, as no provision can be made to reduce this quantity. Thus 1600 tonnes of sulphur dioxide per day will get into the atmosphere.

So far, environmental considerations have not been taken into account in India in any systematic manner in planning and siting of a thermal power station. The locations tended to be decided on factors like availability of water, and economic issues such as cost involved in coal transportation, power transmission costs etc. No laid down environmental criteria were followed. The precipitators wherever incorporated were done more for safety of equipment, rather than on environmental considerations.

ACTION NEEDED

Thermal power plants in India thus become the focal point for action to protect the environment. Construction of power stations is necessary to meet the growing power demand although such stations are sources of environmental degradation. The problem at hand is really to relate and if possible reconcile these conflicting public interests, namely, supplying more power and maintaining the environmental quality.

There is a necessity of identifying the

nature of environmental problems created by thermal power stations. The first step is to evaluate pollution making potential of a proposed new plant. Comprehensive, well coordinated and timely evaluation of environmental implications should be available in the planning processes. By this process environmental questions can be examined, discussed and resolved well in advance of the scheduled construction.

The cost for environmental protection will have to inevitably find their way into the price of electricity. We should not penalise the future generations by foisting on them environmental degradation by refusing to incur the costs of environmental protection. A basic necessity for controlling the thermal power station effluents is the establishment of standards based on objective analysis of what can be discharged into the environment without doing undue harm.

The environmental effects of plants to be built over the next decade will be significantly much more important than those of all existing station facilities combined. Installation of pollution control facilities could be more expensive and difficult in the older power stations. It is much more economical to install pollution control equipment when the plant is being built. Economic improvements due to increase in sizes of units give another incentive to install pollution control equipment. Many older plants in India are located in urban areas where problems are more acute and probably a greater expense on pollution control in such power station is justified.

Decision about location of thermal stations should be based not only on considerations like availability of adequate land, water, minimum cost involved in coal transportation and power transmission costs etc. but weight

should be given to considerations of preserving air and water quality, assuming safety and a variety of ecological and aesthetic factors. A major power plant siting consideration is the disposal of waste heat into water course, since unplanned heat disposal might create problems of thermal pollution. The location has thus to satisfy both economic as well as environmental considerations.

Nature and scale of emissions, air quality and meteorological data provide the basic information for understanding the air pollution problem of an area. In India there is no 'emission inventory' of any place. It is of prime importance to have systematic monitoring of particulate matter and sulphur dioxide in areas in the neighbourhood of a thermal power station. Such an emission inventory is also needed for a location where a power station is being proposed.

Environmental quality management has to be backed up by research and development efforts. The research problems are to be carefully identified as major environmental benefits can be expected from them. A better technology is to be developed for using Indian coals in a manner compatible with the environmental concerns. The waste products both solid and gaseous have to be reduced and their emissions to air and water have to be controlled. We have mechanical collectors and electrostatic precipitators for handling the ash but there is nothing to control the sulphur dioxide. A proper technique for containing the sulphur dioxide has to be developed.

It is important to develop a better understanding of environment itself so that the intrusion of current and future technological advances can be minimised. Certain ecological and geological considerations also need study.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

About Apartheid

The following extract is from *Time*.

South Africa's expanding economy has given nearly every white householder the means to afford black domestic servants. In Johannesburg, the nation's largest city, the demand for black maids, nannies, cooks, chauffeurs and gardeners has increased so sharply that blacks now outnumber whites by nearly two to one. But South Africa's white *apartheid* government does not want the domestic workers to live in the city. Reason: too many blacks on the street at night. Thus it has decided to force the servants to move into a complex of high-rise "hostels" on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The plan has set off a hot racial debate.

The barracks-style quarters, says Gerhardus van der Merwe, who is in charge of the project, are designed "to ensure that inmates will live and relax together under pleasant conditions"—and inmates is precisely the word. According to the government's plan, the twelve-building complex will provide accommodations (strictly segregated according to sex) for some 60,000 blacks, most of whom are married.

So far, two five-story structures have been completed. They have no elevators, no electrical outlets ("these people would just abuse them," said an official) and no heating ("to keep costs down"). The bathtubs—five for every 100 people—are not even full size. The government made sure, however, that the buildings included police offices and cells for potential troublemakers, as well as electronic-

cally controlled doors that can be used to seal off any part of the building "in case of unrest." The black workers, who earn between \$20 and \$50 a month, will have to pay \$8 a month for the privilege of sharing a room with three other people.

Orwellian Horror

By last week, when the first two hostels were scheduled to open, the proposed living conditions had raised a storm of protest. Progressive Party M.P. Helen Suzman called the hostels an "Orwellian horror." White women, churchmen and students staged placard protests. Some of the shock felt by chic matrons over the city's "white by night" policy, as it is called, was undoubtedly at the prospect of having no servants to wait on candlelit dinner parties—but by no means all of it was. At a jam-packed citizens' meeting Anglican Bishop John Carter condemned the hostels as the work of "morally sick" people. Said one white housewife: "My maid, who is 66 years old, just wept and said to me: 'Madam, we are people, not cattle.' "

The government did its best to defend the scheme. "It compares favorably with white migrant laborers' accommodations overseas," said Van der Merwe. Nonetheless, mindful perhaps that a similar attempt at a "white by night" policy aroused such concern in the nearby town of Randburg that the ruling National Party suffered seriously in local elections, the Johannesburg city council decided to postpone the hostel opening for

another two months. "We are putting in an open-air cinema, and the women's block will get a basketball court," explained an official. "We are also considering putting in heating."

Motor Cars for Moscow Dwellers

People living in Moscow so far had very few cars. Things are changing and soon many more citizens of Moscow will have automobiles. The following account is taken from *Time*:

In Moscow last week, the 150,000 or so citizens who are privileged to own private cars were engaged in an annual spring ritual. First, they stripped the tarpaulins from their autos, most of which had been left under wraps all winter because of the ferocious frosts. Then the cars were carefully polished (a dirty auto can bring a \$1 fine), and inspected by police. Only after that could Moscow's motorists stream out of the city for the budding birch woods and the May Day weekend, the first three-day holiday of the spring season.

They encountered few traffic jams, but that idyllic situation may not last long. For the first time in history, the Soviet government is making a massive, long-term investment in order to meet consumer demand. A main part of that drive is aimed at satisfying Russia's growing auto mania, or *automobilizatsia*, which is now rampant from Tallin to Tomsk. Russians are stampeding to buy the \$5,600 Italian-designed Zhiguli cars, adapted from the Fiat 124, that are rolling off the new assembly line at Togliatti at the rate of 1,000 per day.

Social Impact. The auto age is already beginning to affect Soviet manners and morals in ways that the regime may not have entirely foreseen. Time Correspondent John Shaw cables from Moscow: "The new mobility provided by the auto is bound to make Russians more individualistic as it frees them from the disciplines of communal life. In this vast

country, where many Soviet citizens live in apartments not much bigger than the cars they hope to buy, the most important thing the auto offers is transport to solitude."

Russia's modest advance into the automotive age is also having an incalculable economic impact. The investment to meet consumer demand requires reallocation of steel, rubber and gasoline from the Soviet defense establishment. A gigantic highway construction program is needed, and so is a network of gas stations and repair shops, both of which are woefully scarce.

Some of the problems of *automobilizatsia* are all too familiar to Americans. In spite of the most stringent laws against drunken driving, half the traffic accidents in the Soviet Union, exactly as in the U. S., are caused by overimbibers. Other problems are peculiarly Russian. Most roads remain primitive in the extreme, and besides the perils of potholes, motorists must cope with farmers who thresh their wheat and build their log cabins right on the highways so that they can reach them more easily.

Symbolic Value. In spite of such aggravations, there is no more potent symbol of prestige than the auto in the Soviet Union today. The Communist state has paradoxically chosen not to produce "people's cars", but to build medium-sized vehicles that range in price from \$4,000 to \$11,000. Workers who make an average wage of \$180 a month can scarcely afford them. Even bureaucrats and professionals often have to save up for years to buy them, then have to wait as long as a year and a half for delivery.

Russian auto owners must defend themselves from a new breed of criminal—car thieves. Before leaving a parked car, the Soviet owner customarily removes the windshield wipers, gas tank cap and aerial, and locks them inside, out of the reach of pilferers.

Some of the cleverest car thieves have now been thwarted for the summer. During the winter a thief will often steal a car off the street and substitute it for a similar model that has been put up for the season under a tarpaulin. The police are left to hunt for a car that is hidden away—at least until spring, when the owner discovers that the shape under the tarp is not his own. By then, his car may have found a home 2,000 miles away in Samarkand.

Has the solar system got a tenth planet?

Time discusses possibilities of the existence of a tenth planet:

It has been 42 years since Clyde Tombaugh, at Arizona's Lowell Observatory, discovered the last and outermost of the solar system's nine known planets. But many astronomers have never given up hope of finding a tenth planet even farther from the sun. They have been encouraged in their search by irregularities in the orbit of the eighth planet, Neptune, which some suspect could be caused by the gravitational tug of a mysterious "Planet X." Until now, however, all efforts to sight Planet X have failed.

This week a University of California scientist announced that he may finally have found that elusive target. Writing in the journal of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Joseph L. Brady of the Lawrence Laboratory gave a description of the long-sought tenth planet, complete with its distance from the sun and its current position in the heavens. His "discovery" was made, not by scanning photographic plates, but by analyzing the erratic behavior of Halley's Comet, which comes into view every 76 years (next appearance: 1986), as it nears the sun in its elliptical and far-ranging orbit.

Checking historical observations dating

back nearly 1,700 years, Brady found a peculiar irregularity: on each approach to the sun, Halley's Comet shows up as many as four days earlier or later than its predicted arrival date. That variation seemed to indicate that some unknown force must be influencing the comet's motion. Could it be the gravitational tug of a planet beyond Pluto?

For four years, Brady fed into a computer mathematical models of a ten-planet solar system, seeking the characteristics of a still undiscovered planet that would cause the irregularities in the comet's orbit. Gradually the description of Planet X emerged: it would be three times as massive as Saturn (second largest of the planets) and nearly 6 billion miles from the sun (more than half again as far as Pluto). It would take 464 years to complete a single trip around the sun, and the plane of its orbit would be tilted an angle of approximately 60° from the general orbital planes of the planets. Strangest of all, its motion would be retrograde; that is, it would travel around the sun in the opposite direction from all the other planets.

To convince skeptics, Brady has already begun additional computation to check the gravitational effects that Planet X would have on the known orbits of the outer planets. Still, the real test must be visual—a photograph of Planet X. At its great distance from the sun, however, Planet X would reflect only a modicum of light. Furthermore, Brady's calculations indicate that the planet is now located in the Constellation Cassiopeia, which is cluttered with so many stars that the planet would be hard to find. Nonetheless, Brady is hopeful that a sharp-eyed astronomer, scanning photographic plates, will some day detect a dim pinpoint of light reflected from far off Planet X.

Nationalisation of Coal Mines

Coal Field Tribune says :

Since take-over of the 214 coking coal mines by Government in October last year and lack of Government's policy statement in regard to the future of non-coking coal mines, the Coal Industry in general and West Bengal in particular, which is producer of about 20 million tonnes of non-coking coal per year, is passing through a critical phase. While Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi is reported to have said at a meeting at Rae Bareilly that the Govt. would resist the temptation of nationalizing industries indiscriminately, the Chief Minister of West Bengal Shri Siddhartha Shankar Roy while inaugurating the fourth Coke Oven Battery at Durgapur Steel Plant is reported to have said that the days were not far off when all the coal mines and heavy industries would come under Govt. control. These two statements themselves are contradictory and will only confuse the industrialists and new entrepreneurs. On the other hand, almost all the trade union leaders in the West Bengal coal belt are clamouring for nationalization of non-coking coal mines. Even, they are launching strikes with the slogan for "nationalization" of the coal mines as one of their main demands.

The atmosphere in the non-coking coal industry is thus surcharged with suspicion and leading the industry to a crisis of confidence. Coal Industry is actually passing through a crisis of confidence. They are, as if, the "culprits"; their only fault is, because they run the industry. It should not be forgotten that the industrialists are not less patriots and nationalism is not the monopoly of politicians and trade union leaders alone. Nobody is opposed to nationalization. What is opposed is drum beating and wild statements for nationalization. Another big question is—is nationalization of Coal Industry the panacea

of all ills? Almost all the nationalized industries so far failed to establish economic soundness. Inefficiency, corruption, favouritism and nepotism are rampant in almost all the nationalized industries and production is far below the rated capacity.

Bharat Coking Coal Corporation, which has been formed to run the coking coal mines, is reportedly not faring well and production is said to have gone down since take over. The reason of less production is said to be due to internal clique, narrow outlook and sectarian views of those who are managing it. Some of the top men who are seasoned mining engineers with wide experience in management and production are said to have left the concern and joined their previous firms elsewhere. Some others are said to be not happy over the state of affairs there. All these facts show that there is something behind it. And it is not congenial to the industrial atmosphere. A general cry for employment of the "sons of the soil" has recently developed in and around Coal Industry. It is but natural and nobody opposes it. But, employment should not be discriminated at the cost of national interest.

Non-coking coal mines are passing through a nightmarish condition and, as a result, development has been stalled. There is the shortage of wagons, there is the labour-trouble-cum-leader-trouble, i.e. inter-union and intra union rivalries and above all, threat of nationalization. The cumulative effect is making a casualty of production and causing shrinkage in employment potentialities. The annual normal production of West Bengal collieries is about 20 million tonnes of coal but it is said to have gone down to 17 million tonnes last year. The reason of this less production is not far to seek. Accumulation of huge stocks at the pit heads due to shortage of wagon supplies by railways, erratic supplies

of wagons under the plea of route-restrictions, stoppage of supplies on piecemeal basis are the main hurdles the Coal Industry confronts. Trade union movement by some trade union leaders makes the things more complicated : in some cases it is politically motivated and breeds indiscipline and rowdyism among the workers themselves. In other cases it is to satisfy self interest. Both are impediments to production and above all, uncertainty in regard to future of the Industry.

Problems of the Coal Industry should be viewed in its proper perspective. Wild allegations of "slaughter" mining and similar other allegations against managements are no solutions nor it will help growth of the Industry. What is the need today is the declaration of clear and unequivocal policy of the Govt. in regard to the Industry and establish good relations between the Industry and the labour, and free and frank discussions between Govt., management and labour as to how to solve the problems.

Save the Constitution and the People's Freedoms

C. Rajagopalachari, writes in *Swarajya* :

I have been constantly reiterating the importance of defending the Constitution. This is because the Constitution guarantees the following : first, the complete protection of minority communities in the practice of their religions and their equality with the majority community in all secular rights and privileges ; secondly, the complete protection of citizens in the enjoyment of their properties inherited or otherwise acquired legally and a guarantee that if the State desires to acquire any part of them, the State should give just and adequate compensation to make up for the loss ; thirdly, the need for any acquisition and the adequacy of the compensation should be subject to judicial examination and the award of the courts should be fully respected.

It is these guarantees inscribed in the Constitution that saves the citizens from dictatorship and serfdom.

If, therefore, the Constitution should be saved from being sabotaged in these respects, a party pledged to these guarantees and to resist totalitarian rule is absolutely necessary. The people may elect anyone they choose to rule over the affairs of the country subject to the guarantees briefly mentioned above. A party dedicated to defend these guarantees is as necessary as it is necessary to have a parliament and leaders dedicated to good government. The independence of the judiciary and the authority of the Supreme Court should not be interfered with directly or indirectly. These axioms of good government and democracy should be explained clearly to the people and they should be warned against being misled into agreeing to a sabotage of the Constitution.

The economic policies of the Government should be so framed as to lead to social justice which is not impossible, if party politics is not allowed to interfere with genuine economic reform and steps are taken to maintain and improve respect for moral values. This is the fundamental basis for any good government. Leaders should be men and women of the highest character and competence. They should lead and not be led by those whose votes may, by numbers, give power and authority over the citizens without considering what is good for the nation in the long run. A solid group of people who guard the Constitution and the rights of the people, the rights of the majority as well as of the minorities, is as important as a Prime Minister and President are necessary. Without such a party it would be like a beautiful motor car without a brake.

The notion that the justification for the existence of a party is only that it can be an alternative government if it secures a sufficient

number of votes and that otherwise it may be dissolved and extinguish itself is wholly erroneous. A party of those who are dedicated to defend the core of good democracy is even more important than those who run governments according to the requirements of change in times. Politics is not merely a competition between groups for the acquisition of power. The fundamental articles with which the Swatantra Party was founded must be read over and over again by good men and women in the country and must be explained to the less informed section of the community. The defence of the Constitution is not less important than the defence of the country against foreign aggression.

It is treason for one to assist a foreign aggressor. It amounts no less to treason to assist the replacement of democracy by dictatorship. Freedom is a husk without grain if we get our military forces to defend the country against the invasion of a foreign Power but we permit a dictator of our own to establish totalitarian rule, depriving the citizens of any way of resistance to those who have seized authority over the people. This is the reason why certain fundamental rights are inscribed in the Constitution framed by the fathers of our freedom. They had foresight enough to see that power corrupts people and in particular, absolute power absolutely corrupts.

On Rammohun Roy

We reproduce the following quotations from *The Indian Messenger* :

Rammohun Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India..... Rammohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realise completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs, never acknowledging limitations of circumstances, never deviating from his purpose lured by distractions of temporal excitement.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made Rammohun Roy one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history at the beginning of the nineteenth Century. Indeed it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also.

—C. F. Andrews. 1938.

CHANGE-OVER TO PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Prof. NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

It is now perhaps widely believed that India's parliamentary democracy is at the cross roads. The disease could be diagnosed long ago but, it is pointed out, only the charisma of the late Nehru could have averted the inevitable pessimism and disillusion. After Patel's death and Rajaji's retirement, K. Santhanam writes, Nehru became the defacto dictator of the Indian peninsula and the question of the pattern of government was only a matter of technical importance. A well-disciplined and monolithic party with its formidable majority both at Centre and the States and with Pandit Nehru at its top, virtually softened the ugly features of our political landscape and some of the gross defects of our cabinet government could hardly be discernible. But the changed political situation marked by the demise of the great national leader, emergence of different political parties in the administration of some of the States and split of the ruling party in Lok Sabha in 1970 all have engendered a violent convulsion in the minds of many thoughtful persons who are now seriously speaking for a change-over to the presidential system. The situation of unusual instability and uncertainty which characterises the present political stage of many of our states after the fourth general election has generated serious scepticism regarding the suitability of Cabinet system in Indian political life. It is now realised, in the context of frequent rise and fall of heterogeneous coalitions in some states due to inevitable rivalry in the midst of uneasy ties of convenience and opportunistic defections of self-seeking political leaders, that the Makers were too optimistic about our political morality. The supreme need of our country is to dispel the sense of uncertainty and instability which has gripped the people at large. It seems that the British system of

Cabinet government which is flexible in character would not serve our purpose.

In the background of such a political turmoil some eminent writers have urged a revision of the system. P. N. Sapru a noted jurist and parliamentarian, has suggested the introduction of presidential form of government in the states. Political leaders like Ashoke Mehta and Balraj Madhok also have favoured presidential system of government. Mr. Justice K. S. Hedge of the Supreme Court has pleaded for the presidential government on the ground that it would dispel the situation of instability which characterises our present political life. According to B. P. Sinha, a former Chief Justice of India, Indian Constitution needs a revision so that the presidential system can be introduced. This is immediately necessary in the states where, the learned jurist thinks, we have been able only to produce confusion, if not chaos. Even K. M. Munshi, one of the members of the Drafting Committee who had championed the case of cabinet system in India in the constituent Assembly, has honestly admitted that it has failed here.

Why Cabinet pattern was introduced :

It is widely recognised that despite the existence of the Presidential office as the highest executive rank, the constitution provides cabinet system of government. Thus, as Heckscher observes, India has a parliamentary system of government with an elected President at the head. The choice was deliberate and significant.

The Constitution, of course, only provides for a President (Art. 52). It does not mention whether he is the Head of the State or of the government. Prof. K. T. Shah, however, introduced an amendment in the Constituent Assembly by which the President was to be

designated as the Chief Executive and Head of the State. But Dr. Ambedkar emphatically pointed out that such a designation was only contrary to the nature of the office they intended to create in a Cabinet structure. In the same mood Nehru exclaimed : we want to emphasise the ministerial character of the government, that power really resided in the ministry and in the legislature and not in the President as such.

Prof. K. T. Shah, Kazi Karimuddin and Prof. Shibanlal Saxena and others ably championed the case for a Presidential system of government as prevalent in America. G. S. Gupta suggested that the presidential office should be based on American model with, of course, slight modifications. Some speakers like Mahboob Ali and Baig Sahib Bahadur pleaded for the introduction of a plural executive of Swiss type and held that such a system would offer due representation to the different communities and factions of the Indian electorate, but at the same time combine responsibility and stability. These writers emphasised that the weaknesses of the Cabinet government centred round its instability and flexibility and, they thought, that would disrupt the political democracy of the nascent country.

But, ultimately, the consensus of the Constituent Assembly was overwhelmingly in favour of the Cabinet system popularised by England. Thus, as Morris-Jones observes, there was no deep cleavage of opinion on the principle of cabinet government. The most powerful argument of the critics was that it was only by making the executive independent of the legislature that the stability and strength could be guaranteed. This was countered partly by the view that English experience showed that weak government was not a necessary feature of the Cabinet system, and partly by the point that the stable President

might precipitate a crisis by quarrels with the legislature.

Dr. Ambedkar opined that the chief merit of Cabinet system was its blending of stability with responsibility and that it definitely surpassed the presidential system in administrative qualities. Cabinet system, pointed out Alladi, placed the executive and the legislative in a harmonious relation and it avoided the frequent conflicts between the organs as obvious in a presidential set-up. He pointed out that clashes between organs were not infrequent in America and that, in some occasions, it created constitutional stalemates. An infant democracy like ours, he observed, could not afford, under modern conditions, to take the risk of perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict between the legislature and the executive. Under the parliamentary system on the other hand, there is a daily and periodical assessment, as Dr. Ambedkar observed, of the responsibility of the government. Munshi countered all attacks on Cabinet system and held that this system produces a stronger government because the membership of the Executive and the Legislature are overlapping and the heads of government control the legislature.

There was also a further point peculiar to India : if the Presidential government were set up in the unit also, how could the Raj-pramukhs be fitted in the new democracy ? But, Morris-Jones observes, the most telling of all was the simple argument of experience. The British model was familiar with the people of India for a hundred years. The British have been operating it in a qualified form in the provinces and shortly at the centre. So Munshi asked : why should we try a novel experiment ?

Experience with the Constitution :

Our experiences of two decades have sufficiently shown that the intentions of the Makers have been frustrated enormously.

Existence of some dozens of political parties none with well-knit national organisation and discipline and the resultant chaos and confusion both at centre and the states have let loose an orgy of political immorality, chaos and confusion which can hardly favour a cabinet system. But, presidential initiative is still lacking and we are perhaps steadily heading to a national crisis. In retrospect, cabinet system has failed in India and requires a change-over to an alternative system.

Cabinet system, admittedly, has failed in the states. The havoc which had befallen the congress in the general election of 1967 merely aggravated the situation and things have drifted from bad to worse. The congress did not enjoy a comfortable majority in the Parliament at one time and, on the eve of Bank Nationalisation Ordinance of 1970, it had divided into two clear-cut parties making the government dependent on the support of few vacillating parties. As K. Santhanam observed, it seems highly likely that not only most of the states but also the central government will be ruled by coalition.

So far this new phenomenon is concerned, it is safe to conclude that coalition governments in India have a lamentable legacy and general people of most of the states have heaved a sigh of relief as soon as such governments failed and Presidential administration introduced. As Mr. Ram Gopal has correctly pointed out, these parties are publicly at perpetual odds, but yet they have combined before or after the election with a manifesto or common programme in which the points of similarity have been amazingly numerous. They formed the government and soon precipitated crisis due to their inherent tendency to tarnish the image of their constituents. The writer further adds that none of the coalition governments known to us failed due to clashes of ideals or fundamentals ; they did so only when trifling matters of technicality or tactics proved infructuous. Often such coalitions have been torn assunder due to the cynical floor-crossing by the self-styled

political leaders who have preferred to barter their political loyalty for certain personal gains.

This trend has often generated political turmoil and even people who condemned these defectors as traitors, have themselves subsequently encouraged this practice for their political gain. Thus, in less than a year, a dozen governments have emerged and fallen in the states where the congress lost the election-battle.

Pre-Conditions :

The essential pre-condition for the success of cabinet system is a strong opposition, preferably within the background of a bi-party system. As Dr. Leacock writes. 'It works evenly and well where two great political parties exist, which alternately hold the power of the government and of which each is gradually forced to give place to the other.' The cause of success of the cabinet system in England is that, as Finer puts it, from the first day of party alignments, the British system has presented a two-party system. But Indian political condition has offered a lot of parties none able to hold the ground of the old party or to offer an alternative government. Perhaps this sense of frustration is the root-cause of disorderly scenes dispepect and unruly chaos within our legislatures, disrespect to the speakers and governors, physical assault even to the Chief Ministers and Marshalls of the Chamber.

In England, as Barker observes, 'the opposition is a regular part of our system. Her Majesty's opposition is second in importance, writes Jennings, to Her Majesty's government. The opposition knows that it has to take responsibility of its criticism and if the government fails, it has to hold power. Thus, its behaviour is always constructive and it even forms shadow cabinet', as May writes, to take the task of directing criticism of government-policy. But Indian political parties, in utter despair, perform only their negative functions and often political controversies are

carried from the legislatures to the streets.

The British system is based on an understanding between the government and the opposition. They agree in the fundamentals and even formed coalitions in the past in times of national crisis. So Jennings observes, 'Parliamentary debate is not a perpetual Trojan war'. But in Indian legislatures, behaviour of the parties are often unknown and often the different provincial units of the same party act differently.

The system, Bagehot rightly points out, offers a high degree of flexibility which is much needed in the political life. But in India flexibility has deteriorated into instability and uncertainty. If the much controversial Art. 356 were not there, constitutional deadlock would have wrecked our democratic life.

Conclusion :

In the context of all these, some people would suggest a change-over to presidential form of government. Under this system the Executive Head, who is also the Head of the State, would be elected for a fixed tenure and would form his cabinet from among his favourites. These ministers will hold office during the pleasure of the president and legislative displeasure would not affect their service. Once they are chosen by the Head of the State, the ministers will function independent of the shifting will of the majority and ambitious designs of the defectors.

In a cabinet system, Laski held, the supremacy of the Prime Minister is obvious and he should have a free authority in choosing and dismissing the ministers. But in India, Prime Minister's choice in these fields cannot ensure his survival as the division in his party may change the numerical strength of political alignment in the popular chamber. But a presidential system would offer an unchallenged and unifying leadership which is urgently needed in the present political mess. This system, as Bryce once observed, would rectify the democratic recklessness of the legislature and ensure stability and progress.

In the states also the system would generate the spirit of certainty and rigidity. It will dispel the sense of political horror which sometimes the coalition governments have produced. We have even helplessly experienced coalition crises in which observes H. V. Pataskar, even the Chief Minister has to fast in protest of certain actions of a cons-

Munshi has frankly admitted the failure of the Cabinet system in India due to the failure to evolve a bi-party system. He warns that we are heading to a crisis in which either presidential form or a military take-over would be the only alternatives.

But we must, at the same time, bear in mind certain historical facts. Presidential system of government, despite its success in America, has failed to produce similar results in some of the Latin American States. Thus, it can not be argued that it will, once transplanted in India, engender brilliant success by itself.

Secondly, the history of American constitutional system suggests that in such a system the legislature and the executive are often at odds and this may affect political efficiency. Gette further points out that in presidential system, as prevalent in America, the legislature functions through committees and that 'responsibility is hard to find'.

Thirdly, if the party to which the president belongs, failed to command the majority in the legislature, constitutional deadlock might be the result. In the multiplicity of parties in India, such an eventuality is not out of probability.

Finally, although the office of a stable president has produced political stability in America, yet Garner observes, on its executive side the executive is in large measure constitutionally autocratic and uncontrollable by congress. In India also, it may offer an irresponsible and ambitious statesman powers detrimental to national interest. We must remember that the vices of one pattern of government can be remedied, Gette, points out, by taking the advantages of the other system. And, so, a change-over is not the bounden requirement. Moreover, without a fundamental change in our party-system and party-discipline and a revolutionary improvement in our national character and individual behaviour, a mere change of form of government can hardly produce the desired effect.

But twenty year's of crises has ruled out the prospect of the Cabinet system and nothing better can be expected in the present set-up. So, it seems that time is ripe to introduce a basic change in the form of our government at states at least as an experiment. Another twenty years may well be allowed to assess the merit of the new pattern. This is perhaps the only way to get rid of the *damagogue* whom the poor country has produced in abundance.



Prof. PRASANTA CHANDRA MAHALANOBIS
(29th June 1893—28th June 1972)

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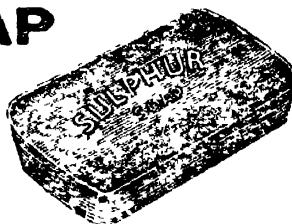
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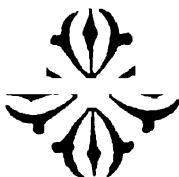


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NOTES

Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis

Prof. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis died in Calcutta on Wednesday 28th June 1972. He had an operation on the 7th of June which according to all reports, was successful ; but his physical condition deteriorated day by day after the operation and he died inspite of the best efforts of a team of eminent physicians. Prasanta Chandra was born on the 29th of June 1893 in a well-known family of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Guru Charan Mahalanobis, his grand father was a close associate of Pandit Sivanath Shastri - the eminent Brahmo leader. His uncle Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis was a son-in-law of Keshub Chandra Sen the founder of the Nabavidhan Brahmo Samaj. On his mother's side Sir Nilratan Sircar was his maternal uncle. Prasanta Chandra had thus the advantage to grow up in an environment in which intellectual and cultural development took place naturally. He was educated in the Brahmo Boys School and Presidency College Calcutta and he graduated with honours in physics

after which he went to England for higher studies. He joined Kings College, Cambridge in 1912 and obtained a first class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1914. He obtained a scholarship too but he came back to India and joined the Educational Service as a professor of physics in the Presidency College, Calcutta. Prasanta Chandra had wide intellectual interests and he soon made a position for himself as the leader of a group of scholarly young men and women. He came to be intimately known to persons like Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. C. Roy, Rabindranath Tagore and other important philosophers, scientists and creative thinkers. Many of his young friends of those days later achieved great distinction in various fields of life. He became very closely associated with the poet Rabindranath Tagore and devoted much time and energy in assisting in the organisation of the Viswa Bharati. He used to go to Santiniketan quite often and worked as the Secretary of Viswa Bharati for many years.

Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis carried on his own scientific work assiduously inspite of his cultural preoccupations. He worked as a teacher of physics and took great interest in statistical work as well. At one stage he worked as meteorologist to the Government of Bengal for several years. But slowly over the years statistical work took precedence over every-thing else and he began experimenting with intricate mathematical calculations in the field of probabilities. His connection with the world's well known statisticians increased progressively and the great institute that he built up began to grow fast. After independence he became connected with planning and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru began to make use of him more and more as the work of national planning became increasingly complex. The Indian Statistical Institute developed from the necessity of giving measurable dimensions to economic projects which normally presented a vague and changeful front to planners. Much constructive work was done by the ISI during the busy years of planning. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis achieved great distinction and secured many awards and honours for his contributions to the science of statistics. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1945. He was also made a Foreign Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, a Fellow of the American Statistical Association, Hon. President of the International Statistical Institute and a Foundation Vice-President of the International Biometric Society. He was a member of the Planning Commission and was awarded the Padma Vibhushan in 1968. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis had close personal contact with many scientists and intellectuals of high standing throughout the world and he visited many countries in order to attend conferences and seminars to which he was invited as a statistician of world wide reputation. He was an intellectual ambassador of India, so to speak, and the greatest persona-

lities of the academic world came to India when invited by Prof. Mahalanobis. In this manner the Indian Statistical Institute had become a centre of great importance for India and its value to the Indian Nation did not rest merely on its statistical work. Apart from great scientists like Nobel Laureates Gruneberg, Neils Bohr and Synge many famous statesmen such as Chu En-lai and Ho Chi-minh and others had come to the Indian Statistical Institute and such visits had been of advantage to the government of India in a subtle and general manner. People who value the merits of an institution by what they can see and measure often go wrong when they have to assess the real worth of a great centre of learning like the Indian Statistical Institute. He had work of great importance in hand when death snatched him away from his co-workers, his Institute and the world of science. His death has been a great loss to Bengal, to India and the world.

Ceylon Seeks China's Friendship

Mrs. Bandaranaike left for Peking by Pakistan International Airlines on the 24th of June 1972. She had received invitations from Russia and India too to visit those countries ; but she preferred to go to Peking ; obviously because she considered China to be a greater friend. China has been a friend to Ceylon no doubt as she had been to Pakistan also, and among the reasons for her friendship with these countries one would notice her anti-Indian attitude as outstanding. China's international relations show that she has friends in Africa, the Middle East and in the Balkans. She has therefore great need for ports of halt in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. Ceylon provides good anchorage in the Indian Ocean and Pakistan in the Arabian Sea. Moreover China's inimical attitude towards India makes it highly desirable for her to appease India's great enemy .

Pakistan. China's territories in Turkistan also become vulnerable if Pakistan were friendly to any possible enemy of China and the Chinese eagerness to be an ally of Pakistan is to a great extent explained by this geographical contiguity. Mrs. Bandaranaike is of course seeking aid in China and she no doubt requires aid. Other nations are not very keen on assisting Ceylon mainly because of Mrs. Bandaranaike's political preferences. Her acceptance of Maoism of course is strictly limited.

Private Armies

When great states break up as a result of revolution, the overthrow of the established order due to foreign aggression, the urge for reorganisation or any other reason, groups of persons come together in order to establish new governmental bodies in power. Such bodies are always many in number and they form their organisations in a manner which enables them to finance their work, defend their centres of power and carry on their expansion programs. In the past these bodies which were born of the broken bits and pieces of larger states were militant and had their small armies which lived on the country so to speak. The *Bargis* and the *Pindaris* were good examples of these private armies. They lived by plunder and probably had ideas of setting up *raj* here and there. The *Thugies* were out and out criminal in their outlook and had to be destroyed by the new government that came into power after the downfall of the Moghuls and the Mahrattas. After the dissolution of the British imperial power in India, inspite of an organised change over from British *raj* to Indian and Pakistani forms of Government, millions of persons lost their lives and property due to the criminal activities of private killers and looters who were active in areas where strong government could not be set up when the change over took place.

Even after strong governments had been established Pakistan arranged for small rebellions in Indian territories specially among the tribals. Rioting was also organised by Pakistani agents here and there. The state of Pakistan recently broke up due to the criminal activities of the Martial Law Administrators of that country in the Eastern region of the state. The Pakistan army acted worse than what the *Thugies*, *Bargis* and *Pindaris* could have done and that was fully in keeping with their general outlook as a political organisation. After the death of Pandit Nehru certain forces in India tried to capture power and the methods they followed were in the tradition of the plundering hordes that always raised their heads whenever an established *raj* had to yield place to another. These post Nehru power hunters looted grain in the villages, snatched away land from their rightful owners, set up organisations of armed men who fought and killed members of competing groups and generally speaking created an atmosphere of lawlessness which reminded one of the days when armed gangs roamed the country for the formation of new states. One felt as if it would be of greater benefit to the public if instead of the Chambal Dacoits the Sarvoday leaders induced some of our political leaders to surrender arms and adopt a peaceful way of life. After Nehru politics stabilised at times ; but the armed gangs miscalled political parties continued to function as and when they found opportunities to kill or plunder with gainful consequences to their own groups. The advent of the congress into positions of power did not change the pattern of political life created by the lawbreaking elements. Ordinary lawbreakers, like the *Thugies* of the early British period, set up their counter parts in the wagon breakers and other anti-social groups for making money at the cost of the working public who pay for maintaining

government and the law. Black market deals, smuggling, illicit liquor manufacture, tax evasion etc. are all symptoms of a diseased social outlook which has to be totally uprooted from the public mind before any proper social growth and development can take place. All these anti-social coteries have something to do with the captains of the private armies. They give money to these strong arm boys and get their assistance in many fields of evil doing. Occasionally some groups come into existence which have ideas of reforming the political elements and of reintroducing a moral program in the political field. But sooner or later these reformers get mixed up with the crowds that act anti-socially and the little good that might have been done cease and dry up.

France Insists on Nuclear Tests

When many nations were discussing how human environment could be made safe and healthy so that humanity would find no difficulty in living on this Earth for long years, France let the world know that she was going to carry out some nuclear tests in the South Pacific. New Zealand, Australia and some other nations protested but France said her tests would produce no dangerous fallout and she was therefore determined to explode her bombs as she had planned. New Zealanders said if the French tests were so harmless why should France take the trouble to come to the South Pacific ; why should they not carry out the experiments in their own back yard ? A number of objectors moved into the test zone in their boats and told the French they were going to stay there. The French were irritated by all this ; but they could do little to induce the peoples of the world to support their point of view. For fall outs were dangerous and nobody knew where the radio active particles would find a victim in whose body it would plant its seeds

of death. Though the area was wide and far flung and the population only about four million scattered over millions of square miles the danger still remained there and the French had no right to quote territorial limits or political jurisdiction where it was a question of death dealing pollution for a purpose which was in no way necessary for human progress and advancement. If France carried out these tests the peoples of the world would be justified in looking upon the French as unscrupulous and unmindful of their human responsibilities.

Evils of Economic Significance

There are many things that are anti-social, derogatory from the humanistic point of view, sinful and fundamentally evil ; but they keep on going and the economic world accepts them as necessary parts of its organisation openly or by a subtle and secret tolerance. Let us take the war industries as an outstanding example. These are quite often required to be developed for the purpose of national defence and are therefore not anti-social in the sense that development of war industries would be when organised with aggressive intention. Hitler's war industries were far more immoral in their origin and operation than the Swiss or the Swedish armament factories could be considered to be. War, though fundamentally unethical, becomes morally justified at times, and one can only judge the evil or the goodness of institutions connected with warlike activities by reference to the purpose for which one would be preparing to fight. But let us take the manufacture and sale of narcotics. The opium trade of China was organised by Europeans for making profit out of the physical and moral degradation of an entire nation. There are other trades too which are carried on by the exploitation of the low instincts of human beings and some employ millions of persons

whose sudden disappearance from the market might upset the economic life of nations in a noticeable manner.

Taking the utterly illicit and evil institutions which thrive in the economic world one may mention stealing and robbing. There are millions who live by robbing others. They are quite often good buyers of articles of consumption and are employers of workers. But their resources are obtained by causing loss to large numbers of persons and if stealing stopped, the disappearance of the thieves as buyers and employers would be more than compensated by the stopping of losses caused by the thefts and robberies. Black market transactions, wagon breaking and dealings in stolen and illicitly supplied goods also have their economics. That is, these economic activities lead to employment, buying, selling, storing and transportation ; but that would not justify their existence. Nor will the stoppage of these transactions cause any loss to society in the long period analysis of economic activities.

The Little Work We Do

There is always a lot of noise made about what people earn in India because of the smallness of the incomes that most wage earners have. This is neither unjustified nor unnatural. For due to the increases that prices display at all times wages can not keep pace with cost of living and wage earners have to face repeated deficits in their family budgets no matter what increments they manage to get from time to time. That salaries and wages are low in India is undoubtedly. But in olden days labour costs of productive work used to be so low that entrepreneurs in India used to organise production in a manner which utilised human labour to the maximum and only such machinery as were found essential. To-day with increases of labour costs and the tendency of

workers to work as little as possible, this old theory of low labour costs no longer holds. As a matter of fact workers in foreign countries who earn much higher wages compared to Indian workers are now found to be less expensive than our workers from the point of view of labour costs of production. If they get six times the wages their production is usually about seven times. Or the incidental expenses incurred by reason of employing a large number men where there is work for only a few are so heavy that they cancel all savings effected by low wage rates. So long as Indian industries are run on a somewhat monopolistic basis due to controls and permits this system of low wages and over manning can go on ; but when competition comes as an active factor India will have to look to costs in a realistic manner. International standards will have to be adopted in the field of manning, higher wages paid to the workers and the workers, in their turn, will have to work more intensively in order to earn the higher wages that they will have to be paid.

West Bengal Tries to Raise More Revenue

Chief Minister Siddhartha Shankar Roy wants more money to spend. He therefore wants to make things more expensive for those who use precious stones, large cars, fur coats and visit cinema houses. We do not know many persons in West Bengal who wear gem set jewellery of a costly type. But tax experts think that artificial pearls are also precious stones. We used to call them beads and ornaments set with them were only worn by those who could not afford genuine pearls. The question is how precious is precious ? Those who wear fur coats in Calcutta are yet fewer in number, even in winter, than those who sport necklaces set with artificial precious stones. Of course Darjeeling is in West Bengal too and some fur coats may be in use there ; but they are by and large heirlooms

coming down from affluent grand mothers of the Victorian era. There are a few large cars still running in West Bengal but any increase in road tax may send many of them to the scrap heap for they are already too expensive to run on account of their heavy fuel consumption and repair costs. These attempts at getting money out of the people of West Bengal will not succeed under some heads. Under others increased revenues will come. But one might have expected in this budget more variety and attempt at getting money out of those who have it. It is seen in advertisements that there are people who pay rents for flats which often reach heights over Rupees Two Thousand per month. We know of people who pay electric and telephone bills exceeding Rupees Two Hundred Fifty per month. There are doctors whose fees exceed Rupees Fifty for a call. These are the people who should pay a portion of their exorbitant expenses and earnings to the public exchequer. A licence fee on marriages, processions of all kinds, posters and sign boards are some probabilities as sources of revenue that come to our mind. A little careful thinking would have brought to light other ways of securing extra revenue in a sure and certain manner without putting any pressure on people who are already hard pressed due to being forced to pay very heavy taxes. The extra imposition on cinema going for instance will easily result in increased yield of revenue ; but it will be paid largely by the poorer section of the population. It will also slightly affect the prosperity of the cinema show houses. It is surely not desirable that any business interests should be harmed for raising revenue.

Interfering in Other Peoples' Affairs

Pakistan, when she was indulging in mass murder of civilians in Bangladesh, then called East Pakistan, claimed protection of the UN on the ground that such murder or oppression

was her domestic affair. Pakistan forgot that no forcible acts which destroyed the fundamental rights of humanity could be called a domestic affair by any state. But Pakistan did not hesitate to send soldiers to Arab countries ignoring the domestic rights of the Arabs ; nor did she keep her soldiers out of Kashmir although that country was not a part of Pakistan. In other words, Pakistan (and her major ally China) can not claim to be respecters of other peoples' rights though they were over conscious of their own rights as the rulers of their own people and also as the self-appointed protectors of the alleged rights of the peoples of other lands. Whatever grievances the people of Kashmir may have, if they have any, it is none of Pakistan's business to advocate the so-called Kashmiri cause. The more so when the Pakistanis say that Kashmiris should have the right of self determination and the whole world knows that Pakistan is one of the greatest destroyers of that right of self-determination in her own territory. The same is true of China too in so far the Chinese have forcibly occupied Tibet on the ground that the ancient Chinese emperors had at one time been overlords in Tibet. Pakistan is still talking about the rights of the Kashmiris and referring to Bangla Desh as Muslim Bengal and her President is also coming to India to solve all Indo-Pak disputes. Those disputes which have come into existence as a result of Pakistan's illicit urges to interfere in the affairs of others cannot be solved unless Pakistan chooses to be more realistic in the field of political logic. There are other disputes which can be solved if Pakistan vacates her aggression in Kashmir and does not try to protect the Pakistani POWS guilty of war crimes. But are there any chances of such developments ?

Pakistan Wants Peace With India

A large team of Pakistani officials headed

by the President of the Islamic Republic has arrived at Simla to settle the disputes that Pakistan allegedly have with India. These disputes are in the main, release of Prisoners of War and of civilians detained in India ; withdrawal of troops from occupied zones and reestablishment of diplomatic relations. Pakistan will gain much more than India if the first two demands are met. The first demand is also a difficult one for the reason that it involves the Bangladesh government too. They want to try those Pakistanis who are guilty of genocidal crimes. The second demand means giving back to Pakistan all the areas that she occupied illicitly in Kashmir. Diplomatic relations of course can be resumed without much difficulty.

Generally speaking India can agree to release some prisoners of war after finding out whether they are involved in crimes against the civil population of Bangladesh. Reverting to status quo in the field of occupation of territories should not be agreed to. Pakistan should vacate her aggression in Kashmir as there was no justification for the original Pak invasion of Kashmir. In fact after the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan there are no reasons for entertaining any claims of Pakistan relating to Muslim majority areas anywhere. Pakistan is just an autocracy which is financed and aided to exist by China and the USA.

Urban Property Ceilings

Urban house property is just a particular type of property like industrial shares, bank deposits, farm land, shops with stock of goods, buses, trucks, taxis or orchards with fruit trees. A fleet of trucks or buses can be worth many lakhs of rupees. A shop can be similarly stocked with a crore of rupees worth of jewellery. Private owners may possess large factories worth crores too. So that urban house property has no special economic

quality which makes it undesirable for individuals to own more than two or ten lakhs worth of that type of property. If it is said that land lords exploit tenants when they have houses worth more than a permitted maximum, one can counter such accusation by pointing out how *bustee* owners exploit their poor tenants much more. A *bustee* owner may rent out a plot of land for Rs. 50 per month and then put up 100 rooms there at a cost of Rs. 50000. His rooms may be rented out at the rate of Rs. 20 P. M. per room. Thus he will make a profit of more than 40% on his investment whereas the owner of a house worth five lakhs may earn a rent of only Rs. 2000 per month which will be about 5 per cent on his capital. The idea of fixing ceilings on house property is therefore a clear example of playing to the gallery. It has no significance from the point of view of social welfare or economic justice.

Counter Attack by South Vietnam

In the beginning of the recent conflict between North and South Vietnam the North Vietnamese communists supported by the Vietcong who are those South Vietnamese who want a communist type of Government in their part of the country, swept everything before them and occupied many important centres of military value. It looked like a walk over for the communists and no one expected the South Vietnamese to put up a strong enough resistance for any length of time. Then began the American bombing of railway junctions and other strategic points and the North Vietnamese began to feel the force of that retaliatory action. Now the South Vietnamese are landing paratrooper and marines in those places that have been taken over by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. These landings appear to be well planned and the soldiers taking part in these military counter attacks seem to be

better fighters compared to those who yielded to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong during the initial stages of the present conflict. It seems the Saigon government have reorganised their military forces and have put new life in their combat troops who are showing a new determination to retrieve their prestige and honour as the defenders of their motherland.

Vandalism

The term signifies behaviour of an uncivilized, uncultured and brutal kind, historically associated with the barbarous tribe known as Vandals who ruthlessly destroyed masterpieces of art and architecture that were the treasures of Roman civilization. Their joy was in destruction and they did not experience any deep aesthetic emotions like the civilized peoples of Greece and Rome. The name vandalism remained ; and whenever anyone indulged in wanton destruction of things of intellectual, philosophic or aesthetic value, such action was referred to as acts of vandalism. Such destruction was not always the result of lack of understanding. Quite often fanatics destroyed objects of art of great value in order to appease their fanatical urges. Thousands of beautiful statues have been disfigured and hundreds of imposing temples destroyed in India because some religious thoughts were contrary to some other religious beliefs. This was vandalism carried out by civilized men to fulfil an uncivilized desire.

In recent times some people in China thought of an uncultured cultural revolution and started destroying objects of art of rare value. Imitating those Chinese vandals, some Indians and persons of other nationalities started destroying books, pictures, statues and furniture. They felt, as they were imitating Chinese revolutionaries, they were surely rising to intellectual and moral heights normally beyond the reach of ordinary mortals. In fact they were merely making fools of them-

selves and reaching no heights of any kind. They were not even classifiable as revolutionaries ; for the reason that no revolution could ever have been so utterly without purpose as was their socalled attempt at a cultural revolution. The poison that the underdeveloped Chinese youth brewed worked its way into the veins of some youthful bodies in other countries. The result was acts of lunacy of a kind similar to what the Chinese cultural revolutionaries did. The most recent example of this type of vandalism has been an attack on Michael Angelo's Pieta by a madman of unknown nationality. He broke one arm of the world famous statue of the Virgin and damaged her face quite badly. It is believed that the statue could be restored to its original shape ; but this act of utter barbarity has horrified the art lovers of the world. Religious people have thought of it as a terrible act of sacrilege. We do not know what cultural revolutionaries think about it ; but thoughts have little to do with maniacal reactions. A study of psycho-pathology will bring to us knowledge of a variety of abnormal mental states. Homicidal maniacs who kill people without rhyme or reason, ego maniacs who think they are the lords of the Earth, persecution maniacs who believe that all other people want to destroy them, and other maniacs whose mental condition was fantastic in a variety of ways ; are only a few that one may mention. Great political movements too can be brought about by maniacs such as the anti Semetism that Hitler suffered from. Psychological analysis can perhaps expose other maniacs in whom can be discovered the emotional roots of many a political upheaval. Vandalism is the expression of a diseased mental condition. Many other evils that humanity has to suffer from in the political, intellectual, economic and moral spheres also trace their origin in pathological conditions of the mind. Rationality and a rigid adherence to truth can save mankind from a thousand ills.

THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF RAMMOHUN

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

Paying his unstinted homage to the "Apostle of the East", Raja Rammohun Roy, Prof. Max Muller said on the occasion of his fiftieth death anniversary : "If history is to teach us anything it must teach us that there is a continuity which binds together *the present and the past*, the East and West" (italics mine). From this lofty utterance two conclusions can be deduced quite irrespective of the context in which he made this remark. Prof. Max Muller was stressing the importance of Rammohun as a catalyst of the two disparate 'branches of the Aryan race'. But to the present author this statement also conveys the truth that true genius cannot be confined within the narrow boundaries of his own time and that Rammohun is a beacon to the present age. That in him the British people found an emissary of the East to the Western world of thought is widely recognised, but at the same time it is also true that Rammohun's thoughts have an enduring value. Neither age nor custom has withered the relevance of Rammohun to the present-day India.

In the encircling gloom of India's social, economic and political life Rammohun's thoughts may serve as the correct guide for us if properly interpreted. He proposed many solutions for the thousand ills that plagued India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were contemporaneous with the then India, but many of them still hold good in to-day's context. In other words, Rammohun had a far sight which had transcended the immediate present. He heralded the New Age in India and just 200 years ago, "reflected in his own personality, as it were in a fortuneteller's crystal, the whole

subsequent life-history of this youngest creation of Time, this promising New Age..."

It was due to his unrelenting pressure on the orthodox Hindu Society of Bengal and the Government that the cruel institution of burning the Hindu widows on their husbands' pyres was eradicated. Suttee-burning had an associate evil which also he sought to expunge but failed : child marriage. Today the outlook has changed and a minimum age has been fixed by the Government to circumvent it. His death in 1833 prevented Rammohun from seeing many of his proposals, placed before the Select Committee of England's House of Commons, incorporated in subsequent reforms with respect to administration in India by the British Government. However there can be no gainsaying that his forceful evidence before the Select Committee (he did not personally appear before the Committee, but sent his views on judicial, agrarian and other matters in the form of "Communications" to the Board of Control, which were published in the Select Committee's Reports of 1831, 1832 and 1833 as appendices) had great effect in changing the East India Company's Charter of 1831. In his famous "Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India" he eloquently pleaded for the need to seek the opinion of the zemindars and influential businessmen in framing laws. This was plebiscite in its crude form and today's basis for large-scale democratisation in India was clearly foreseen by Rammohun as far back as 1831. His influence was also seen in the political reforms of 1861 and 1892.

Hegemony of English

Rammohun was a staunch supporter of establishing the hegemony of English in the major spheres of Indian life. However, in the first phase of British Rule in India he could not take kindly to the Indo-British contact and specially the establishment of British power in India. But as his personal contact with the Europeans increased, he felt that "their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants". It was his firm conviction that the Indian character would be "elevated by constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences...". This could only be achieved by providing liberal scope for spreading European education in India and establishing the hegemony of the English language : "I may be fully justified in saying that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning." He pleaded with the Select Committee for use of English in Indian Courts in place of Persian. That would help better proceedings in law courts because the judges would be able to use their mother-tongue and also help spreading of English in India. In modern India, in spite of the need to develop the regional languages, the need to retain English as the lingua franca of the country is absolute. Because English is up till now the only language through which higher studies in arts, science and technology are possible, besides serving as a link language between the Centre and the States and among the States, so long as India's machinery for prompt translation of foreign languages remains inefficient. Furthermore, the Indo-European cultural contact through the centuries has facilitated most of the developments in cultural, scientific and

technological fields. While putting across his views on European Settlement in India before the Select Committee, Rammohun dreamt of a glorious India rejuvenated through English education : "India speaking English. India Christian, India socially anglicized, India possibly independent and India the enlightener of Asia." The perpetuation of Sanskrit education in India, as he correctly felt, would have been a bane to the country's progress. When he learnt that a Sanskrit school was being established by the Government in Calcutta, he wrote an indignant letter of protest to Lord Amherst in 1823 in which he vehemently discouraged the spread of Sanskrit education for "the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences." Everybody must understand how great was the service of the Father of Indian Renaissance to the cause of building a New India.

Love of freedom was the very basis of Rammohun's political thinking. When the people of England were convulsed with excitement over the fate of the Reform Bill then on the floor of the House of Commons, Rammohun strongly supported the Bill and even expressed his desire to go to and settle in America—the land of freedom—in the case of rejection of the Bill. When the Bill was passed he was so happy that in a letter to William Rathbone he wrote : "I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of your nation, nay of the whole world." He believed that a

eformed British Parliament might usher in freedom for India.

In 1823 when the Acting Governor-General Adam tried to curb free publication of journals in this country by promulgating an Ordinance, six prominent citizens of Calcutta wrote a letter of appeal to the Supreme Court in Calcutta. It was believed that Rammohun was the writer of the letter. There can be no further testimony to Rammohun's relevance to modern India when he said, "A free Press has never yet caused revolution in any part of the world"..."the more enlightened a people become the less likely are they to revolt". For the preservation of democracy in India the need for a free Press can scarcely be exaggerated. Freedom of expression has been guaranteed in the Constitution of India under Article 19 (1) (A) which is a safeguard for freedom of the Press in this country. Incidentally, the Supreme Court of India recently ruled that the newsprint policy of the Government of India militates against the said Article and hence permitted the Times of India to use more than ten pages in contravention of the Government policy.

Judicial and Agrarian Reforms

Rammohun's proposals about judicial reforms in India under Company rule have great relevance to this day. He made these proposals to the Select Committee in the form of Questions and Answers. In order to achieve speedy disposal of cases he proposed transfer of sudder amins from district headquarters to different suitable places of the district so that distance did not stand in the way of ensuring justice. To-day thousands of cases remain pending in India's High Courts and it is desirable that at least for settlement of petty cases district law-courts are decentralised on the lines suggested by Rammohun. (He also suggested streamlining of the Panchayet

System in India.) His proposal for separation of the offices of the judges and magistrates is valid even to day. It may be noted in passing that for sale of properties the Government runs sub-reistrars' offices in different parts of a district. Rammohun also suggested the need and measures for reducing the rush of the cases of appeal to the High Courts.

He was pained at the misery of the ryots in India. While giving his opinions on the land reforms in India he told the Select Committee : "Such is the melancholy condition of the agricultural labourers that it always gives me the greatest pain to allude to it." Which is why Rammohun earnestly pleaded with the Select Committee to recommend lowering of rents. He said that the loss suffered by the Government from reduction in rents might be compensated by raising revenue on luxury goods, used by the rich. To-day many State Governments have reduced rent on land and exempted ryots holding 3 acres of land from paying taxes. However, the abolition of the zemindari system has ameliorated the condition of the ryots to a great extent and the real sufferers to-day are bargadars and landless labourers. Rammohun pleaded for recognition of property rights of the ryots, because "if the rights of the ryots in the soil were recognised, they would be ready to rise in defence of the power that secured them, as a militia; so as to secure the the British rule alike from internal intrigue and external aggression without the necessity of keeping on foot an immense standing army at an enormous cost." Changing the context a little it may be said that if the rights of the bargadars on the soil are now recognised, it will ensure larger production of crops.

Once Rammohun exhorted the Hindus "to become tradesmen, rather than mere copyists or sircars" (*Sambad Kaumudi*). The relevance

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of this exhortation to the present-day unemployment-plagued India, nay West Bengal, is beyond question.

He was of the view that the non-recognition of the rights of Hindu women in the Hindu Law over the properties of their husbands and fathers was partly responsible for the distress of the Hindu widows. He pleaded with the Indian Government to recognise these rights but did not succeed.

To-day, however, these rights have been recognised which again proves the foresight of Rammohun.

Lastly, Rammohun holds aloft the torch of truth for dispelling the darkness of communalism in India. His Saiva system of marriage was intended to break the shackles of caste on India. Religious tolerance was Rammohun's creed and the need for inculcating this virtue is really great in secular India.

BANGLADESH AND THE UNITED NATIONS

PRABAL KUMAR SEN

The role of the United Nations :

Bangladesh was discussed in the U.N. Security Council for the first time on December 4, 1971 when the Secretary General U. Thant in a letter to the Council brought the out-break of India-Pakistan hostilities to its attention. Ever since the beginning of the deliberations in the Security Council the United States and its friends betrayed a particular haste in getting a cease-fire resolution passed by the fifteen-member body. The first U. S.-sponsored resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops was vetoed on the second day of the commencement of discussion by the Soviet Union. A similar resolution sponsored by eight members of the Council and supported by the United States met with the same fate as its predecessor. In both the votes Britain and France cast abstentions as they questioned

the efficacy of any proposal of peace which lacked unanimity of all the five permanent members. Meanwhile a Soviet resolution calling for a political settlement in East Bengal prior to cease-fire fell through, it being able to receive the support of not more than two members of the Council, namely of the Soviet Union herself and of Poland.

As the repeated vetoes by the Soviet Union created a deadlock in the Security Council, the issue was referred to the General Assembly on the night of December 6 under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 3, 1950. This resolution envisages among other things the provision for an emergency special session of the General Assembly on twenty four hours' notice on request of nine (originally seven) members of the Security Council or a majority of the members of the United Nations if the Security Council, because of a lack of unani-

mity among the permanent members, fails to act in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression.

This emergency session of the General Assembly passed on 7th December a thirteen-member resolution calling upon India and Pakistan "to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their Armed Forces" from each others' territory.

Consequent upon India's refusal to respond to the General Assembly call for immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, which would have meant a stark betrayal of the Bangladesh people in the most opportune moment of their freedom struggle, United States once again made a futile attempt to get a cease-fire resolution passed by the Security Council. The infructuous resolution which had urged immediate withdrawal of troops by both India and Pakistan in effect sought to restore to Pakistan diplomatically what the latter lost on the battlefield. It is significant to note here that by December 13, when the U. S. resolution was tabled in the Council and vetoed by the Soviet Union, Indian Armed Forces in concert with the Bangladesh Mukti Bahini, had liberated all the strategic points in eleven out of seventeen districts of Bangladesh including the garrison town of Jessore.

Shortly before the U. S. resolution was given to vote, Japan and Italy submitted a new nine-point draft resolution in an effort to break the deadlock which they foresaw would result over the U. S. draft. The Italian-Japanese draft urged the immediate opening of negotiations on a comprehensive political settlement (in Bangladesh) and provided for the creation of a three-member committee to assist the two countries in restoring normal conditions in the area.

As the Italian-Japanese efforts were

continuing in the direction of reaching a meaningful solution to the problem, came off the historic event of the capitulation of the Pakistani forces in Dacca in the afternoon of December 16. Within hours of the liberation of Bangladesh the Indian Cabinet decided to cease-fire on the western front with effect from 20-00 hours (Indian Standard Time) on December 17, 1971. The Indian offer of unilateral cease-fire was immediately made known to the United Nations through her Foreign Minister who was then staying in New York. Indian Foreign Minister also requested the world body to put off the discussion on the issue of the withdrawal of troops till the cease-fire was consolidated.

Quite in tune with India's request were the tone and timing of the Security Council resolution of 21st December, 1971. The resolution which was sponsored by six non-permanent members of the Council including Argentina and Japan demanded the strict observance of "durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities" in order to pave the way for an early and smooth withdrawal of troops. It also authorised the Secretary General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of "humanitarian problems" in the region. The resolution was passed by thirteen votes in favour of it and none against with two members abstaining the poll.

This resolution was certainly an improvement over the previous ones as it had shown some signs of the Security Council's having recognized (though not fully) the realities of the situation in the Indian subcontinent. This view is strengthened firstly by the conspicuous absence of a reference to "East Pakistan" which was being desperately sought to be included in the draft by the friends of Pakistan in the Council ; and secondly by its waking to the fact of the emergence of

serious humanitarian problem in the region. No wonder therefore that the resolution could not satisfy the Pakistani President, Mr. Bhutto, who declared it as "inadequate".

In pursuance of this resolution the Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim appointed on December 25 a special U. N. representative, Mr. Vittorio Winspeare-Guicciardi, in India and Pakistan to help solve the humanitarian problem in the sub-continent.

Meanwhile Mr. Guicciardi is reported to have taken entry visa from the Bangladesh Mission in Calcutta before his visit to that country raising the speculation in the Indian press that it amounted to a de-facto recognition by the United Nations of the new regime. His reports on humanitarian reconstruction in the war-ravaged Bangladesh also has demonstrated evidence of his goodwill for the newborn nation and his annoyance on wilful propaganda against the new regime on the so-called issue of the security of the non-Bengali Muslims there. Another significant development, trifling though it may appear at its face value, is the news that the Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in his message of early February to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has addressed the Sheikh as "Prime Minister, Bangladesh." This is significant because it was the first time when a U. N. Official, and that too the chief executive himself, called the erstwhile province of East Pakistan by its new name and Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman by his present designation.

An Appraisal of the U. N.'s Role :

Any retrospective look on the United Nations' role vis-a-vis the Bangladesh movement would, however, at once bring to light two sorry features.

The first and the most glaring one among them is that of the tragic indifference of the world body's members towards the most dreadful of genocides ever known in the

history of civilized man. Ever since the beginning of the liberation movement in Bangladesh which was an immediate consequence of the Pakistani army's unprecedented crackdown on the unarmed people of the region, member-countries of both the General Assembly and the Security Council demonstrated a pathetic obsession with the sanctity of the domestic jurisdiction clause of the U. N. Charter; and in their blind obsession they forgot that there was a necessary interconnection between the sovereignty of States and the preservation of certain fundamental rights of their citizens. Their obsession was reflected first in their failure to bring the dreadful happenings in Bangladesh to the notice of either the General Assembly or the Security Council though Articles 35(1) and 39 of the U. N. Charter have clearly authorized the members to do so. Article 35(1) reads : "Any member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 ("which might lead to international friction or give rise to dispute," to the attention of Security Council or of the General Assembly." Article 39 lays down :

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security." The language of the Article suggests, as Kelsen also points out that action is to be taken "by the Security Council on its initiative". But since the Security Council is nothing but a body of members the "initiative of the Security Council" or the "Security Council shall determine" means that "any member of the Security Council may ask to put such a case on the agenda of the Security Council."

Members gave evidence of their obsession once again when the issue actually came up for discussion in the two premier bodies of the U.N. Though an article in the General Assembly's resolution of December 7 had urged for speedy action on the part of both India and Pakistan for conditions being created for the return of the refugees to their homeland, in effect it was a meaningless proposition in the absence of a reference to an essential political settlement in East Bengal. To talk of the return of the refugees but not touching on the theme of the problem which only could ensure their return, is nothing but sheer hypocrisy and that is what was revealed of the General Assembly by its resolution of December 7, 1971.

The second feature that is brought out by any appraisal of the U.N.'s role vis-a-vis the Bangladesh movement is that of the Secretary-General's failure to rise to the occasion. The Secretary-General's irresponsibility in not invoking Article 99 until December 4 can never be overlooked. Article 99 lays down : "The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the international peace and security." As the term "may" suggests, the reference to the Security Council by the Secretary General is his right and discretion not his duty. Still the fact remains that the Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the organization and he has come to acquire a significant position. We see that from 1954 onwards the General Assembly and the Security Council "increasingly vested in him diplomatic as well as operational responsibilities for the maintenance or restoration of peace". "This was so because of the decline of the Security Council and ascendancy of the General Assembly in the first decade of the U.N. and then the decline of the General Assembly and ascendancy of the Secretary General acting under delegated

authority of the General Assembly and the Security Council in the second decade." (S. K. Mukherjee, Bangladesh and International Law, July, 1971, W.B.P.Sc. Association, Calcutta, p.15.) Although the Security Council has begun to be dominant again, and the position of the Secretary General has been on the decline there is no dearth of instances of independent action being taken by the Secretary-General even in this period of growing supremacy of the Security Council. The latest such instance being the Secretary-General's action in withdrawing the U.N. Emergency Force from the Egyptian-Israeli borders in 1967 without even a reference to the Security Council. So, given the will to do so, there was no particular hurdle for the Secretary-General to invoke Article 99 on the Bangladesh issue.

The hesitant Secretary-General of 1971 would have done well to recall this statement of a late Secretary-General in 1958. Dag Hammarskjold stated in 1958 : "it is in keeping with the philosophy of the charter that the Secretary-General also should be expected to act without any guidance from the Assembly or the Security Council should this appear to him necessary towards helping to fill any vacuum that may appear in the systems which the charter and traditional diplomacy provide for safeguarding of peace and security." Bangladesh issue was surely one which threatened the maintenance of international peace and security. Here it is pertinent to recall that in April 1966 the Security Council invoked the argument that gross denial of human rights constitutes a "threat to the peace" to justify economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

The argument that the Secretary-General was incompetent to intervene in the Bangladesh issue in the absence of a Pakistani request to do so is rather ludicrous. A government responsible for a crime cannot be

expected to request the United Nations to undo that crime and punish the criminal that is itself. Moreover, as S. K. Mukherjee (Bangladesh and International Law, July, 1971, p-17) rightly points out, "if reference of a matter under Article 99 to the Security Council by the Secretary-General is to depend always on a prior request of legitimate government then Article 99 loses all meaning and significance."

Secretary-General's inaction until the India-Pakistan hostilities actually broke out on December 3, cannot be explained even by the argument that by having recourse to Article 99 earlier he would have interfered in the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan and thereby infringed Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter. For, the General Assembly and the Security Council by passing a number of resolutions on Apartheid and by invoking economic sanction against the South African Government for its policies of racial discrimination have shown that the suppression of human rights even of its own citizens makes a government liable to U.N. action. Further, the International Commission of Jurists stated at Aspen last September that since violations of human rights are a matter of international concern and not protected by the domestic jurisdiction provision of Article 2(7), offending members should not be allowed to shelter behind this clause from appropriate U.N.

action. Thus the Secretary-General's default is explicable on no grounds.

While the Secretary-General's virtual inaction for nine long months is too conspicuous to be simply ignored, there should be no illusion that his invocation of Article 99 earlier would have solved all problems. The results of his doing so in March would not have been anything different from the results that followed his actual invocation of the Article in December had the members shown themselves to be as much reluctant to recognize the realities of the situation then as they were until late December.

* * * *

The United Nations' inability to solve the problem in Bangladesh is sad no doubt as it adds yet another failure to its long list of them. But sadder still is the possible prospect of its being confronted with a determined defiance by a nation which asked for but could not receive much-needed succour from the world body during the most fateful days of its existence. Let us wish that it would not face such an eventuality. But it may be possible only if all its inglories of its past its inaction, hesitation and partisanship—are given a final and decisive burial here and now in the same way as burial has been given to the hitherto dominant elements of religious bigotry, racial discrimination and colonial domination on the soil of Bangladesh.

SELF EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY FOR BETTER UTILIZATION OF LABOUR

G. P. SAXENA

The under-utilization of labour is very chronic in almost all the developing nations of the world, which has been described as under-employment or disguised un-employment by various economists. There are three ways to eradicate this under-utilization of labour. The first way is to create wage employment in most urban areas, which is very difficult to arrange as it will require a 15 to 20% rate of growth in employment, which is beyond the capacity of achievement of developing countries. The second way is to have balanced development both in rural and urban areas which is also not very feasible because of peculiar problems of agricultural operations. Naturally we have to fall back upon the third method of creating self-employment both in rural and urban areas so that, thereby a proper utilization of labour is assured.

Self-employment is a necessity because of the peculiar structure of the Indian economy. About 70% of the population is engaged in agriculture and the achievements of various plans indicate that there has not been any significant change in the proportion of labour force engaged in agriculture and non-agricultural occupations. This shows that it is not easy to take out a large portion of the agricultural population and settle them in urban areas. At the time of agricultural operation, there is scarcity

of labourers and sometimes agriculture labour has to be imported from outside. When the agriculture season is over most of manpower is out of job but it is difficult for the farmer to leave the village because of the land in his possession. Therefore, some self-employment should be created so that peasants may combine agriculture with other occupations.

Self-employment in Agriculture

With the ushering in of the green revolution purchasing power in rural areas has increased and this can properly be utilized by offering some consumer personal services to the farmers. We have witnessed increase of tubewells, tractors, transistors in rural areas. Rural peasants also want better furniture, better food and clothing. Hence, there is a great scope for establishing repairing workshops and consumer services in a self-employed sector.

The repair workshops of transistors, motor cycles, radios, tractors, and agricultural implements can be established without much difficulty. Similarly people living near urban areas may be encouraged to take the work of poultry, piggery, dairy, in self-employed sector as products of these industries will have ready markets in adjoining urban areas. Some training for tailoring and furniture making should be started in rural areas so that trainees

coming out of these occupations may not hanker after a wage employment but may stand on their own feet. No minimum qualifications should be laid down for training in other occupations as in rural areas generally people with little education do these jobs. It may also be suggested that self-employment can only succeed if infra-structure is provided ; for example, there is need of permanent roads, bridges, marketing centres and easy credit without red tapism.

Urban Sectors

In urban areas there is a growing demand for radio transistors, scooters and electric goods. These are the vocations where self-employment in repairing work is possible without much capital. It can provide sufficient income to craftsmen like welders, wiremen, radio and transistor mechanics and motor mechanics. Poultry and dairy work can also be run profitably in urban areas.

There are certain occupations in which, if the required training is given to the sons of the soil, creation of employment opportunities for a large number of people may be

possible. Medical facilities are lacking in both rural and other areas. If a three-year diploma course is introduced in medicine(in all the branches of allopathic, ayurvedic, unani and homeopathy) these persons can be employed on their own account and can become a source of welfare to the rural masses. Training in such occupations like medical lab technicians, pharmacists and opticians should also be given to the residents of small towns so that they may open their own clinics. It is also a common fact that such elementary medical facilities for testing blood, etc. are not available in small towns, and the people of these small towns have to travel long distances for a small pathological test. Hence these training facilities may create employment for a number of people in small towns.

I have deliberately not described the professions of lawyers, petition writers, goldsmiths, tea vendors and other traditional workers as those engaged in the sale of general goods, ; because such professions are well-known and do not require much occupational instruction.

THE TWENTYFOURTH AMENDMENT

Mrs. ALEY T. PHILIP

Article 13(2)

The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part, and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of contravention, be void.

Art. 368. Procedure for Amendment of the Constitution

An amendment of this Constitution may be initiated only by the introduction of a Bill for the purpose in either House of Parliament, and when the Bill is passed, in each house by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for his assent, and upon such assent being given to the Bill, the Constitution shall stand amended in accordance with the terms of the Bill. The amendment shall also require to be ratified by the legislatures of not less than one-half of the States.....before the Bill making provision for such amendments is presented to the President for assent.

Introduction

In recent times the Indian constitution has been amended a number of times, beginning with the 24th amendment which was the precursor of all later amendments. They are all aimed at restricting fundamental rights, especially the right to property, with a view to speedy advancement towards the "garibi hatao" goal. The validity or otherwise of

25th, 26th, 27th and 28th amendments will depend on the validity of the 24th amendment. Thus it was little wonder that the 24th amendment was the subject of a great deal of legal controversies and even to-day they have not subsided.

The 24th Amendment

The constitutional lawyers of India have been more or less equally divided on the issue of the propriety and soundness of the 24th amendment. To some it means "victory to the people" and to a few others it means the "end of Fundamental rights".

Napoleon once told Talleyrand that a Constitution ought to be short and clear—but Talleyrand replied "No Sir, it ought to be long and obscure." Indian Constitution is long and seems in places to be obscure ; with the result, as was predicted by many in 1950, that it has become a lawyer's paradise.

Every state has a constitution and it is an instrument of Government accepted by the people at a certain stage in the progress of a country. That instrument is not of any final value. It implies therefore that all constitutions must grow with time, to be in tune with changing economic and social conditions. "Constitutions stand still, while nations go forward" said Macaulay and this leads to revolution. The methods of amendment are provided for in all the constitutions and it is often asserted that a constitution is only as

safe as its amending method. Thus the methods of amendments are the safety valves of the constitution. Article 368 of the Indian Constitution contains the amending process. The framers did not want the constitution to be more rigid, nor too flexible, and so article 368 was preserved.

Judicial Review

India is a federal state where both the Centre and the States have derived their authority from the Constitution, making the Constitution supreme. In a federal state, there must be some authority to see that nothing conflicts with the Constitution. This function has been given to the Supreme Court, which has the right of judicial review over executive and legislative action. Judicial review is a process by which the Supreme Court tests acts of the legislature and executive, for compliance with fundamental constitutional principles and if they are found to be contrary, they may be declared null and void, and ultra vires of the Constitution. Thus, in so far as India has accepted judicial review, the Supreme Court becomes the "watch-dog" and the "balance wheel" of the Constitution. The final question whether an amendment or a law is valid or not is to be decided by the Supreme Court.

The scope of judicial review is not unrestricted. It exists only as a result of express or implicit provision in the Constitution. The Courts must interpret the Constitution with the utmost caution especially when such interpretation affects the jurisdiction of other organs. So there is need for judicial restraint.

The 24th amendment is the result of the dissatisfaction of the Parliament, with the Supreme Court judgement in Golaknath's case, curtailing the right of the Parliament to amend the fundamental rights, of Part III of the Constitution.

Amendments to the Right to Property

Part III of the Indian Constitution guarantees to the Indian citizens various fundamental rights. The purpose of writing them in the Constitution is to withdraw them from the changing pattern of political controversy, and place them beyond a temporary political majority in the legislature. They are called fundamental for 2 reasons. (1) Because they are primordial rights necessary for the development of human personality. They form the basis of civilized existence. (2) They are fundamental also because the Constitution forbids their violation by any "law" (according to article 13).

No fundamental right can be absolute because they exist only in relation to a society. They must be regulated to serve the interests of the society, and the Constitution of India gives Parliament the right to impose "reasonable restrictions". The various rights that are guaranteed to us include the right to equality, life, liberty, freedom of speech and expression, of religion, right to association etc., none of which has created any unusual problem. The present Constitutional controversy centres round the right to property recognized in Articles 19 and 31. Article 19 has not created any serious difficulty, while article 31(2) has been the storm-centre. The storm has gathered round the word "Compensation". Article 31 seeks to regulate the right of the State over private property.

It is little wonder that a ruling party with its socialistic stance, from the Avadi Session of the Congress, should try to abridge the right to property, because, in the opinion of many, article 31 (1) and (2) were road-blocks to the Socialistic Elysium. Article 31 had to be amended in 1951, 1955, and 1964, by the 1st, 4th and 17th amendments.

As soon as the Constitution came into force, cases were filed in the Courts challen-

ging the validity of land reform legislation like Bihar Zamindari Act, etc., on the ground that they violated the right to property. One of these appeals was upheld by the Patna High Court on the basis that it violated the right to property and equality. This necessitated the first amendment in 1951, which said that no law providing for acquisition by the State of any estate, shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it was inconsistent with any fundamental right. A number of land legislations were included in the 9th schedule giving them immunity from judicial review. In 1954, in State of West Bengal, Bella Banerjee, the Supreme Court held that the "Compensation" payable in respect of property acquired by the State must be "just and equivalent", equal to the market value of the said property. The result was the 4th Constitution amendment, 1955, specifying that the principles of compensation were to be fixed solely by the Parliament, and that no law could be questioned by any court on the ground that compensation provided by that law is not adequate. The term "public purpose" was enlarged in meaning, and many more land reform acts were declared immune from the jurisdiction of the courts by including them in the 9th schedule. In 1964, the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill was passed widening the scope of the word "estate" and also including more laws in the 9th schedule, as laws that cannot be challenged on the ground that they violated the rights. Thus the result of the three amendments has been a progressive curtailing of the right to property. It showed the anxiety of the government to nationalize various industries, and its impatience with the right to property in order to usher in socialistic millennium.

The three amendments cited above have considerably abridged the right to property and the Supreme Court held, consistently, that

the Parliament had the power to amend any part of the Constitution including fundamental rights according to procedure laid down in article 368. Then no one said a word. No political party said that the Parliament was playing havoc with fundamental rights. The Supreme Court held that law in article 13 did not refer to Constitutional amendments but only to "ordinary law". It negated the argument of the petitioners in Sajjan Singh's case, and held that the "law" does not include an amendment of the Constitution.

In 1967 came the celebrated Golaknath's case when an appeal was filed against the Punjab Security Land Tenures Act and Mysore Land Reforms Act, challenging their validity. This was referred to a special bench of eleven judges, and by majority of one, i. e. 6 against 5, the historic judgement was given that the Parliament did not have the right to amend the fundamental rights because of the restrictions imposed by article 13. For the first time the majority judges argued that constitutional amendment was also "law." The crucial point was the constitutional construction of the word "Law". Chief Justice Subba Rao in the course of the judgement in Golaknath's case declared that "amendment to the constitution under article 368 can be nothing but law". Therefore law, in Article 13, was an amendment of the constitution under article 368 ; and if it was that, the majority judgement declared that the fundamental rights could not be further amended. In other words, the Parliament has no right to amend the fundamental rights, since article 13 forbids the State to make "any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by Part III". So the restriction imposed by the Supreme Court on the power of the Parliament to amend the constitution, is discovered by the Supreme Court from article 13 (2).

This was certainly a historic, and revolutionary interpretation. The Chief Justice referred to the various rulings of the Supreme Court, which described the fundamental rights as "Sacrosanct, Paramount, inalienable, transcendental" and pointed out that if this was the nature of rights, they could not be amended by Parliament. In his opinion the framers had intended to give a place of permanence to fundamental freedoms.

In giving the historic decision, the Supreme Court reversed its earlier decisions, on the measuring of the term 'law' in article 13 (2). The Chief Justice admitted that the Court was usually reluctant to reverse its own earlier decisions unless under exceptional circumstances. "Yet," said the Chief Justice "it was its duty to the constitutional field to correct itself as early as possible". Thus it reversed the opinion it had held for the last 16 years, from 1951-1967, and that too by a majority of just One. The majority judges applied to this decision the doctrine of prospective overruling and the decision was applicable only to the future amendments and not to the past. This created a lacuna where the amendments were valid in the past but not in the future. The majority judgement also held that the Parliament's right to amend the Constitution came, not from article 368, but from article 245, 246, 248, all of them dealing with the legislative power of the Parliament. It was pointed out by the judges that article 368 only contains the procedure for amendment, and not the substantive power of amendment itself. This was evident from the marginal note to article 368.

The minority judges, Justices Wanchoo, Bachavat, Mitter, Bhargava and Ramaswamy disagreed with the majority judgement, and affirmed that the Parliament had the power to amend the fundamental right provisions. The main basis of their reasoning was that

a Constitutional amendment was not 'law' within the meaning of article 13. The judges asked as to why no restriction regarding the amending power was mentioned in Article 368, and concluded that "when this article (art. 13) prohibits making any law, which infringes the fundamental rights, it is only referring to ordinary legislative power conferred on Parliament and legislature." It was strange to read any limitation on the amending power of the Parliament in article 368. The minority judgement rejected the petitioners' arguments in Golaknath's case that in 16 years a large number of amendments to the constitution had been made by the Parliament, abridging fundamental rights, and that, therefore, it should be restricted by judicial interpretation. The courts had to interpret, they asserted, the articles on the basis of well-known canons of interpretation, and no judicial interpretation was possible on the political arguments advanced on behalf of the petitioners. 'The distinction between 'law' and 'constitutional amendment' is so fundamental that the constitution cannot be regarded as law" said Justice Ramaswamy in support of the minority stand. The minority judges pointed out that the fundamental right was to be regulated to serve the interest of the general public and it could not be assumed that the framers had intended to forge a political straight jacket for generations to come.

Parliament took this decision of the Supreme Court as a challenge to its supremacy. Such a situation, of a conflict between the legislature and the judiciary, is not peculiar to India. In any constitution that has accepted judicial supremacy, a situation like this can occur. In the U. S. A. occasionally, the House of Representatives and the Senate discuss the acceptability of judicial interpretation, at times even denounce the decisions.

Such a situation generates a great deal of political heat. Justice Charles Luan Hughes, one time Chief Justice of the American Supreme Court remarked "we live under a constitution but constitution is what the judges say it is". In the U. S. A. most often, after heated discussion finally the whole controversy is dropped. Adverse Supreme Court decisions are occasionally overcome by constitutional amendments dealing with the substance of the disputed issue.

In India it is a pity that the whole question of the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary has become a highly emotional political issue. The Parliament spoke of reforming the Supreme Court and "politicising" judges, and of "committed judges." Many thinking people wanted the whole issue to be referred back to the Supreme Court so that it could review its decision in the Golaknath's case. The conflict was heightened as a result of two important bills the Government introduced.

(1) In 1969 the bank nationalisation ordinance was passed. The Supreme Court struck it down on the ground that compensation was not assessed according to any "recognizable principle." Later in July 1969, when the Bank Nationalisation Bill was passed, the Government had to pay the tremendous sum of Rs. 87 crores as compensation to the banks. This further added fuel to the smouldering fire.

2. The second bill was introduced in Dec. 1970 to derecognize the Princes. Following its defeat in the Rajya Sabha the Government had the President pass an order derecognising the Princes. This order was held illegal by the Supreme Court since it violated the right to property. This brought on a direct confrontation bewteen the Parliament and the Supreme Court.

This is the background to the 24th amendment.

The 24th and 25th amendments are very closely related, though they must be discussed separately. Controversy centres round the 24th. The 24th amendment is seeking to restore to the Parliament its right to amend the constitution including the fundamental rights--the power that it lost in 1967. The following are the details of the bill.

It seeks to amend article 13 and article 368.

It proposes to change the marginal note of article 368 by making it clear that it contained not only the procedure but it also contains the power of the Parliament to amend the constitution. It adds 2 sub articles to 368, 1. 3 sub article (1) to 368—that notwithstanding anything contained in the constitution, Parliament may in exercise of its constituent power amend any part of the constitution in accordance with the article 368.

Sub-article (2)—that nothing in article 13 should apply to any amendment made under article 368. It also adds that the President does not have the right of withholding the assent to a constitutional amending Bill.

The 24th amendment reverses the whole position and restores to the Parliament the right to amend the fundamental rights. It must be added that a great deal of ingenuity has gone into the drafting of the bill, in order to see that the bill is not declared invalid. A great deal of thought has been expended on this question. The amendment bill seeks to amend article 13, which does not deal directly with fundamental rights but only indirectly. It also seeks to change article 368, which cannot be declared void, because it does not deal with fundamental rights. Thus the bill has been drafted in such a way so that, without violating the judgement in Golaknath's case and coming into confrontation with the Supreme Court, the Parliament can get back

its right to amend fundamental rights. With both articles 13 and 363 amended, the Parliament will be reinstated in its original position.

When the 24th Constitution amending bill has been passed, then the Parliament will be free to introduce the 25th amendment, seeking to curtail the right to property, and the 26th amendment abolishing Privy Purse.

It must not be forgotten that the Supreme Court still has the right of judicial review. It is the right of the Supreme Court to decide finally whether the 24th Amendment Bill is valid or not. This will depend on the construction the court will give to articles 13 and 368. The future of the Indian constitution depends on this decision. When the 24th amendment Bill goes to the Supreme Court, as it will in course of time, it can do two things. (1) It can approve the decision in Golaknath's case and deny Parliament the right to amend fundamental rights, (2) or it can reverse it. If it upholds the judgement in Golaknath's case, and declares the 24th Amendment Bill void, it might precipitate a direct confrontation between the Parliament and the Supreme Court. Should that happen, it has been suggested by some constitutional authorities, that the President, relying on his right to appoint judges of the Supreme Court, can appoint judges, who are likely to validate the amendment. The Supreme Court has 4 or 5 vacancies at present.

If it is declared valid, the Parliament becomes supreme. It can take away all

fundamental rights.—The minorities may be denied certain rights. It can make a particular religion a state religion. It can deny the minorities the right to worship. The party in power has given various assurances that the "government is committed to secularism and fair play to the minorities". Such oral assurances are like straws in the wind because they do not bind any future party that may come into power. Thus when the Parliament becomes supreme we must be willing not merely to accept the good, but also all concomitant dangers inherent in such a decision.

We may also remember that by making the Parliament supreme we are really giving more power into the hands of the executive. When all is said the cabinet controls the legislature. It is also true that unprincipled men in power can use Parliaments to scuttle democracy.

Conclusion

There is no reason to believe, if the past be any guide, that the Parliament is going to be irresponsible and dictatorial. In fact during the last twentyfour years the Parliament has amended the constitution only when it was found to be absolutely necessary.

The only guarantee for all this is sensitive and strong public opinion. One can only wait to see if the twentyfourth amendment will be declared valid or not. Whatever the decision, it will be momentous, because the future of the Indian Constitution depends on that decision.

DEMOCRACY AND GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF TRUTH, MORALITY & RELIGION

Dr. VIJENDRA SINGH

"Democracy is claimed as the proper ideal description of all systems of political and social organization advocated by influential proponents."¹ But of late the democratic system has begun to show some cracks. It has been because truth, morality and religion have remained neglected in most of the democracies. These virtues are deemed to have no concern with the democratic system. Because of its 'irreligiousness', democratic system is causing all round moral deterioration which in its own turn is eating into the vitals of democracy. Rowdyism and lawlessness are on the increase. If we do not strike at the root of this evil, democracy will break into pieces. But by his support of religion, the present author does never mean the establishment of theocracy. By 'religion' he simply means adherence to principles which would carry people above material interests. A true religion stands for "the voluntary acceptance and enthusiastic fulfilment of the duties that naturally came one's way—Swadharma."² And "Incorporation of religion in polities would mean a progressive movement towards justice and truth."³

Principles and Maladies of Democracy :

Equality, liberty and justice are said to be pillars essential for the edifice of democracy. In most of the democracies, these

pillars are found in name only. This was the reason which prompted Gandhiji to say that, "Western democracy as it functions to-day is undiluted Nazism and Fascism."⁴

In true spirit, no democracy has liberty, no democracy has equality and no democracy has justice. Law is failing to make them available to the masses because sense of Swadharma is lacking all round. If we wish to establish a popular democracy and not a legal democracy, spiritual safeguards will also be necessary along with legal safeguards.

In democracy, transgression of one's right is a common sickness. Therefore, Sarvodaya lays special emphasis on man's duties and obligations. There should not be a scramble for power. A people's representative sticks to office like a leech. He does not hesitate to change the party for selfish ends without taking consent of those who elected him. This is clearly a betrayal of the trust reposed in him.

There is an ocean of difference between the words and deeds of those who have an opportunity to lead the masses. When they have to woo the public to their fold, they would promise everything but once they win, they care least about their words. They would pretend to be very honest, pious and innocent before the public but their actions in private

are despicable. This ailment has no legal medicine. It can be cured only by moral medication.

True democracy can never be established through untruthful and violent means. Untruthful means will remove all opposition by suppression or extermination. Suppression is another name of autocracy on the part of suppressors and of slavery on the part of the suppressed. Fear of law can check outward violence but not that violence which is seated in the mind or soul. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has very aptly remarked, "Politicians are not generally reputed to take religion seriously, for the values to which they are committed, such as the political control of one people by another, the economic exploitation of the poorer and weaker human beings, are so clearly inconsistent with the values of religion that the latter could not be taken too seriously or interpreted too accurately."⁶

Gandhiji's Views on Truth, Morality and Religion :

According to Aristotle, "The true end of the state is the perfection of all its members."⁷ If a Government works for all it is pure, but if it runs only in the interest of those who are governors themselves, it is corrupt. Perfection can be attained not only by material contentment, spiritual advancement is also necessary for it. Spiritual advancement means following the path which leads towards absolute truth.

In the opinion of Gandhiji, truth must be the basis of Swarajya or self-government. He declared that, "Swarajya secured at the sacrifice of truth.....was meaningless."⁸ Truth is another name of God. "In the Upanishads, the supreme is said to be truth, knowledge and eternity : Satyam, Jnanam, Anantam Brahma. God is Lord of Truth, Satyanarayana."⁹ Gandhiji felt, "that all religions at their best prescribe the same

discipline for man's fulfilment."¹⁰ According to him, we are all sparks of truth ; truth implies truth in deed, thought and word,

For him religion was not a dogma or adherence to certain rituals. By religion he practically meant a code of conduct which was 'the basis of civil society and the source of all good and of all comfort'. His religion embraces all the religions of the world. In his own words, he makes it clear : "Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu Religion which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and whichever purifies."¹¹

He was not prepared to accept a religion which was devoid of reason. To him religion was a solution to all practical problems. As shoes are helpful for walking on thorns, religion is helpful while treading on the path of practical life of which political life is a part. If politics is not to be made a game of 'thieves and scoundrels' it will have to be made fragrant by the perfume of religion. Politics to Gandhiji was unthinkable without religion. He has said in so many clear words that, "those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics, do not know what religion means." Edmund Burke has supported the above view when he says, "True religion is the foundation of society, the basis on which all true civil government rests and from which power derives its authority, laws their efficacy and both their sanction. If it is once shaken by contempt, the whole fabric cannot be stable and lasting."¹²

There was a stage when Gandhiji thought of morality as the most important feature of his religion but later on he realized that morality was not only the most important feature but was the very heart of his religion. "Experience had taught him that the consciousness

of moral value was something more universal and more definite than belief in God..... Perhaps this change of emphasis was due to the fact that he met in India people who have a firm belief in moral values and scrupulously act on moral principles, but do not formally believe in God, and he felt that the soul of religion was morality which they had in a greater measure than many religious people.”¹³ In his own words, Gandhiji clarifies : “As soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man, for instance, cannot be untruthful, cruel and inconsistent and claim to have God on his side.”

Necessity of Religion in Democracy :

Truth and morality are the essential ingredients of the true religion. In democracy as against in other political systems, there is diffusion of power. All are made equal and are granted with sovereign rights. In absence of a sense of ‘Swadharma’ and selflessness, everybody would strive to get more and to offer less. The result would be all pervading grudge and enmity. Once a decision has been arrived at by majority, in democracy, minority has a duty to give every support to it. It has to make a sacrifice. Gandhiji propagated value of religion to plant in people the feeling of Swadharma.

In democratic systems, there is a necessity of prevalence of moral sense in the electors and those who are elected for various offices. Though there are appropriate laws to check malpractices yet laws in democratic systems have their own limitations. That is the reason why only one out of a thousand cases is held guilty by the Courts. Malpractices adopted during electioneering can be checked only when fear of law is supplemented by religious fervour and moral sense.

To check the prevailing violence also religion may prove to be a panacea. In a

despatch in the Hindustan Times, its London representative Mr. V. R. Bhatt enumerating the means of checking violence in American life, wrote, “.....the awakening of traditional religious and ethical restraints and the check of permissiveness have been mentioned by some commentators.”

Principles of truth, morality and religion are capable of providing a device which would safeguard democracy from going to ashes. “To a world lost in error and beset by the illusions of time, Gandhiji announces the value of the timeless principles of the truth of God and love of fellow men as the only basis for establishing right human relationships.”¹⁴

Conclusion :

In a democratic system power is wielded by people’s representatives. It is, therefore, likely ‘to rouse their passions and exposes them to great temptations’. If it is so, should we abandon the system ? Instead of doing away with it we can try to resist those passions and temptations and Gandhiji helps us in our effort. He gives a weapon of “an abiding faith in the absolute value of truth, love and justice and a persistent endeavour to realize them on earth.”

Democracy without religion will flow down-wards like an unrestricted river. It is bound to degenerate the masses. For making democracy a success, spiritual advancement is essential. Spiritual advancement requires special efforts. Nature of a man like water has a tendency to flow downwards. If it has to be taken to heights, checks are essential. Legal checks will not do. Religious or moral checks are essential for the uplift of man. Man can escape from the rigours of law but not from rigours of morality and religion.

Contemporary political philosophers study man psychologically but Gandhiji has studied him spiritually. He reestablishes a relationship between man and God. He wants to

reconstruct society with the help of religion. Truth and morality will prevail in it. Plato wanted a few to be philosophers for his Republic because he wished to establish an aristocracy, but in democracy power vests not in a few but in all and hence all are required to become 'philosophers', to a certain degree. Philosophers in the sense that they should not be immoral, violent and irreligious.

1. One of the points that emerged clearly from the answers of a questionnaire sent to scholars of many countries by the UNESCO in 1942, vide S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, Social Principles and the Democratic State, p. 332.
2. Verma, V. P. ; Modern Indian Political Thought (L. N. Agarwal, Agra, 1964) p. 336.
3. Ibid, p. 442.
4. Harijan : May 18, 1940 (Quoted by V. P. Verma in Indian Political Thought) p. 342.
5. 'Pouular Democracy' and 'Legal Democracy' have been derived from the 'popular sovereignty' and 'legal sovereignty' into which Dicey has classified sovereignty.
6. Radhakrishnan, S. : Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflections (edited by S. Radhakrishnan) p. 13.
7. Dunning, W. B. ; A History of Political Theories, p. 71.
8. Rajendra Prasad, Legacy of Gandhiji, p. 97.
9. Radhakrishnan, S., Mahatma Gandhi : Essays and Reflections, p. 25.
10. Ibid, p. 59.
11. Young India, May 12, 1920, p. 2
12. Quoted in the New Dictionary of Thoughts, p. 536.
13. S. Abid Hussain, The Way of Gandhi and Nehru, p. 10.
14. Rajendra Prasad, Legaey of Gandhiji, p. 111.

MANGO, TROPICAL ASIA'S MOST LUSCIOUS FRUIT INDIA'S NATIONAL FRUIT BUDDHA'S GROVE TREE BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Mango was once the monopoly of tropical Asia. But today it has a world-wide distribution from the tropics to the sub-tropics. Mango has been picked as the national fruit of India and Ceylon, as it is not only a part of the life and legend of the sub-continent but also in all parts of tropical Asia where Buddhism prevails—such as Burma, Thailand, Indo-China—and in other parts where Islam has replaced Buddhism—like Indonesia and Malaya.

'There is a deep fascination for the mango tree and its fruit, both among the Hindus and

Buddhists, perhaps because of its life-giving qualities to the rich and poor alike. Therefore it is not surprising that 90% of the world's mango crop is grown in tropical Asia, and of this, 80% is raised in India and Ceylon alone.

Mango, botanically known as *Mangifera indica* (family Annacardiaceae) suggests that the original home of this tree is India. It is believed to be indigenous to India at the base of the Himalayas, from where it has spread over the whole peninsula up to Ceylon and Andaman Islands. The cultivation of the fruit must have spread at an early age all

over the sub-continent, as there are historical records of mango orchards commercially cultivated at the Buddha's time—6 Century, B. C. There is also evidence that it was known to India's Indus valley civilization, which existed in 10 to 15 centuries B. C. They are represented by the modern Dravidian people of South India and North Ceylon.

Some believe that the spread of the mango to other South-East Asian lands was due to the missionary efforts of Emperor Asoka (236 B. C.). Later there was South Indian emigration to Thailand, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra in small waves. These emigrants married locally and they had regular trade with India. In the 6th century A. D. a Hindu Prince Srivijaye established an empire embracing Sumatra and Malaya. Thus the spread of mango into these regions was quite feasible at this period.

Vaisali had the famous mango grove which was donated to the Buddha by Ambapali, the famous courtesan of Vaisali. As her name indicates, Ambapali was the daughter of the owner of a mango orchard. This mango orchard is mentioned by the noble Chinese monk Fa-Hien in his travels in India and Ceylon in the 4th Century after Christ, as having visited it. He said it was in a good state of preservation then. Buddhist pilgrim Sung-Yun recorded in his travel notes that a mango grove was presented to the Buddha so that he might use it as resting place. This may be the identical grove at Vaisali. Huen T'Sang, the well-known Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who visited India and Ceylon on a pilgrimage, took its fame abroad about the 5th Century A. D.

Maha-Vana, another monastery at Vaisali where the Buddha held his discourses, was said to have been full of mango trees. Nalanda had the famous Pavarika mango grove where the Buddha stayed. As the narration in the

Mahaparinibbana Sutta relates, the Buddha on his last journey to Kushinara stayed at Pava in the mango grove of Chuna. Although it had not been stated, it is possible that Buddha was born in the Lumbini Gardens that contained not only sal trees but also mango trees scattered in the gardens.

Other important foreign travellers like Ibn Batuta, who visited India in the 8th Century A. D., also made frequent mention of the mango tree. Archaeological finds have also shown that it had an important place in Indian art. The stupa of Sanchi, which dates back to about 250 B. C., has various sculptured patterns of the tree and the fruit. It has been mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Kalidasa sang its praises.

Dr. D. C. Ahir states : "It is said from ancient times to the peoples of India and Ceylon that the Banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and Mango tree (*Mangifera Indica*) can claim to be their national trees. This trio is closely associated with Indo-Ceylon and South East Asian culture, whether Buddhist or Hindu."

Indian princes used to pride themselves on the possession of exclusive varieties and large mango gardens. Thus Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor, planted near Darbhanga the Lakh Bagh, a garden of 100,000 mango trees. *Ain-e-Akbari* contains a long account of the mango, giving information about the quality and varietal features of the fruit.

The soil and climate of India and tropical Asia are ideally suited to its cultivation. The giant mango tree near village Burail in Chandigarh area of the Punjab is a classic example of the magnitude to which a mango tree can grow. This tree, locally known as *Chappar*, has a trunk 32 feet in girth, with branches 5 to 12 feet in circumference and 70 to 80 feet long. The area over which the crown of the tree spreads is 2,700 sq. yards, and the average yield of fruit is 450 maunds.

India Year Book 1969 states : "During the immemorial ages that this fruit has grown on our soil, large numbers of varieties have developed. Some connoisseurs put the number of known varieties at 1,400, besides many unknown ones.

"The varieties of mango cultivated in this country provide an unusual diversity of flavours and tastes ; and in many parts of the country the mango serves as a staple article of food for several months in the year. Ripe fruit is also canned in various forms. It is also made into pickles, curries, preserves and *chutneys* of all sorts. Even the stone is not wasted. The kernel is dried, roasted and then eaten. In periods of food scarcity, the kernel is ground into flour and eaten as gruel. Many medicinal properties are also ascribed to mango. The bark is used in tanning leather, while the timber is utilized in various ways."

The tree grows rapidly to a height of 30 to 40 ft. and its dense, spreading and glossy foliage would secure its cultivation for the sake of its shady beauty alone. Its fruit, a drupe, though in the wild variety stringy and sour, from its containing much garlic acid, and with a disagreeable flavour of turpentine, has become sweet and luscious through culture and selection, to which we owe many varieties, differing not only in flavour but also in size, from that of a plum to that of an apple. The timber, although soft and liable to decay, serves for common purposes, and, mixed with sandal-wood, is employed in cremation by the rich Hindus and Buddhists.

The Mogols developed mango to great heights by scientifically breeding and grafting noble varieties to wild mango root stock. Today, both in India and Ceylon and South East Asia, mango orchards are developed by grafted trees. Here the quality of the fruit, productivity and size of the tree are of prime importance. In India, Mulgova, Borsha,

Alfonso and Bootla varieties—and in Ceylon, Jafana and Maha Amba—are grafted on to wild mango root stocks. There are numerous varieties in South East Asia and other parts of the world's tropics

Mango was immortalized in the Mughal, the Pahari and Rajasthani, also by the Deccani paintings in India and in Tamil, and the Singhala paintings in Ceylon. The English and the Portuguese fell under its spell and introduced it to North and South America and the West Indies. It is claimed the Mulgova and Borsha varieties from the Western Ghats were sent to California and Mexico by the British.

The capital of Ceylon is known in Singhala as Kolaba, which in turn is derived from two Sanskrit words Kola and Amba, which means mango leaves. The Anglicised word for Kolaba is Colombo. It is said that when the Portuguese landed in Colombo in the 17th century this area was covered with wild mango trees.

Even today the auspicious mango leaf is hung over the main entrance of Hindu homes both in India and Ceylon and Bali Isle on every festive occasion. Consecrated water is poured over mango leaves and then sprinkled all around.

The mango season both in India and Ceylon and S. E. Asia is at its peak during June and July. Dr. M. A. Husaini, an Indian authority on mango, states : "In one of the most popular and most poignant wedding songs of North India, the bride, on her way to the husband's house, beseeches 'Please put down my palanquin under the mango tree and tarry a whiie. Don't you know it is the month of July ?'"

The main crop of mangoes is obtained from May to July and a lesser crop from October to November. 60% of the mango trees in India are planted in the soil of Uttar

Pradesh, which gives it the delicate flavour and aroma. In Ceylon and South East Asia best mangoes are produced in the dry zones.

Everyone, whether Pakistani, Indian or Ceylonese, or South East Asian, would acclaim with one voice that mango is the best fruit. In the mango season it becomes the diet of the poor people, especially the wild-growing, inferior varieties. The ripe fruit is full of vitamins A and C.

Ripe fruit juice is made into sherbert and it is one of the best antidotes for common colds. The unripe fruit can also be eaten raw. In rural areas, when there are abundant supplies, the raw mango is cut up, salted, then sun dried and stored away for use in cooking when the fruit is out of season. Raw mangoes are cooked with salted fish to remove the salty flavour, which when served with rice gives a delicate taste.

To the Buddhists, as with Hindus, the mango fruit is used in the Buddhapuja and Deva pujas. A parcel of mangoes is usually carried as welcome and serene gifts to convalescing friends and relatives.

An international symposium on mango

culture was held in New Delhi early in July, 1969, under the auspices of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the International Society for the Horticultural Science. The symposium was attended by about 90 research workers from India and abroad, and it recommended the establishment of an international centre for mango research.

Indian and Foreign Review (July 15, 1969) states :

"A scheme for the description of important mango varieties grown in the country was initiated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in September, 1948. Two hundred and ten of the more important varieties were taken up for study, and extensive data was collected about all the various aspects of these mangoes which later appeared in a book.

"Research is now sought to be carried further. Apart from increasing yield and quality, other problems engaging scientists' attention are the control of mango malformation disease which was affecting the crop in some parts of India and, also, development of better post-harvest handling, processing and marketing procedures."



MEDICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ATHLETES

Dr. RABINDRA NATH BHATTA

Apart from injury in the field of sports we often come across athletes who occasionally suffer from some major or minor diseases. These patients have got to be diagnosed early and accurately so that they may not fail to demonstrate their actual athletic ability in ensuing athletic meets. Not only for this but they have also to be diagnosed quickly to prevent them from undergoing any permanent injury in health which in future may affect their lives in other spheres.

The diseases athletes suffer from have been classified according to certain specific principles. An attempt has also been made to arrange them in order of frequency of their incidence that may be found in our country.

Diseases of Infective Origin

Infection of skin and subcutaneous tissues :-

The commonest hazard in athletic field in our country that can be found is the infection of skin or subscutaneous tissue with staphylococcal or streptococcal infection. Predisposing causes being warmth and perspiration, friction of clothing, small contusions and abrasions.

Simplest form of skin infection is a Furuncle. Sometimes with a susceptible individual and increasing number of organisms, multiple furunculosis may set in.

Boils may be considered as large furuncles and a carbuncle to be a coalescence of furuncles.

Furuncles are normally seen over the parts where there is more perspiration and warmth.

In this condition the best prophylactic measure is to keep the part as clean as possible by soap and water and then to keep it in a dry state. Previous theory of cleansing the part with soap containing Hexoclorphane is now held untenable because of its toxicity.

If the Furuncles have already started it is better to treat them from the very start with proper antibiotics for their cure and also for the prevention of the spread of the infection simultaneously.

Fungus infections are also very common on the moist and warm areas of the skin. Ringworm is the commonest type of infection in this case. Epiidermophytosis occurs on the toes which may then spread to the foot and leg. This may cause eruption between the fingers, a so called phytid reaction.

There are several antifungal ointments which usually clear up infections rapidly. The discovery of a systemic antifungal agent which can be administered orally should be mentioned, for this often gives a beneficial result when prescribed.

The preventive measure against ringworm is to keep the part dry along with some antifungal powder or ointment. Daily changing of socks and regular checking of the toes

are all that are necessary for the prevention of spread of the infection.

Though Tetanus is a condition mainly affecting the nervous system, yet it is primarily an infection of the skin. In majority of cases the Tetanus infection is introduced into the body through broken skin.

Incubation period of this disease is from 3 to 21 days. Usually after this period symptoms of Tetanus become manifest.

Usual symptoms are stiffness of Jaw, Neck and Back. Headache and fever are associated manifestations and patient becomes unusually restless.

Prophylactic measure taken by giving Inj. A. T. S. 1500 unit for an adult after proper skin sensitivity test. Those who have been previously immunised, to them Tetanus Toxoid may be tried with three injections of adsorbed Tetanus Toxoid (0.5 ml each) of which two are given at an interval of six weeks followed by third injection after twelve months.

When signs and symptoms of Tetanus are revealed then the patient should be removed to a hospital for hospital line of treatment and also for isolation.

Warts :

Warty growth in the body is said to have its origin from virus infection. Young men are commonly affected. These are usually found on the fingers and toes. Warts on the fingers are very annoying, on the other hand when it occurs at the sole of foot very painful and often acts as a disabling agent. Warts may lead to haemorrhage if partially rubbed off.

There is no particular method of treatment for warts. Planter warts may be excised to give relief to the patient.

There is no prophylactic method also. In this case one should avoid spread by contact.

Pulmonary Tuberculosis :

India is a country where nearly 6 million people are found to be suffering from T. B. Of this population about half the suffering people are undiagnosed. So, possibility of T. B. amongst the athletes cannot be ruled out.

In case of T. B. some difficulty arises in diagnosing the disease and they are as follows :—

T. B. is a disease which sometimes have minor symptoms which may be overlooked. Sometimes patients are afraid of being diagnosed as T. B. sufferers for fear of some social problems. Sometimes even if they are diagnosed they try to conceal the disease for the same reason. Again we know that T. B. with its varied signs and symptoms may simulate many other diseases. Hence physicians occasionally miss the diagnosis.

So whenever an athlete suffers from undue fatigue, loss of weight, weakness, cough, slow fever, etc., he should be put under investigation for Tuberculosis, viz., X-Ray of chest, sputum and blood sedimentation rate examination.

If on investigations the athlete is found to be suffering from T. B. then he should start treatment immediately with anti-Tuberculosis drugs, viz., Streptomycin, I. N. H., and or PAS according to the nature of the case.

Treatment has got to be continued for at least a period of about a year and a half.

After the completion of the course of treatment, whether an athlete will come back to his original sphere or not, will depend on the nature of damage to the lungs caused by the disease and also on the nature of the game in which he is going to participate in the future. Consideration of the above facts rests entirely on the judgement of the physician concerned.

Amoebic Dysentery :

This is a condition where the intestines are affected by the Protozoal infection, viz., Entamobea Histolytica. Disease may be of two types, viz., the Acute and the Chronic Amoebic Dysentery. This is one of the commonest diseases of the Tropics and is very bothersome.

The disease may be manifested by periodic attacks of pain in the abdomen, several loose motions, low fever and Tenesmus. In some other cases constipation, colic pain, flatulence, low general health and neurasthenia may develop.

In the acute variety one may note high fever, black sloughy stools, pain in abdomen and frequent motions.

On examination caecum and colon may be found thickened and tender. Diagnosis is made by stool examination which under microscope may reveal Entamobea Histolytica Cysts or vegetative forms of the organism. Prophylaxis may be done under the following heads—proper hygiene to avoid infection. Di-iodoquin 2 tab twice daily for carriers.

For curative line of treatment number of anti-amoebic drugs can be had in the markets e. g., Enteroquinol, Enteroviosform, Chloroquin tabs, or Emetine Hydrochloride injection. Now-a-days antibiotic treatment with Cholorostrep, Streptoparaxin etc. also gives promising results.

Giardiasis :

Here symptoms are manifested by periodic attacks of flatulence, Anorexia, Diarrhoea, passage of yellow liquid, pasty stool and griping in the abdomen.

Infection is caused by pear shaped flagellated organism and diagnosis is made by microscopic examination of stool.

Fatality is unknown in this infection but it is very troublesome to the patient.

Disease when treated with Flagyl tablets gives a very good result.

Non-specific Ulcerative Colitis :

This is a disease characterized by insidious onset, periodic attacks of loose motion with blood and mucus in the stool following pain or discomfort in the abdomen. Tenesmus may sometimes be present. There may be associated glossitis, fever and loss of weight.

Exact etiology of the condition is not known. It may be possible that some unknown factor produces a change in the colon wall where some bacterial infection supervenes. Probably psychological factor working here as a primary agent which by its action via nervous pathway acts on the colon. Various studies on the effects of emotion on the colon have shown that emotional stress can produce some neurovascular change in the colon leading to lowered resistance of the mucosal barrier of infection.

Condition may be treated under the following heads :-

- (1) Rest and reassurance
- (2) Bland low residual diet with adequate vitamins.
- (3) Anti-spasmodics like Atropine, Belladonna Spasmindon, Baralgin or Neooctinum, etc.
- (4) Tranquilliser or Sedatives.
- (5) Soothing agent like Bismuth carb, Kaolin, etc.
- (6) Antibacterials like sulpha preparations or antibiotics.

Hepatitis :

Though signs and symptoms of acute infective hepatitis are obvious and patient so infected may not be found in the field of play, yet we should know that acute infective hepatitis may sometimes be of insidious onset and may even occur without any evidence of

clinical Jaundice. In these cases there may be symptoms of digestive disturbances, fatigue and depression. It may be associated with a low grade intermittent fever.

On examination liver is found enlarged and tender. Liver function test may show acute damage. Cephalin flocculation test may not revert to normal for many months.

Immediate retirement from athletic activity and absolute rest and treatment with broad spectrum antibiotics like Tetracycline and Hydrocortisone group of drugs should immediately be started. In these cases convalescence may be prolonged. Hence return back of an athlete to his original sphere may take a long time.

Amoebic Hepatitis :

An athlete occasionally suffering from Amoebiasis may often complain of general weakness, irregular bowels movement and dull aching pain in the liver region.

On examination the liver is found to be enlarged and tender. Caecum may be thickened and tender. Clinical evidence of Jaundice may be present. Stool examination may reveal Entamoeba Histolytica Cysts.

Treatment may have to be done with Inj. Emetine, Chloroquine or Amoebiotic etc. according to the case.

After recovery a prolonged period of rest is necessary before an athlete restarts his sports.

Influenza :

Though influenza is an epidemic disease yet in some areas of the world it remains as an endemic disease. Endemic influenza resembles epidemic Influenza but is less severe in character, occurring chiefly during the winter season. In an athletic meet sometimes players from different parts of the world assemble together. Hence the possibility of

Influenza outbreak in an athletic community cannot be overlooked.

The disease is characterized by sudden onset with fever (99°-101°F), bodyache, headache, malaise and anorexia, sometimes there may be associated nausea and vomiting.

Blood differential count reveals Leucopenia. Main infective agent is virus. The virus may be of different type of which types A and B are important. Types "A" is mainly responsible for serious outbreaks whereas type "B" is responsible for sporadic infection.

Treatment :

Rest, analgesic, antipyretic, cough linctus, sedatives are all that are required in the treatment. In these cases some are in favour of giving broad spectrum antibiotics.

Acute Follicular Tonsilitis :

Condition is usually manifested by pain in throat, malaise, fever etc. On examination Tonsils are found to be enlarged and tender with yellowish white points on the Tonsils. The cervical lymphnodes are enlarged.

Confirmation of the diagnosis is done by bacteriological examination of the throat swab material.

Treatment :

Application on the throat of paints like Mandel's pigment, Resorcin pigment or Deguadin throat paint along with antibiotics therapy usually leads to recovery. Recurrent attacks of the conditions may require surgical interference.

Sinusitis and Otitis :

These are very common amongst swimmers and divers. Exposure to chill and cold may be a predisposing factor.

Infection may find its way to Eustachian Tubes and sinuses. Symptoms are headache, earache, pain in the temporal region and fever.

Management carried on with rest, antibiotic and other symptomatic treatment.

Prophylaxis is maintained by prevention of exposure to cold.

Deafness is said to be the common complaints of divers. Exact mechanism of the cause is not known. Some are of opinion it is due to neglected middle ear infection or repeated injury to drum in those who fail to use proper breathing in diving and surfacing.

Conjunctivitis :

This is a condition of affection of the eyes where redness, watering and pain in the eyes are the predominant symptoms. Gritty sensation in the eye is an usual accompaniment.

While rubbing away the perspiration around the eyes with a dirty hand, an athlete usually introduces infection to eye to set in conjunctivitis.

Treatment :

Washing of the Eye with normal saline lotion and use of antibiotic ointments are necessary. Sometimes sun goggles are used.

Venereal Diseases :

Sometimes these diseases are accidentally detected amongst the athletes. Hard toilsome training and excessive self mortification often leads an athlete to seek relaxation. It is under this practising austerity that an athlete for some personal enjoyment often by mistake, may visit an unchaste woman to contact the disease.

A coach should be alert on this point and he should find out some means to arrange for the athlete some sort of pure and innocent entertainment that he may enjoy after his laborious training.

The common venereal diseases are Gonorrhoea and Syphilis.

Gonorrhoea :

This is a condition of inflammation of the genital tract due to infection by the organism

Neiseria Gonorrohoea which is always contracted during sexual intercourse.

Urethra is mainly affected in these cases. Patient complaints of dysuria, burning sensation during micturition and purulent discharge. If it is not properly treated then there is a chance of spread of infection producing Epidydimo-Orchitis, Arthritis or Iritis.

Syphilis :

It is also a disease of venereal origin. In an acquired case a history of sexual contact is obtained. If untreated the disease may pass on through different stages viz., Primary, Secondary and Tertiary phases.

In the primary stage the organism gains its entry through an abrasion which is commonly genital but may sometimes be extra genital. Sometimes later, usually after 3/4 weeks, there appears a painless indurated swelling known as Chancre.

If the disease remains untreated then it will pass on to secondary stages and usually a few weeks after the development of primary chancre there appears secondary manifestations characterized by cutaneous rashes, mucus patch, Condylomata and enlarged lymph gland.

After some time the secondary manifestation may also disappear even without treatment and there follows a latent period of about 2 to 10 years for its final manifestations in tertiary stage. In this stage the disease may appear anywhere in the body such as skin, subcutaneous tissue, bones, tongue, liver, aorta, central nervous system etc., etc., The formation of a localised swelling over the areas are characteristically painless and is known as Gumma.

The disease is sometimes diagnosed by demonstration of *Treponema pallidum*, the causative organism of the disease. But in

most of the cases infection is ascertained by serological test for syphilis. viz., V.D.R.L. and Q.T.

Both in Gonorrhoea and Syphilis, treatment is carried on with long acting penicillin along with some local measures.

Paronychia :

It is a staphylococcal infection around the edge of the nail. Pulling or biting of the hand nail is the commonest cause for finger infection of this type. Redness, swelling and tenderness around the nail are the usual symptoms. If this is not dealt with properly then a felon of the distal phalanx may result. Sometimes the ingrown nail may be the cause of Paronychia. In case of Paronychia one should remember that the pus is not between the skin and the nail root but between the nail root and the nail bed.

In the early stage treatment consists of exposure of nail root on the affected site and removal of a small segment of the nail root. When the infection spreads around the nail then the nail root is exposed, lifted up and removed. Rest of the nail remains firmly in position on its matrix. It is said that this procedure is better than complete removal of the nail.

Conditions due to Anatomical and Physiological Variation Heat-stroke and Exhaustion

It is an observed fact that the players who are to perform outdoor sports in warm weather and hot climates often have their physiological heat regulating mechanism altered and the athlete collapses while in action.

Being the victim of overheating the athlete on examination reveals the following signs and symptoms. He becomes extremely flushed, inattentive, confused, loses coordination, staggers and finally falls.

This type of collapse can be prevented by avoiding competition during the hottest part of the day, using light and loose clothing, taking lighter exercise and administration of salt tablets (NACL tablets) and avoiding direct rays of the sun.

The emergency treatment of heat stroke is to administer water by mouth or infusion if unconscious and to immerse the patient in ice or cold bath.

Hyper-Hydrosis

This means excessive sweating. This is a serious complication but not a common problem amongst athletes.

This condition forces an athlete to frequent changing of clothes, exposes him to chills and there remains the possibility of occasional fungal infection. Aftereffect of this condition is severe dehydration.

Treatment is not very satisfactory in these cases. In some cases where the condition confines to the lower extremity only Lumbar Sympathectomy may sometimes give good result.

Some persons have found sedatives or tranquillizers to be of some help. Skin has got to be kept clean with soap and water.

Menstrual Disorder

Because of the long continued and periodic activities of ovaries, endocrine glands have a bigger role to play in woman than in man. Menstruation certainly presents problems to the woman athletes and also to the physicians.

Formerly it was an usual belief that competitive athletics would hasten the menstruation and would lead to diminution of performance. But now-a-days it has been proved to be wrong. It seems quite possible that the actual fact of menstruation makes little difference to the individual but it may be that the accompanying fluid retention in the body during the premenstrual phase of the

period invariably brings some bodily discomfort.

Now-a-days most of the physicians feel that there should be no restriction of activity during premenstrual period and during the second half of the period of menstrual flow. Opinion is divided as to the amount of activity to be allowed during the first half of the period of flow.

Nowadays women athletes often take hormone preparations to delay the onset of menstruation. This practice, it is said, lead to the danger of irregular menstruation.

Dysmenorrhoea is also another common complaint of a young woman athlete. It is said that Dysmenorrhoea can be relieved by athletic exercise. It has been suggested that those exercises which cause flexion of trunks and hips and stretching of the muscles of Lumbo-sacral regions are very effective in relieving Dysmenorrhoea. There is no evidence that athletic exercises have ever induced Dysmenorrhoea.

Pregnancy and the Sports :

It is an observed fact that pregnancy in its early months exerts no deleterious effect on athletic activity. It has also been noticed that athletic activity has no detrimental effect on the future mother, on the birth of her child or on the child itself.

Hence if pregnancy is not threatened, women should be allowed to continue active sports as long as they feel themselves comfortable. Nowadays it is a prevalent practice to advise pregnant mothers to have exercise for smooth normal and safe delivery.

Nothing is known about the fact whether pregnancy itself can improve one's athletic performance although a few national and world records have been set up by pregnant women. To account for this one may say that possible psychological satisfaction which accompanies pregnancy may have relaxed

their tension to help them to exhibit better athletic performance.

Acute Gastro-Intestinal Symptoms :

An excited competitor as a result of emotional strain often suffers from nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain and diarrhoea. In some cases immediately before competition the player develops frequent desire for micturition.

In these cases good psychological counsel is better than sedation and other measures that are usually taken. Sometimes correction of chronic constipation helps to cut down many of the symptoms, if not lead to full recovery.

One should keep up in mind that an athlete who is having these symptoms before or after the practice may suffer from intestinal griping caused by virus infection or even acute appendicitis. Hence before coming to any conclusion one should think it over and over again.

Stitch on the Side :

"What is a stitch ? What is the possible cause ? Whether one or more causes than one are responsible for it ?" These are the questions often put forth by an athlete to his trainers or to his physician.

Answer to these questions are not very simple. One has got to think it over more than once to give a possible explanation. Stitch is the pain that usually appears on both sides of the abdomen, especially at the upper quadrants. Particularly the pain on the right side is more severe and continuous.

It usually occurs after prolonged strenuous exercise and is relieved only after rest. The condition may occasionally be found amongst the long distance runners. It has been seen that some of them can run it out but some are forced to slow the race down due to pain and discomfort. But most of the athletes actually stop running due to the unbearable

nature of the pain. It has been observed that many of the athletes are common victims of this condition and it has also been noted that as training advances it tends to disappear.

It may be that the pain is due to trapping of gas in the splenic and hepatic flexure of the colon. Persons suffering from it often suffer from constipation. It may be that the pain is due to the stitching effect of the gaseous material that is formed from the fermentation of the food materials entrapped within the intestine due to associated constipation.

Spontaneous Pneumothorax :

This incident can occur amongst the young athletes, while in action, due to rupture of a congenital or an emphysematous cyst. Usual manifestations of the condition are acute pain in the chest, rapid pulse and shallow respiration. Diagnosis is confirmed by radiological examination which indicates air in the pleural cavity.

Treatment is done by taking out air from the pleural cavity by means of A. P. Apparatus. If a prolonged measure is required then a tube is left in the pleural space and the other end of the tube is put in the under-water seal.

Such patients should not be allowed to come back to the athletic field at least for a period of 6 weeks.

If on radiological examination too many cysts are detected then all the athletic activity must have to be postponed and consideration for his return back to the sports world would entirely depend on how far the disease is amenable to surgical interference.

Frost Bite :

Years before, in a number of Himalayan expeditions many persons have fallen victims to this condition. At present India has also become interested in mountain climbing in the

Himalayan region, hence our attention is drawn towards the condition of frost bite.

Usually frost bite affects the exposed parts of the body, viz., the face, nose and the extremities. Burning sensation along with tingling and numbness are the usual symptoms. In a neglected case with more exposure to cold the part becomes blanched almost to white.

Treatment done by rapid rewarming in milder cases and in moderate cases slow raising of temperature is necessary. Amputation of fingers and toes may be necessary in severe cases.

Preventive measures are taken by keeping the part warm and dry. Loose fitting socks should be used. Under conditions of prolonged exposure, as in mountain climbing, periodic removal of shoes followed by adequate massage and exercise of toes are necessary.

Altitude Sickness :

Persons engaged in mountain climbing often suffer from this condition. Common symptoms of this condition are weakness, excessive fatigue, nausea, anorexia, palpitation and anxiety.

The condition is due to low oxygenation in the body due to reduction in volume of oxygen of inspired air because of the decreased atmospheric pressure in high altitude.

Any attempt at vigorous activities, under these conditions, will enhance the symptoms. Hence acclimatisation is necessary. It requires 2/3 weeks for gradual acclimatisation. Sometimes oxygen is necessary as an emergency measure.

It is said that the process of acclimatisation seems to involve principally an adjustment to the increased loss of carbon dioxide since the oxygen carrying capacity of blood does not always increase even though there is an increase of circulating red cells and haemoglobin.

It has been suggested by the authorities in the line that if competition be arranged at a higher altitude then acclimatisation becomes necessary for the athletes. It is done by sending the players to the scheduled place sometime before the competition and subjecting them to oxygen inhalation at the turn outs and rest periods.

Conditions due to Allergy :

Commonest allergic manifestations that may be found amongst the players are allergic Rhinitis. While considering the treatment of the condition one should keep in mind the sources of allergy, e. g., trees, plants, grass, prawns and crabs.

Allergic Rhinitis begins with the symptoms of sneezing, watering from the eyes, congestion of the conjunctiva and itching of the skin. Later on when pharyngitis supervenes due to secondary infection, there may be cough and fever.

Treatment is carried out in the early stages with anti-Histaminics and in more advanced cases with Corticosteroids. When there is associated secondary infection one may be justified in prescribing antibiotics.

Contact Dermatitis is an allergic manifestation which can also be found amongst some athletes while they use adhesive tape. This dermatitis is characterised by rash, itching and weeping from the skin.

In this particular group of cases it is better to avoid taping. If taping is essential then it should be done over a piece of cotton or a muslin gauze while other treatment remains the same.

Allergy to procaine hydrochloride can often be met with in athletes while suturing lacerated injury with the aid of this medicine. Serious consequences, even death may follow due to this procaine allergy. Other life saving medicines such as Adrenalin, Corticos-

teroids, Coramine, Barbiturates, etc. should be ready in hand while treating the patient with this medicine. In these cases oxygen should also be kept ready as an emergency measure.

Blood-vascular Disorder and Blood Discrazia :

Occasionally in the field of sports an athlete with an ill performed activity shows unusual fatigue, weakness, depression and apathy. In this condition blood discrazia should be kept in mind by a physician along with other diseases.

Very often the patient may give a history of recent upper respiratory tract infection. One may find enlarged cervical lymph node along with low fever.

Blood count may reveal enormous number of mono-nuclear cells in the blood.

Very little is known about the origin and the nature of the disease.

Prolonged and complete rest is the main stay of the treatment. How far antibiotics play a part is not known properly. Spleen often becomes enlarged in these cases and rupture of spleen may occur sometimes due to trauma.

Besides monomucleosis some other conditions such as primary or secondary Anaemia, Leukaemia etc. may also be revealed in blood count.

Cerebro-vascular Accident :

It is not uncommon that an athlete, who otherwise appears to be in good health may sometimes drop down during the games and expire even without any evidence of trauma.

On many such occasions before the cause of death had subsequently been proved on autopsy examination, the rupture of an unsuspected cerebral artery or cerebral aneurysm would be suspected.

Athletes surviving such an episode should not be allowed to come back again in the

field of sports unless detailed investigation and proper surgery can be done to deal with the aneurysm properly.

Coronary Thrombosis

It is an usual belief that cerebro-vascular and cardio-vascular accidents are due to the diseases of older age groups. But nowadays it has been observed that the disease can also occur even amongst the younger age groups. Hence, like cerebro-vascular accidents, in cardio-vascular accidents also a number of deaths occur each year amongst the athlete groups.

Hence every case of chest pain, unless otherwise proved, should be taken as serious and dealt with properly. Typical pain over the pericardium with its characteristic radiation towards left arm and forearm will lead the physician to think of investigation and treatment along the cardiac line. Electrocardiogram is also necessary in these cases.

Whether an athlete after an attack of coronary thrombosis will come back to his field of play or not is a question that remains debatable today. It is suggested by some that if there be a good recovery from coronary thrombosis, if the patient is asymptomatic and if the patient has stopped smoking and follows his diet and takes anticoagulants properly then he may be allowed to do some athletic activity under proper guidance. It has been suggested that the additional work given to cardiac muscles might improve the collateral circulation at the site of thrombosis.

Conditions due to some Organic Disorder and Mechanical Disorder of some Limbs.

Epilepsy :

Sometimes Epileptic forms of fit may be observed during athletic activity. Symptoms are often characterized by stages namely stages of aura, epileptic cry, unconsciousness, tonic

convulsion followed by colonic convulsion and deep coma.

Emergency measure is to maintain air entry, to prevent tongue biting and to prevent injury.

Condition is due to excessive and rapid fecal discharge from the grey matter of the brain owing to inhibition of the higher centres.

Patient may give some hereditary history or some history of trauma of the brain previously.

Detailed investigations to be done to determine the cause of convulsion prior to his return to athletics.

If it is due to idiopathic cause then participation in games and sports need not be overruled if it can be controlled by medicament.

Foot Disorder :

Under this head principal the problem is that many of the athletes wear ill fitting shoes. It has been noted that shoes of standard size and shape are too limited for the vast number of people with feet of different types. Hence we see ready made shoes may not often fit properly. Due to this ill fitting shoes we can have blisters, corns and calluses at the feet. This may result in sore feet. Now an athlete may be able to run with sore feet but won't be able to run upto his mark. In these cases shoes made to order may solve the problem.

We know Hammer Toe sometimes predisposes to painful corn at the head of the 1st phalanx of 2nd toe. Head of 1st phalanx being subjected to pressure by the toe cap of shoe. So there may appear painful corn.

To have quick and sure recovery sometimes operation is necessary. An excision of head and neck of 1st phalanx allows the toe to be straightened. Amputation is not tried usually in these cases.

Paroxysmal pain under the heads of metatarsal bone i. e. Metatarsalgia is often associated with falling of transverse arch of the

feet. A badly fitting shoe is the predisposing factor which leads to weakening of transverse arch thereby producing pain. The pain usually occurs in paroxysms and occurs opposite the metatarsal head. Sometimes callusities may be formed under the metatarsal head.

Treatment may be done in these cases by insertion of sponge rubber under the arch of foot and it is secured just behind the metatarsal head by adhesive straps circling the foot.

If the above method fails then operative measures may have to be taken.

Condition due to unknown Causes

Under this heading a condition may be found among the Athletes i. e. Idiopathic Haematuria.

In case of Haematuria we should remember that besides trauma there are several other causes for Haematuria, e. g., stone, tumor, new growth, administration of some drugs and certain blood diseases. We should also be aware of the fact that source of bleeding may be anywhere in the genito urinary tract, e. g., kidney, urinary bladder, urethra, etc.

Hence whenever an athlete comes with a complaint of Haematuria then one should be very particular about getting a complete history of the case along with detailed investigations of urinary track, viz., urine examination, pyelography, straight X-Ray of abdomen, etc. etc., Treatment has got to be done according to the findings.

In the presence of gross Haematuria sometimes it may so happen that even by above investigations no apparent cause can be detected in the urinary tract. In that case also the athlete should require rest, careful study and follow-up.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ—AN ASSESSMENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE BIRTH BI-CENTENARY OF RAMMOHUN ROY

PRAFULLA KUMAR DAS

The significance of the occasion of the birth bi-centenary of Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) offers an opportunity for a rational assessment of the achievements of the Brahmo Samaj.

The major contribution of Raja Rammohun Roy to the 19th century Bengal Renaissance was his application of individual reason and judgment to the interpretation of the scriptures. In this respect he was the pioneer among the Indians in modern times. He, however, did not repudiate their authority but challenged their infallibility. Indeed, modern India was emerging to unfold the new theocratic elements of the 'Modern Ideal'. These theocratic elements of the 'Modern Ideal' were, according to Bepin Chandra Pal, Rationality, Reality, Spirituality and Universality.¹ Rationality refers to the absolute supremacy of human reason over all dogmatic authority. Reality relates to the dominant note of the modern scientific thought and spirit. Spirituality of the age reveals the universe as a whole and it is the manifestation of the absolute idea. Universality proclaim the universality of God's revelation and man's salvation. The problem confronting the Raja was how to make them to be assimilated in the modern thought and life of India. He sought a solution through a critical and comparative study of the leading religions of the world which resulted in the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on the 20th

August, 1828. His Brahmo Samaj embodies a reconciliation between reason and scriptures, a synthesis between 'Absolute Vedanta and the eighteenth century Encyclopaedic thought of Europe'.²

Moreover, the successful proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries pushed India into a new confrontation of the West. Muslims had already made India their permanent home. Rammohun thought that the Christians and their Indian converts could no longer be ignored in the body-politic of India. They should be regarded as an indispensable part of the future Indian nation. So the problem was how this new phenomenon was to be made to subserve the national interests of the country as a whole. Undoubtedly monotheism as a spiritual force was to play an effective role in binding together different religious people into a single national unit. Ramananda Chatterjee rightly observed : It is a matter of common knowledge that caste and 'touchability and untouchability' keep the Hindu community divided. But it is not always borne in mind that the worship of some particular god or goddess in preference to or to the exclusion of others, is, or at least has been another dividing factor.....In any case, it cannot be denied that the Hindus would be a more united and better organised people, if they individually and collectively worshipped one God in spirit and truth....."³

Thus, judged by the practical consideration, Rammohun sought to unite different nationalities in his Theistic church. Through this universal church, Romain Rolland opined, the Raja sought a 'unity of mankind through god'.

Raja Rammohun Roy's conception of life was all comprehensive. Theology and religion, education and social reform, politics and economics received due attention from him. The social evils and abuses, the Raja thought, obstructed and obscured the divine in mankind. So he wholeheartedly devoted himself to remove these evils by his unceasing reforming activities.

After the death of Rammohun on the 27th Sept. 1833 at Bristol, the sceptre of the Brahmo Samaj passed into the hands of Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagish and then to Debendranath Tagore. The latter undisputedly dominated the samaj from 1839 to 1866. On October, 1839 he established Tattwabodhini Sabha primarily with a view to preaching 'True Religion expounded in the Vedanta'. The Sabha attracted men of different professions and enlisted as its members the most enlightened men of Bengal. In 1843, he started Tattwabodhini Patrika under the able editorship of Askhoy Kumar Dutta. The Patrika discussed different problems of national life and voiced forth the mute thought of the people and formulated their inner aspirations. Debendranath's crusade against the missionary activities of the Presbyterian church of Scotland led by Alexander Duff assumed a national character. To arrest the progress of Christianity in our educational Institutions, he established the Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalaya in 1845 and in this pious endeavour he was assisted even by the orthodox section of Hindu community, "In this way, Maharshi Debendranath", observed Bepin Chandra Pal, "made a very valuable and essential contribution to the creation and

development of the new nationalist movement in India".⁴ In the political life of India, Debendranath played a very significant role. He and Prasanna Kumar Tagore established the National Association in September 1851 and he was the main architect in founding the British India Association on the 29th October, 1851. He served it most efficiently as an Honorary Secretary from October 29, 1851 to Jan. 13, 1854. On behalf of the Association, he submitted fifteen petitions to the different authorities of the Company's government, seeking redress of the various grievances of the people.⁵ The most important of them was a petition to the British Parliament regarding the remodelling of the government of India.⁶ The main recommendations were the abolition of the Court of Directors and Board of Control ; formation of a legislative council consisting of 17 members of whom 12 would be Indians and 5 Europeans ; introduction of unsparing economy in different branches of public service ; reduction of salaries of the Governor General, the members of the council, local governors and the principal covenanted officers ; abolition of Halebury and removal of distinctions between the covenanted and uncovenanted officers. Appreciating the merits of the petition, the Friend of India, August 26, 1852 wrote." The petition is highly creditable to the industry and patriotism of those who have got it up...The measures which the petitioners propound would introduce a radical and organic change into the whole system of government".

The next important leader of the Brahmo Samaj was Keshub Chandra Sen who infused fresh energy and vitality to the Brahmo movement. To him, love of freedom was the chief characteristic of the age which sought expression in politics, education, society and religion. The prevailing scepticism and

materialism, he thought, were great impediments to our progress and prosperity.⁷ He believed that social reformation was far away from being thorough and complete without religious advancement.⁸ So he appealed to the youths of Bengal to reconcile courage, sense of duty with religious principles for practical work for social advancement of the country. His many sided activities in social reformation awakened people from the slumber of ages. He established many educational Institutions. In 1867, he delivered his first address to the shopkeepers and the poor people of Krishnagar.⁹ The foundation of the Indian Reform Association on November 2, 1870 was a remarkable achievement of his life. Its object was to promote social and moral reformation of the people of India. It had five sections—women's progress, cheap literature, charity, general and technical education, temperance. He published *sulav samachar* on November 16, 1870 to educate poor people. It cost one pice only. It had a wide circulation of 4000.¹⁰ In August 1861 he started the Indian Mirror, a fortnightly newspaper, it became weekly and from January, 1871 it appeared as the first daily paper in English. His visit to England from the 15th February, 1870 to the 12th September, 1870 was fraught with far-reaching consequences. During his visit he came in contact with important personalities like Lord Lawrence, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Frederic Currie, Sir Frederic Halliday, S. D. Collet, Stanely, Prof. Max Muller, Jhon Stuart Mill, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Dickens and the Empress Queen Victoria. He delivered a large number of lectures on religious, political and social issues of the day. He vehemently attacked the British government for carrying on dangerous and iniquitous liquor traffic in India. In his famous speech on 'England's Duties to India' he condemned economic exploitation of India by England

with a note of warning. "You have no right to say that you will use its property, its riches or its resources or any of the privileges which God has given you, simply for the purpose of your own aggrandisement and enjoyment.....you cannot hold India for the interest of Manchester."¹¹ Under the able guidance of Keshub, the Brahmo missionary department made a successful bid for the propagation of Brahmoism. Upto 1879 there were 105 Samajes in different parts of India.¹² In 1880, there were 18 periodicals, journals and newspapers run by the samaj throughout India.¹³ Thus the Brahmo Samaj assumed an all-India character during his life time. Unfortunately he broke away from the parent body of the Samaj of Debendranath Tagore for some inevitable reasons and founded the Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866. Opinions, however, differ regarding his religious views but his contributions to the cause of social reformation of India can hardly be denied.

The next indisputable leader of the Brahmo Samaj was Sivanath Sastri. Under his leadership, the Brahmo Samaj emerged from social reform movement into political freedom movement. He founded the Theistic church on the idea of self government. To him, political emancipation was not possible without social emancipation and personal purity. He was the guiding spirit in the foundation of the Indian Association as a platform for the middle class on the 26th July, 1876.¹⁴ He carried on a successfull movement against the Vernacular Press Act and the Civil Service Regulations of 1878 through his Journal, "The Brahmo Public Opinion". About the middle of 1876, he organized a religio-political society which had five vows of a very radical in nature. 15

The members of society pledged :-

1. To fight against current image-worship and caste domination in Hindu society.

2. To establish self government as the only form of political government.
3. To introduce education, particularly women's education, widow remarriage, abolition of purdah system and physical training.
4. To learn to ride and shoot and provide military training for the people.
5. Not to marry before the age of 21, nor marry a girl before the age of 16, nor in any way to help or be associated with such marriages.

Sivanath first introduced patriotic songs into the general hymns of the samaj. His great disciples—Ananda Mohan Bose, Dwarakanath Ganguly, Nagendranath Chatterjee and Bepin Chandra Pal played the most significant role in the political freedom movement of India.

The Brahmo Samaj has suffered severe criticism mainly on two grounds. In the first place, it is said that Brahmo preachers were deficient in religious impulse and proselytizing zeal which were necessary for its propagation among the masses. Secondly, Brahmoism primarily appealed to the intellect, so it was confined to the intellectual classes of the people and failed to produce any significant impact on the masses.

Regarding the first, the attack of that nature was directed against the Samaj as early as 1854. Reference may be made to a letter signed under "D" published in Bengal Harkaru, March 30, 1854. The contributor argued that to effect a religious revolution, a degree of enthusiasm must be excited in the breasts of the whole nation and such as the cold, philosophical dogmas held by the Samaj could never succeed in calling forth. He further considered that the dogma of direct inspiration from above was essential to a

religion that hoped to be a religion of the multitude. The Samaj did not put forth any such pretension, it did not promulgate a new and a living idea, it did not possess any hold upon popular sympathies. It could not, therefore, ever be a national church.

We find a very reasonable refutation of the above charges against the Samaj in the editorial notes of the Hindoo Patriot, April 6, 1854. The editor opined that the Brahmo Samaj endeavoured to purify the Hindu mind of errors contracted during a long period of intellectual and moral corruption. He rightly observed that the object of the Samaj was a reformation, and a reformation could be effected without an impulse of that nature. The editor cited examples from history of European reformation of christendom in the 16th century which, he thought, bore the closest resemblance to the Brahmo movement. The 16th century religious reformation of Europe pretended to be charged with no mission under an immediate sanction from God, yet their achievement was great.

Secondly, the charge that the Brahmo Samaj was confined only to the educated class of people and had no impact on the common people, is not wholly true. During 1879, we find that Bagachera, a village of Eastern Bengal, was composed of Brahmo families chiefly belonging to the masses.¹⁶ Jangalbari of Eastern Bengal had a Samaj composed of field labourers.¹³ At Bangalore there was a Samaj composed of men of the 36th Regiment, Native Infantry who had to move to different places as ordered by the government.¹⁹ Again Harish Chandra Mukherjee of Bhawanipur Brahmo Samaj first launched an organized campaign against the oppression and exploitation of the Indigo planters in his Hindoo Patriot, and the government was forced to appoint the First Indigo Commission in 1861. The national gathering (Hindu Mela) orga-

nized by Naba Gopal Mitra of Adi Brahmo Samaj in 1867, no doubt, played a significant role in our national life for about two decades. We have convincing evidence to prove that Dwarka Nath Ganguly of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj started an organized agitation of the tea garden workers in Assam. Moreover, the Brahmo Samaj's mission works among the depressed classes in South India, Bengal and Assam were crowned with great success.²⁰ For this purpose they founded the Depressed Classes Mission Society, All India Anti-un-touchability League, the Society for the improvement of Backward classes, Bengal and Assam.

A critical examination of the government census reports on the basis of religion from 1881 to 1921 will certainly convince us about gradual increase of the Brahmos in India.

The Brahmo population in India

(1881 - 1921)²¹

1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
1,147	3,041	4,050	5,504	6,388

Proportion per 10,000 of population

1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
.04	.1	.14	.18	.2

Variation percent (Increase + Decrease -)

1881-91	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1881-1921
+ 165.9	+ 32.7	+ 35.9	+ 16.1	+ 456.9

Though the above figures do not appear to have been very impressive yet the emergence of the Brahmos as a separate entity in the population structure of India cannot be ignored. It is worthy to note in this connection, Mr. J. T. Marten's (compiler of the Census of India 1921 vol. I part I P-119) comment. He observed : ".....though the number of professed Brahmos is small and has increased but little in last 20 years, thousands of the intellectual Hindus of Bengal have been so profoundly influenced by the monotheistic ideas which belong to the doctrines of the

Brahmo Samaj as really to be Brahmos at heart, though they have not actually joined the Samaj."

It is true that from the last quarter of the 19th century the Brahmo movement began to decline. The two schisms of the Samaj greatly undermined the internal strength and vitality of the movement and the unity of the Theistic church was rudely shaken. Moreover, due to the rise of popular Hinduism under Ramkrishna and his great disciple Vivekananda, Brahmoism as a religious movement suffered a set-back. But truth lies in the fact that Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the movement, started it with a view to reforming decadent Hinduism and to placing it in its pristine glory. The Raja wrote in his autobiographical letter. "The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to Brahminism but to a perversion of it....."²² Slowly but silently the Hindu society accepted the Brahmo programme of social reformation and absorbed the catholicity of religion. So it was very difficult for the Brahmo Samaj to take shape as a separate religious institution outside Hinduism. Rev. Fletcher William, the Representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association rightly remarked that : ".....there were more Brahmos outside of Brahmo organisation than within them. Its truth told far and wide. I have met with Hindus upon Hindus who have unhesitatingly confessed that they were Brahmos in faith, but that they remained within the Hindu community for the sake of two or three ceremonies which they could not abandon".²³

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THE GOVERNOR'S ROLE IN DISSOLVING ASSEMBLIES

N. S. GEHLOT

Since the Congress Party lost its hegemony in the States after the 1967 General Elections in India, the office of the Governor has been a subject of great controversy owing to his role in the changing situation. One of the controversial issues has been the dissolution of the State Assembly by the Governor.

In the Parliamentary form of democracy, the privilege to dissolve the House before its prescribed period of life is enjoyed by the head of the State on the advice of the C. M. The Article 174(2)B of the Indian Constitution speaks of the dissolution of the lower House which is the one of the discretionary powers of the Governors in the view of Prof. Pylee.¹ Such discretionary powers were also with the Governors of British India and we have copied them. But the present Constitution of India hardly requires the exercise of these powers by the Governor because he is the nominal and constitutional head of the State.

In India, there is no constitutional convention regarding the exercise of the Article 174 (2)B of the Constitution nor is there any specific provision relating to situations of this nature.² The issue, therefore, has been the subject of controversy in our country. The defeated Ministry of Travancore Cochin (known as Kerala State) advised the Head of the State for dissolution in 1954 and the Governor could follow its advice. But the same Governor refused to dissolve the House in 1955 when another defeated Ministry asked for it. This example made it clear that the Governor is free in his discretion to accept or to refuse the advice of the Ministry in this respect.⁴

But the problem of the dissolution became more acute in July 1967 when the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. D. P.

Mishra, claimed his right to advise the Governor for the dissolution in case of the defeat of his ministry.⁵

But this case also could not decide fairly as to who must use the right of dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, when and under what circumstances.

Most of the Governors of the States used this power at their convenience or according to the directions of the Centre. The Govt.'s principle had been, perhaps, "either Congress Ministry or no ministry at all".⁶ More interesting is this that the high commands of the Congress Party interfered in the State politics in 1959 in Kerala against the rule of the Communist Party on the ground of Law and Order and overthrew the communist ministry while it enjoyed full support of the State Assembly.⁷ It shows that the Congress Party during its hegemony did not develop a fair democratic convention for the use of the discretionary powers of the Governors.

The dissolution of the Punjab State Assembly in June 1971 by the Governor of the State, Dr. D. C. Pavate at the advice of the Badal Ministry led to a country-wide criticism on the ground that the Badal Ministry had no right to advise the Governor when its majority was in doubt.⁸ Whereas the same Governor did not accept the advice of Shri L. S. Gill in the year 1967.⁹

Since we have no convention in India regarding the use of the right of dissolution, we have to make a study of the British Constitutional history whose model we have adopted for India.

The British Constitutional authorities have been different on the issue of the use of the royal prerogatives. There are two opinions about it. One is in favour of the use of the royal prerogative while the conservatives are not.

Sir Ivor Jennings is of the view that the Queen has always tried to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Govt. in London after the defeat of a party either in poll or in the Parliament ; and she used her prerogatives only when there was no chance of forming an alternative Govt.¹⁰ The Queen, therefore, accepted the advice of the minority Govt. in 1922 headed by Mr. Bonar Law when she was asked for the dissolution.¹¹

The Queen's main task, in the views of Jennings, is to secure a Government and not to try to form a Govt. She would refuse only when "a policy which is subversive to a democratic basis of the constitution".¹² George V refused to grant dissolution to the Liberal Govt. in the first round of talks, but later the king agreed for the dissolution when he had reached a conclusion that no possibilities were left for forming an alternative Govt.¹³

In brief, the royal prerogatives were used only when the political party or parties failed to provide an alternative Government.

The very same convention has been followed by the other Commonwealth countries who have adopted the British system.

W. R. Riddell is of the opinion that the Governor-General of Canada has always followed the conventions of the country.¹⁴ According to the conventions, the Governor-General provides a chance for the opposition party to form a new Govt. after the fall of a Govt. in office, and follows the advice of the PM for a dissolution only when there is no availability of another Govt.

For instance, the Governor General of Canada, Lord Byng refused dissolution to the PM, Mr. Mackenzie King in 1926 and invited the opposition party leader, Mr. Meighan to form the Govt. and when the latter failed to secure the confidence of the House, the Governor General dissolved the House.¹⁵

Similarly the Australian Governor-General, Lord Northcote refused to permit the PM

Fisher to dissolve in 1894 and explored the chances for an alternative Govt.¹⁶

These examples explicitly show that the right to dissolve the Assembly is vested in the head of the State but it is used only for democratic purposes under well-established conventions.

The persons having a different opinion believe that the king has no power to refuse the advice of the PM. Prof. Laski is one of them who say that the king can not refuse a dissolution. If he refuses to do so, it would lead to a "revolutionary crisis" in England and "the royal neutrality" of two hundred years would disappear.¹⁷

Another authority, Lord Aberdeen is of the opinion that the king is expected to follow the advice of his ministers and cannot refuse a dissolution.¹⁸

But the views of Prof. Laski and Lord Aberdeen cannot be accepted strictly, for under some special circumstances the royal prerogatives are supposed to be exercised in a democratic fashion as the previous examples have made clear. The King uses his prerogative for the preservation of the "essentials of the constitution".¹⁹

The framers of our constitution were also actively conscious of the discretionary powers of the Governors. The constitutional adviser, Mr. B. N. Rau who supported the addition of the phrase "in his discretion" expressed the idea that the Governor would exercise undoubtedly his powers with the aid and on the advice of the Council of Ministers. His plea was accepted by the Provincial Constitutional Committee.²⁰

On June 1st, 1949, when the Draft came before the Constituent Assembly for a discussion, Prof. Saxena observed that the use of the powers of the Governor "in his discretion" might make the ministers "absolutely impotent" in the democratic system,²¹ and the

President might direct the Governor to go against the opposition party in favour of the ruling party at the Centre.

The observation of Prof. Saxena at that time seems true to-day to a larger extent because the State Assemblies are appearing to be generally dissolved in favour of the ruling party at the Centre.

The fourth General Election of 1967 has been described as a "Silent Revolution" for Indian politics.²² The democracy in India after 1967 has been functioning through the support of various parties by the formation of coalition Govts. The split in the Congress Party has given birth to the multi-party system in India with the result, that coalition Governments were formed to function in many States.

But, these Coalition Governments have been functioning in an environment of "distrust, hostility and contempt" as there are no "rules of games" to observe, for the political parties as well as for the Governors.²³ That is why constitutional crises are taking place in India.

The author further says that the guilt for not evolving the "rules of the game" is of the Congress Party which could not do so even during its dominance in India. Today, democracy lives in "a climate of accommodation" in the country.²⁴

Such environment cannot prevail so long as the practice of horse-trading and defection continues in Indian politics. Defection in the true sense, has driven the poison dagger in the political life of the country—which led to politics of instability in the States and frequent interference of the centre in politics.

In order to reduce the practice of defection, agreement for political loyalties among the parties is inevitable. The remedy can come through a sense of "proprieties observance" in the generally accepted canons of public life.²⁵ Public opinion must have a strong impact on the defectors' career. Efforts for making statutory laws may also be made for curbing it.

In the Governors' Conference of November 1970, Mr. V. V. Giri, the President of India, announced the appointment of a Committee (which was later appointed under the Chairmanship of the Governor of Kashmir) for devising "suitable norms and conventions" for the guidance of the State Governments.²⁶ But a doubt is still expressed on the ground that in case a Governor violates these norms, what shall be the action against him? In fact, no action can be taken against him under Article 163(3) of the Constitution.

It has become a practice in India, that the Governor may not accept the advice of the out-going Chief Ministers as in the case of Bihar and Orissa where the Governors dissolved the Legislative Assemblies only after consultation with the Central Government.²⁷ But the Governor of the Punjab State, Mr. Dr. D. C. Pavate did not observe these practices in his assessment and followed the advice of the outgoing Chief Minister, Mr. P. S. Badal, whose majority was, of course, in doubt.²⁸ But he acted in haste.

The crux of the problem is how a Governor should function successfully in the changing circumstances of Indian politics. The true function of the Governor is to serve as the guardian of good progressive government in his State.²⁹ He is not only expected to abide by the letter of the constitution but is also required to follow the spirit of the constitution along with strengthening the faith of the public in it.³⁰ The discretionary powers should be used without any bias in the interest of progressive democracy and healthy political practices.

The Governor must not accept the advice of the out-going CM and must explore the possibilities for the formation of an alternative Government. It is not his business to count the heads but such a controversial issue must be left to be decided on the floor of the house itself.³¹ In case of doubt, the Governor must ask his Chief Minister to call the

Assembly at the earliest to show his strength. This has also been suggested in the report of the Governors' Committee, which was constituted by the President V. V. Giri after the Conference of Governors at New Delhi. The report recommends that after the resigning or dismissing of a Ministry the Governor should take the initiative for exploring the possibilities of forming another Government and if he finds that there is no possibility of forming an alternative Government, only then he should report to the President of India to impose Article 356 of the Constitution.

The report further says that the Governor normally should follow the advice of the Council of Ministers in case of dissolution since it enjoys the confidence of the House. In case, the C. M. advises the Governor for prorogation or dissolution when no confidence motion against him is pending in the Assembly, the Governor should not follow his advice and should ask him to face the Assembly and have a vote. The report of the Governors' Committee has suggested a good idea in respect of dissolution of an Assembly and the Governors are supposed to follow it. But at the same time the C. M. and his colleagues should also maintain the practices of the parliamentary system. If they have lost the confidence of the House or if there is a no-confidence motion in the House, they should not request the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. So the dignity and the intrinsic values of democratic system rest in and depend upon the political morality of the parties and their leaders.

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THE THIRD PAY COMMISSIONS' RECOMMENDATIONS

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

More than one and half years have passed since the Third Pay Commission was appointed. The only creditable achievement it has so far on its record is the receipt of a multitude of appeals, representations and memorandum etc. from multifarious organisations of trade unions and their spokesmen, belonging to divergent political and ideological groups, cadres, services and ranks of the central government employees. It is obvious from the snail's pace of work of the Pay Commission that the final report embodying the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission may not come out of its cupboard before the General Elections of 1976. The reasons for the unusual delay are obvious to everybody—the nonchalant, the lethargic, hesitant, and the very slow manner in which the commission is working, and the lack of a sense of seriousness on the part of the Chairman and the members of the commission. The twenty eight lakh Central Government employees on the contrary are very anxiously awaiting the considered opinions and the weightage the commission would like to accord on a number of baffling problems like the revision of the existing pay scales, restructuring the cadres in various services, neutralisation of the increase in the cost of living by enhancing the rates of dearness allowance, absorption or merger of the dearness allowance in the basic pay and the percentage quantum of absorption, setting up a new mechanism for a speedy processing of grievances, and disposal of appeals etc.

lacunea, deficiencies etc. involving the perpetration of incalculable injustice to millions of Government employees, policies of promotions and the repective weightages to be given to sincerity and merit considerations, recruitment, direct, open market, limited and through departmental channels, training, probation, apprentice selections, confirmations in the regular cadres etc, fixing ceilings on the maximum and minimum amount of salaries that can be drawn by the Government employees in future, retirement age and benefits, transfers, provident fund etc. and the quantification of the benefits, enhancing the rates of provident fund contribution, introducing uniformity in the grades of different services, considerations of equity (equal pay for equal work etc), deputationists and their absorption in the loanee departments and services, and the pay and allowances admissible to them. Payment of bonus, evolving separate structure of pay and allowances etc to the employees working in the Government industrial and commercial undertakings, services and departments (like the railways, post and telegraph departments etc), provision of housing accommodation, free transport facilities, free and unrestricted medical aid, educational facilites to the children of Government employees, abolition of the most abominable, monstrous, outdated and antiquated system of maintenance of confidential reports of the employees, abolition of the superfluous supervisory cadres and posts

Arbitration, adjudication and settlement of industrial disputes, removing the existing restoration of the system of 15 days casual leave, granting of free passes and privileges ticket orders (P. T. O.'s) to all the Central Government employees (instead of allowing the railway employees alone to enjoy this exclusive privilege), continuing the existing system of two months reduction of gratuity in lieu of family pension, creation of more incentives to the employees in the lower cadres, and need based minimum wages, fair wages, formulating a national employment policy and service. Administration, determination of hours of work, holidays, introducing automation and rationalisation systems, procedures, policies and mechanism etc in various services, adopting new standardised occupational nomenclature to give a psychological impetus to the employees of Government and drastic amendments to the present procedures of dismissal and discharge of the Government employees

"Democracy without socialism means the rule of the privileged by the privileged for the privileged. The class feeling of employees and employers will have to be eliminated so that all those engaged in any undertaking regard themselves as workers in common effort to enrich and serve the country. All men are equal now. All men can now co-operate willingly and effectively, and there will be no equality between needy and starving and privileged and affluent." These are the hopes, aspirations, ambitions and urges raised by Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the hearts of millions of employees during the course of one of his speeches delivered on 28th December 1969 at the Azad Nagar Congress sessions. Let the Third Pay Commission respect the sentiments expressed by Sri Jagjivan Ram and suggest, the evolution of an administrative machinery for the Central Government employees where

they will be treated as equal human beings and their genuine grievances redressed. It has become almost a fashion of the day to talk endlessly of the lofty tenets of socialism, secularism, democracy, truth, equality, justice, brotherhood, emancipation of the working classes from the age old slavery, bureaucratic high handedness, authoritarian misuse and abuse of powers and ruthless exploitation, suppression, and oppression. The latest slogans invented in this melodrama of hoodwinking the working classes by the ruling junta are "public sector is workers sector". "Appointment of worker Directors", worker's participation in management etc ; the 2.8 million central government employees have become fed up with these slogans, parrot like echoing of the basic tenets and rudiments of socialism, equality and justice etc by the top ranking leaders, spokesmen, and high priests of the ruling congress party and the Ministers at the centre and in the states. The crying need of the hour is deeds and not words. The chairman, members and their bureaucratic set up of the third pay commission have already exhausted the patience of the millions of government employees by their deliberately slow handling of the whole show of questionnaire, representations and discussions. It seems the urgency of the situation has not been realised by anybody at the helm of affairs so far.

The consumer price index for industrial workers (Base 1966-100) had increased by 46.3 percent in Delhi, 38.9 percent in Calcutta 34.6 in Jamshedpur, 52.2 percent in Bombay, 44.5 percent in Sholapur and 35.5 percent in Nagpur during the last five years (that is from 1965-66 to 1970-71). The consumer price index of urban and non manual employees increased by 74 percent in Delhi, 66 per cent in Lucknow, 71 per cent in Ahmedabad, 68 per cent in Bombay and 70

per cent in Calcutta. According to a survey published in Industrial Times dated 1st November, 1971 the index of food prices has gone up to 218.3 within a year. The prices of pulses increased by about 22 per cent and that of sugar by nearly 30 per cent. The whole sale price index has reached an all time high of 182.7 (on 4th Sept. 1971). Economic Times, Bombay). It is high time that the Third Pay Commission should recommend cent per cent neutralisation of the increase in cost of living by increasing the rates of dearness allowances. A number of experts on national economic problems, monetary and fiscal policies, public administration and so called advocates of social welfare, national integrity development and growth etc have already rushed to the press, and public platforms with a plethora of statements divested of all rational considerations of equity, justice, truth and logic to the effect that any increase in either the dearness allowance or wages and salaries of the central government employees will have serious repercussions. A deleterious psychological impact on the 3.9 million State Government employees and 1.8 million employees of the local bodies may lead to an endless agitation for an increase in their pay and allowances and the finances of the State Government and Local Bodies are in an utterly helpless state to meet their demands, and ultimately the burden will fall on the exchequer of the Central Government only. The final scene of this high drama will be adding one more powerful dose of inflation to the economy which is already sinking under the heavy burden of deficit financing on a colossal scale. Some experts have calculated that even if a paltry amount of Rs. 10/- is increased in the pay and allowances of each Central Govt., employee the total salary bill of the Central Govt., will go up by Rs. 27 crores per year and that is beyond the bounds of our limited resources.

There is also an amusing discussion verging virtually on the frontiers of terminological warfare. Subsistence wages, minimum living wages etc. And there is almost an unsolvable riddle before these experts as to what wages should be recommended to be paid to the central govt., employees. The minimum living wage is calculated at Rs. 200 per month for a family of 3.5 members. (or Rs. 2408 per annum) When the per capita income in India is not more than Rs. 550 per annum, how can we pay this minimum living wage of Rs. 200 per month? This is the great worry of the experts. An array of statistics is projected to justify the denial of the payment of minimum living wage to the Central Govt. employees. It is stated that an average worker in the urban areas working in the private or public sector is not getting more than Rs. 143 P. M.; Rs. 126 in the wholesale trade; Rs. 90 in the retail trade in food; Rs. 85 in the food manufacturing industries etc. It is further stated that 78 per cent of the 56 lakh (38 lakh state govt., and 18 lakh local bodies employees) state govt., and local bodies employees are drawing a basic salary of less than Rs. 100. Hence the issue of increasing the emoluments of central govt. employees has to be examined more thoroughly or with more seriousness or greater attention. What a queer logic indeed? In addition to the protection from the fall in the real wages and income of the central govt. employees, there are a number of equally important problems to be solved, without any further delay. The policy of recruitment, selections, promotions and appointments etc., also needs a thorough revision. For all the lower level managerial and supervisory posts, seniority alone can be safely considered as the criterion for promotions, whereas for the middle level managerial posts, seniority cum merit, and for the top level managerial cadres, merit and merit alone

should be the guiding factor, for promotions. The fictitious merit tests which are mostly nothing but a cooked up and manipulated record of efficiency, intelligence, hard-work and sincerity etc., of the subordinate employees, by the superior officers, whose hands have been reportedly greased and buttered in some way or other, should be dispensed with immediately. An independent examining body, consisting of experts should be appointed in each case and the departmental officers should not have any say in the matter of merit promotions. It is nothing but throwing dust in the eyes of the employees. Direct recruitment to the top managerial posts should be done, whenever suitable candidates are not available from within the ranks of the undertakings, departments or services. This is the only way and solution to weed out the misfits from the top managerial positions.

There are a number of superfluous cadres and posts in the supervisory and managerial ranks, created just to appease the blue eyed boys of the Ministers and the other top ranking administrative officers. The number of supervisory posts should be reduced to the minimum possible. It is a well known fact that a major portion of the work is done by the clerks and other assistants at the lower level and a number of supervisory officers will only affix their Dhobi marks on the papers and files which have to pass through a number of hands to fulfil this formality of Dhobi marks. The whole process of decision making will become vitiated in this unduly long procedure. The Tukol commission has reduced the number of different categories from 107 to 21. It is reported that the Mysore Govt., had already accepted the recommendations of the Tukol commission. The popular press too has hailed this recommendation. For instance, the Indian Express, in its editorial on 31st

December, 1969 commented "The reduction in the number of categories from the existing 107 to 21 is a welcome step" I wish the third pay commission should emulate the worthy example set by the Tukol commission of Mysore and recommend a similar drastic reduction in the number of supervisory cadres in the central govt. services.

The third pay commission should recommend unhesitatingly 1) the grant of free transport facilities to all the Govt., employees from their residences to their places of duty and wherever Govt., transport is not available, cent percent reimbursement of transport costs.

2) unrestricted medical aid and scrapping the system of appointment of authorised medical attendants. In a number of cases the authorised medical officers are most inaccessible and a number of central govt., employees are receiving the treatment etc., from other medical practitioners, paying from their poor purses. This will defeat the very purpose of medical aid sanctions.

3) Complete reimbursement of the expenditure on tuition fees and purchase of books, scientific and laboratory equipment and instruments etc. by the children of Central Government employees, upto the completion of Post Graduation Course. It is obvious to every body that a post graduate degree will entitle the child atleast to secure the post of a clerk in the Secretariat in this intensely competitive employment market in India.

4) Simplifying the procedures and mechanism of arbitration and elimination of the unnecessary, vexatious, costly and cruel delays in the settlement of disputes and disposals of appeals etc.

5) Providing housing accommodation to all the Central Government employees is the responsibility of state. This is emphasised

in most categorical terms by the National Commission on Labour (1969) also. This should be given top priority in any scheme involving Government employees. In case, due to any reason, no quarters are provided by the Government, reimbursement of house rent expenditure on the basis of 25% of the basic pay of the employees should be done. The rents in urban areas and the Metropolis, like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras etc. are sky rocketing. It is a herculean task for the low paid employees of the Central Government Offices and undertakings in cities like Bombay and Calcutta etc. to secure a flat of a decent standard for a reasonable amount of rent.

6) Grant of passes and P. T. O.'s to the Central Government employees as is done in the case of the Railway employees.

7) Encashment of privilege leave, not availed of, on an identical pattern with the banks, where this practice is in vogue (eg. State Bank of India). This is a very good incentive for the employees not to shirk their duties and responsibilities very often on some flimsy grounds and false pretexts in order to avail the maximum leave at their credit.

8) Abolition of the monstrous and the most antiquated system of confidential roles based mainly on the weight of buttering the superior officers and securing their help.

9) Contribution of Provident Fund at the rate of 10% by the Government, as recommended by the National Comission on Labour (1969).

10) The minimum pay bill of Central Government employees should not be less than Rs. 200 P. M. under any circumstances.

11. The disparity between the salary of a lowest paid employee and the highest paid

employee should not be more than ten times under any circumstances.

12. The system of deputations should be abolished forthwith and the Government employees should be offered a direct option whether to continue in the present service or resign and take up the new assignment. There is no dearth of talent, experience, expertise, knowledge etc. in any field. Direct recruitment to these posts can be very safely made by open competition and advertisement of the posts.

13. There should be uniform pay structure, cadres, categories and ranks etc. in the various ministerial services of the different departments—administrative, commercial and industrial and Government companies in order to maintain and preserve the unflinching loyalty of the employees and avoid the too frequent interdepartmental and corporate migration and interruption of a smooth flow of work and production.

14. Too frequent transfers, sometimes to appease the whims and fancies of the higher authorities should be stopped. An employee should not normally be distributed at least for a period five years. Too frequent and meaningless transfers are a great drain on our poor exchequer.

15. Uniformity in the number of paid national and festival holidays, and every employees should be allowed in a Calender year—3 national and 5 festival holidays as recommended by the National Comission on Labour (1969),

The following recommendations of the National Commission on Labour may also be considered with all the seriousness they deserve in this connection. These recommendations also bear a considerable impact, in the present context of the various issues before the Third Pay Commission.

a. The current requirements of the economy do not permit immediate reduction in working hours. It is not necessary to relax restrictions on the duration or nature of overtime work.

b. Workers should preferably run the canteens themselves on a co-operative basis. In any case they should be associated with canteen management.

c. Conversion of a part of the Provident Fund into retirement cum family pension is desirable.

d. The Provident Fund accumulation should be invested in securities yielding higher interest as far as possible, consistent with the security and safety of funds to enable the members to get a higher rate of interest.

e. Arrangements for standardisation of occupational nomenclature should be made (There will be a great psychological impetus if the clerks are designated as Assistants, in my view).

f. The criteria in regard to minimum wage fixation will necessarily have to be flexible. Laying down a rigid cash equivalent of the content of statutory minimum wage where coverage is essentially transitional and conditions of development would not serve any useful purpose.

g. It would be more practical to merge dearness allowance with basic wage at the base year of the revised period of working classes consumer price indices.

h. A phased introduction of more advanced technology and labour saving techniques and devices, rationalisation and automation are to be initiated, guaranteeing simultaneously that employment opportunities do not suffer. Any scheme of automation should accommodate the labour that may be rendered surplus. It improves the level of earnings of the workers by

ensuring to them an equitable share in the gains due to automation.

i. To minimise delays in adjudication proceedings and further delays in the appeals, adoption of the procedure which obtains in the small cause courts and abolition of appeals to higher courts may be provided.

j. Timely publication of statistics should be an important aim of all agencies collecting data and information. There is a pressing need for bringing out important economic indicators like the index numbers of employment, wage rates, and earnings at quarterly intervals. Expedited action should be taken to organise this work on a statutory basis.

Resource Mobilisation : It will cost at least Rs. 100 crores additional expenditure to Central Government if all these aforementioned items are implemented. The most important question before the Central Government is how to raise the additional revenue for the implementation of the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission (as and when they are made). The Third Pay Commission have therefore, gone begging from the trade unions and employees' representatives to spell out the scope for raising additional revenues for meeting the expenditure involved in the acceptance of a need based minimum wage and the consequent upward revision in the pay scales of the Central Government employees (vide question No. 93 of the questionnaire issued by the Third Pay Commission). The Third Pay Commission itself suggested the answer to its question, half way, by listing out the various headings under which mobilisation of additional resources can be made viz. 1. Direct Taxation 2. Indirect Taxation 3. Improvement in tax collection 4. Economy in non-plan expenditure 5. Curtailment in plan expenditure.

1. Agricultural income is not taxed to the

desired extent still in India. It is an irony that the rich farmers are enjoying the benefits of the green revolution, the advances in science and technology and modernisation and rationalisation of the methods and technique and processes of agriculture but they are not ready to sacrifice any portion of the rich dividends of the green revolution they are enjoying. Steep and graded taxation on agricultural income should be levied. If necessary the constitution of India should be amended so as to include agricultural income within the purview of the Income-tax Act.

The Central and State Governments should bend all their energies and launch an all out drive and campaign for unearthing the hoarded and unaccounted money (estimated at Rs. 3,000 Crores by most moderate calculation).

3. The taxation,—administrative structure should be thoroughly rationalised, reorganised, reconstructed and recast so as to reduce to the minimum, the leakages in the revenues and tax collection and increase substantially the revenues.

4. Excise duty on salt should be reintroduced and all the false pretences and sentimental and emotional overtones of the ruling congress party should be intelligently eschewed. It will generate additional income of at least Rs. 20 crores (fifty crores) annually.

5. Prohibition should be scrapped unceremoniously and all the emotional, sentimental and philosophical values of a utopian order and the empty slogans devoid of practical value should be given a decent burial. The State Government should be asked to contribute a sizeable proportion of the additional revenues on this account to the exchequer of the Central Government.

6. A lot of improvement has to take place

in the collection of indirect taxes also, in organising (a) further increases in the taxes on luxury goods and articles of conspicuous consumption (b) and avoiding the leakages in revenue by administering stern, disciplinary action against the corrupt, inefficient, irresponsible and indifferent officials.

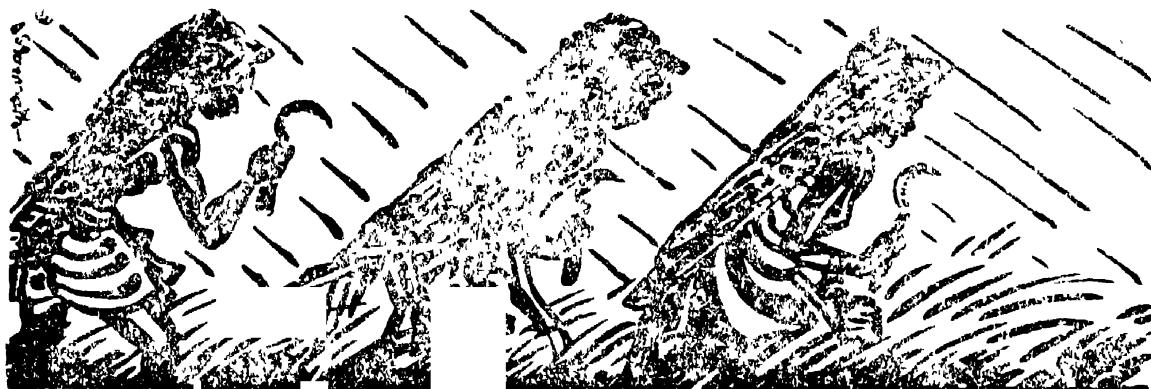
7. Considerable economy has to be effected in various non-plan, non-schemes non-productive, non-commercial and non-profit yielding items of expenditure like the top heavy administrative expenses, curtailing to the minimum, expenditure on community development and Panchayat Raj, Khadi Gramodyog Scheme (a major portion of which is going into the drain safely.) Very little benefit is derived from these various schemes. The expenditure on foreign consultancy services, and the high salaries and wages paid to foreign technicians and purchase of costly equipment, raw materials ancillary and auxiliary equipment, machinery etc. from foreign countries can also be avoided safely by by using indigeneous materials, Indian machinery and equipment and employment of local talent and Indian Scientists, technicians and experts etc. as far as possible. This will result in a considerable saving of the resources to the Central Government without much effort.

8. Considerable savings can also be effected very easily by (a) unceremoniously abolishing the posts of Governors and the attendant paraphernalia in the Raj Bhavans which are nothing but show pieces of the Imperial days and are not serving any public cause in an effective way. (b) Scrapping the upper house of the State Legislatures, under the Centre (Rajya Sabha). (c) Drastic reduction in the size of the cabinets of Ministers at the centre and in the States. The present unusually large size of the Cabinet at the centre and in the States is nothing but a

product of the dire need to accommodate the representatives of the various groups and factions, regions, communities and castes etc. (d) The expenditure on the Rashtrapati Bhavan and the paraphernalia of the President of India and the Ministers at the Centre and in the States also need to be drastically curtailed so as to reflect a true image of our scarce resources. (e) Drastic curbs on delegations, trade missions, diplomatic tours, foreign tours of the Ministers etc. is also a dire need of the day. (f) Efficient management of the public sector undertakings, (Most of which have become white elephants and a great drain on the public funds) also will result in considerable saving of resources.

I am of the opinion that we can very safely meet the additional expenditure to be incurred consequent on the revision of pay scales and

the implementation of the need based minimum wages and provisions of other facilities, amenities and grant of concessions etc. if we act as suggested in the preceding paragraphs. Where there is a will there is a way. Let us hope that the Third Pay Commission will consider all the genuine demands of the Central Government employees with all the sympathy and seriousness they deserve and recommend in a dispassionate and fearless manner, all conceivable measures to ameliorate their conditions of living and working. Justice delayed is justice denied. Let the Third Pay Commission arise, awake and work ceaselessly and release its Report of Recommendations without any further delay. Let us be optimistic that the Government of India will implement all the recommendations of the pay commission without hesitation or loss of time.



THE NEW BALANCE OF POWER

Prof. NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

There can be no gainsaying the fact that balance of power is the most important notion of all times in international behaviour. It is the maintenance of an approximate equilibrium between nations or preventing states from attaining that mastery which would enable them to impose their will upon other states. Preservation of balance of power has historically been an undoubted maxim of European diplomacy from the middle of the seventeenth century. The Crimean war of 1854 was undertaken by England and France with a view to protecting the Ottoman Empire for the maintenance of balance of power in Europe. Similarly, intervention in the Balkan crisis were obviously guided by a sense of preserving the balance of power.

As a matter of fact, ever since the emergence of the nation-states, each political entity felt the need of enhancing its power and prestige. This continuing search for power and dignity by a number of states has very often sufficed to trigger off unhappy conflagrations. But human history has not been a tale of perpetual warfare yet because, states indulging in a game of aggrandisement have not infrequently been deterred by the armed prowess of their rivals. Whenever a state or group of states have become strong enough to endanger the status quo, others have come together and adopted effective measures in order to prevent the political ascendancy of the former.

Post-war Balance

Though Russia and America fought against the Hitlerite menace, the erstwhile allies

drifted apart after the collapse of the common enemy. These two super-powers appeared through the ashes of war with immense responsibilities. While Russia became the citadel of the communist world, America took upon itself the responsibility of protecting the 'free world' from any probable communist adventurism. Thus, a balance of power has been achieved by near equality of strength of these two giants.

A logical concomitant of their ascendancy is the bitter rivalry which has manifested itself in the cold war and polarization of the world. In order to attain a favourable balance of power, both of them have sought to encircle each other by committed allies of regional pacts like the Nato, Seato, Cento Warsaw etc. As a matter of fact, in the face of the threat of nuclear armageddon, regional balance of power of classical pattern has given place to the modern concept of bi-polar power-balance.

Of course, this is symptomatic of the crisis of confidence as prevalent in the international power-alignment. Soon it has been realised that this balance of power is the best alternative of a balance of terror which a single-chance spark may suffice to provoke into conflagration. Moreover, the tremendous development in the technique of warfare has made the regional defence system almost obsolete. Hence, states like France and China have begun to develop their own nuclear arsenals and naturally the bi-polar system has yielded place to inevitable polycentrism.

Emergence of China

But emergence of Red China as a super-power has fundamentally changed the internal alignment and the post war balance of power. Until recently China has been a close ally of Soviet Russia. In his celebrated 'leaving to one side policy' statement of 1948, Mao observed that China will follow Russia in her struggle against world capitalism. But, despite the twenty years' treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between these two communist states, the gulf only has widened through years and since the sixties of this century, they have parted company. Geo-political rivalry has obviously been the fundamental reason of this cleavage and this amply proves that common ideology cannot bind two states together if their national interests are at cross-purposes.

During the time of Khruschev and Kennedy, Russia and America have occasionally shown their eagerness to march together to the pilgrimage of peace. Of course, such a compromising attitude on the part of Russia was viewed in Peking with suspicion and lack of sympathy. Soon Russia was branded as revisionist and a partner of America in their criminal programme of annihilating China.

As a stark reality, Russia has chances of direct military clash with America and even a limited acceptance of peace as a national policy may ensure her national uplift by releasing a considerable amount of national resources for productive work. But, from the Chinese point of view, Russia's terms would be both damaging and deplorable. She has so long been out of the UN that a compromise with the USA has become inevitable. American pledge to the Taiwan government is the formidable obstacle to the national integrity and sovereignty of China. More-

over in the midst of a national ordeal an atomic umbrella guaranteed by Russia would be of no avail. China, a country with the world's largest population, military traditions and future potentialities can no longer remain a satellite of Russia.

A new epoch has thus begun with China claiming to be the Asian leader of the communist movement. Its material prosperity together with nuclear preparation has now elevated it to the third place among world powers.

Sino-American Detente

Though the recent Sino-American detente marked by Nixon's visit to Peking has heralded the beginning of an entirely new alignment in international forces, it has been in the offing for a long period of time. It is only the presence of favourable circumstances that has brought forth the recent rapprochement.

For the last two decades, American influence in Europe and Asia has been on the decline, and Russia has steadily utilised the political forces in its favour. American change of policy marks the necessity of salvaging its own position from further deterioration. It is anxious to come out of Vietnam with reasonable honour and that requires a talk with China. Moreover, America's allies, like Britain and France, are selling their products in the Chinese markets and hence the American private sector has persistently pressurized the Government to open up the new channels towards China. But, above all Nixon has been anxious to open a second front against Russia so that America is not relegated to the second position in the list of super-powers.

A common hatred of India has also served to unite the erstwhile adversaries. While China regards India as a challenger in its Asian adventurism; American policy-makers

have been disgusted with Indian non-alignment which is allegedly more closely related to Soviet advancement. In 1962, however, it was American intervention that prevented Chinese aggression in the Indian sub-continent. But on the eve of the recent Indo-Pak combat, Dr. Kissinger had categorically pronounced American reluctance to intervene in any future Chinese aggression in India. Realising her peril in such an alignment, India has naturally sought a mighty ally and Russia has promptly risen to the occasion.

India's Potentiality

The new equation between China and America has compelled Soviet Russia to resort to pre-emptive action in order to deter a future confrontation. Under Art. IX of the Indo-Soviet Treaty, if a party of the treaty is subjected to armed aggression or any threat thereof, the other will immediately come forward to take effective collective measures. Though Russia and America are almost equal in military prowess, the balance moves against the former if China is included in the rival bloc. So, India, a state at parity with China in population, territory, military potential and geographical resources, has been chosen as a partner of Russia in maintaining a proper balance. The treaty is signed for twenty-years although it may be extended thereafter.

Moreover, under Art. VI of the Treaty, India and Soviet Union will co-operate in the field of technological and scientific advancement. All these indicate that Russia is presumably desirous of elevating India to the position of a super-power in the days lying ahead. That it is essential for maintaining a stable balance of power is, at least in the foreseeable future, beyond any reasonable doubt.

Thus, it is sufficiently clear that there has been a new line-up of power-states so that their pattern of national security and dignity is not jeopardised by hostile opponents. Of course, the emerging balance of power will not be complete until some other important states, like Japan and Germany have clearly assumed their role in the new balance structure.

Some people have, however, laboriously shown that balance of power has become moribund in the dynamism of present day international politics. But so long as the world would be peopled by different nations, war will loom large in the international horizon and balance of power would seem to remain a dominant factor in the external politics of states. Due to changed circumstances, the balance may occasionally be disturbed, but it is in the interest of the super-states that new balances should take the place of those that are destroyed.

Current Affairs

Environment Pollution

Humanity is making the world unsuitable for man's existence by its own behaviour. Such behaviour, therefore must be curbed so that environment pollution is controlled and there is no further deterioration in the quality of the Earth's air, soil and water. The Stockholm conference aimed at achieving this objective. The following extract is from the USIS press release :

In a statement issued June 15 Russell E. Train pointed out that during the conference 113 nations have acted on many far-reaching proposals for environmental action.

Following is the text of Mr. Train's statement :

With the end of the Stockholm conference in sight, my colleagues and I in the U. S. delegation believe its success is assured.

Its success lies not only in the general benefit of having further awakened world awareness of the environmental crisis ; more specifically, during these two weeks 113 nations have acted on a great many far-reaching proposals for international environmental action.

In my opinion, among the most significant recommendations approved or expected, are those designed :

—To facilitate the completion in 1972 of a global convention to restrict ocean dumping.

—To minimize release of particularly dangerous pollutants—such as heavy metals and organochlorines—into the environment.

—To organize global monitoring of atmospheric, marine, terrestrial and human health environments—a comprehensive arrangement termed "earthwatch".

—To collect and safeguard a world's immense variety of genetic resources.

—To strengthen the international whaling convention, and to launch a 10-year moratorium on commercial whaling.

—To set up an international environmental referral service for exchange of environmental know-how among all countries.

—To prevent national environmental actions from creating trade barriers against the exports of developing countries.

—To give higher priority in development assistance to environmental values—such as land use, conservation and quality of human settlements.

—To increase emphasis on population policy and family planning.

—To create in the U. N. a permanent, high-level environmental unit and a 100 million dollar U. N. environment fund.

This last step—which we hope will be completed by the U. N. General Assembly this fall—is in a very real sense the key to launching and coordinating all the rest.

It was brought to completion in two weeks of almost continuous negotiations here in Stockholm among many members, and is a truly composite product of this conference.

Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir

The Kashmiris are specially fortunate in having many spokesmen to expound their cause. This cause is by and large imaginary and does not affect the well being of the Kashmiris to any great extent. For the Kashmiris are Indians and have the same rights and obligations as have the Bengalis, the Biharis or the Tamils. That the Kashmiris should have any particular rights of self

determination which they should exercise through plebiscite or referendum is a figment of Pakistani imagination. Sheikh Abdullah shares these impossible wishes and desires with the Pakistanis. We do not know why. For it was Sheikh Abdullah more than any other single person who was instrumental in effecting Kashmir's accession to India when the Pak soldiers invaded Kashmir in fancy dress with a view to make it a part of Pakistan. Since then the Kashmiris have enjoyed the same political and economic rights as all other Indians ; whereas the people of Pakistan occupied Kashmir have remained under martial law most of the time. All Pakistanis have had to sacrifice their rights of self determination if one considers their case to discover what rights Pakistanis enjoy. So when Sheikh Abdullah groans in pain in sympathy with the Kashmiris he merely acts the part of a sufferer. In fact he does this so often and so persistently that one suspects him of complicity with the Pakistani saviours of the Kashmiris. The idea that he tries to sell is that five million Kashmiris should have some special right of self determination. There are many racial, linguistic or religious groups of five or even fifty million persons who are integrated into national bodies and thus have no special rights as a separate community. The mere fact of being in a peculiarly strategic position should make no difference ; for if the Pakistanis could occupy a part of Kashmir without causing any cardiac pain in Sheikh Abdullah, the "occupation" of another section of the same territory by Indians should not create any physical discomfort in that bespoke feeler of feelings.

Air Disasters

The frequency of air disasters makes one think of the mechanical or metallurgical faults which might cause aeroplanes to break up. Modern planes fly at great speed and they rise

to heights that were considered impossible to fly at in the past. Flying at a thousand miles per hour in regions where air pressure is relatively much less and then coming down into high pressure zones make the planes experience much greater resistance when landing. The accidents that have happened recently took place when the planes were landing. There may be some connection between high speed landing and the breaking up of planes and the remedy may be in reducing the speed of the planes when they come down from the rarefied atmosphere of stratospheric heights. Some years ago when a Comet plane broke up in the air after taking off from the Calcutta (Dum Dum) airport, it ran into a dust laden squall before it could climb above the clouds. Some people thought that running into the greater resistance offered by the norwester caused the break up of the Comet. Conditions of metal fatigue were also considered at that time. All planes thereafter were modified in regard to their metallurgical constitution with a view to enable them to stand the heavy pressures associated with great speed at the lower level zones of the Earth's atmosphere. It would appear that the strengthening of the bodies of the planes was not carried out to the extent that it should have been. It is necessary that this aspect of the study of plane frames and bodies should now receive the closest attention of metallurgists and other experts so that the causes of these plane disasters are properly looked into and remedied.

Foreign Exchange Value of Pound

The Pound sterling has been left to float freely for a few days in the international money market. Before doing that the British Government increased the Bank Rate with a view to strengthen the demand for the Pound in other countries. So that although the floating Pound would normally have a

tendency to sink to a lower exchange level the increased demand for British money would counteract the tendency. If however the Pound does not recover and has to be devalued its effect will possibly react favourably on British foreign trade. All foreign exchange rates eventually depend on the demensions of a country's foreign trade and Britain is no exception. If the Pound cannot maintain its present rate of exchange with the other major currencies the British will have to face the implications of a revaluation in an economically justifiable manner. And we believe the British will do so too. Britain apparently has an unfavourable balance of trade ; but Britain also has large dues from other countries on various counts. The unfavourable balance is not on the increase as far as one can judge.

Indo-Pakistan Conference

The proposed Indo-Pakistan conference which will be held at Simla has been called a Summit Conference, though nothing in which Pakistan is a party can be final at any time. Pakistan was created by the evil designs of British imperialists and the USA later took upon themselves the responsibility to keep Pakistan going. The British idea was to split up the Indian subcontinent in such a manner as would make the growth of a single strong nation impossible there. The two nation theory was a British creation and the Anglo Americans have followed it up unsailingly in order to keep the two religious communities divided whenever and wherever they have found it convenient to do so. Pakistan, that is the political clique that rules Pakistan, has always been opportunistic and has never had any fixed principles or policy. Opportunism cannot ever afford to make any final decisions; for who knows what may turn up even after a final settlement has been made. Of course Pakistan does not make any decisions for the reason that other nations decide things for

Pakistan. The so-called summit conference therefore would be a make believe attempt at settling disputes which give Pakistan her *raison d'etrs*. Pakistan was created so that there may be disputes. No disputes would mean no Pakistan.

What may be discussed would perhaps be matters relative to Kashmir. Pakistan occupied certain parts of Kashmir by aggressive means many years ago. This part of Kashmir has been given the fancy name of Azad Kashmir by the Pakistanis. The rest of Kashmir, being a part of India, is not Azad or independent. India however thinks that Azad Kashmir is Pakistan occupied Kashmir and that Pakistan should vacate her aggression there and clear out. Pakistan says India should hold a plebiscite in Kashmir to decide whether Kashmir should be a part of India. In fact Kashmir became a part of India when the Pakistanis invaded Kashmir and the Maharaja of Kashmir requested India to save his territory from Pakistani aggression. Kashmir joined India by accession at that time. But the world powers through the UN made Pakistan occupied Kashmir a disputed territory by preventing India from recapturing it. Even Russia accepted the idea of a part of Kashmir being occupied by Pakistan. We donot know what the powers are now thinking about Indo-Pakistan disputes. Are they planning to let India settle these questions bilaterally with Pakistan or will they pull strings to strengthen the position of Pakistan ? If they indulge in unseen interference in Indo-Pakistani affairs things would be no better now than they had been when the late Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Tashkent. There have been much talk about not allowing foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of India or Pakistan. But India and Pakistani VIPS are constantly visiting foreign countries and holding discussions with top-ranking foreign statesmen. Why are they doing so if they are so very independent in their outlook ?

THE NEED FOR A RAJAJI

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

It is at all events far from easy to deal with a complex and forceful personality like that represented by Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari who, besides, has had an extraordinarily long active career. In the case of Rajaji this difficulty becomes all the more pronounced when a Bengali, like the present writer, attempts at an evaluation of his personality in as much as Shri Rajagopalachari has not exactly been an idol of the Bengalis. His interventions, whether it was in the twenties when he sided with Gandhiji against Shri Chittaranjan Das, or it was in the early forties when he suggested the sequestration of Bengal to accommodate the Pakistan idea of Mr. Jinnah (which subsequently was to become a hard political fact when India was partitioned in 1947), were extremely unpopular with the Bengalis in those days. Even his politics—in particular, his strong anti-communism of the fifties and the sixties—was not calculated to endear him to the people in West Bengal, where, because of a combination of peculiar economic, political and historical reasons, it was virtually impossible for any political leader needing public endorsement to pursue a rightwing political course so dear to Rajaji. But in another sense perhaps it is not so difficult for a Bengali to write about Shri Rajagopalachari, since Rajaji's middle-class outlook is essentially not far different from that of the average Bengali. The Bengalis, like Rajaji, respect intellect and are evocative in giving reactions which, not unoften, make their stand considerably misunderstood by others. There is further a deeper identity in the standpoint of Rajaji and the Bengalis. Both are acutely aware of their isolation from the dominant group in the country but are at the same time eager to find an appropriate role for their peoples to enable them to play a meaningful role in national development.

The concern for finding one's identity may sometimes be misunderstood by others but its essential correctness is unquestioned. Perhaps it is because of this fundamental identity it took Rajaji no time to come near to the hearts of the Bengalis when he went to West Bengal as Governor after the Partition of Bengal.

Many of the things Rajaji stood for at one time of his life or the other have been proved wrong (as the experience with Pakistan has shown that division of the country which Rajaji had come to favour was no solution to the communal ills) or have been repudiated by Rajaji himself (as is given by his changed attitude to Hindi as the official language or his recent opposition to the enlargement of the area of State autonomy which he had been advocating so forcefully upon the formation of the Swatantra Party over a decade ago.) But then the validity of an opinion may undergo a change in the light of the changed circumstances and the change in Rajaji's outlook is not extraordinary. What makes intellectual politicians of Rajaji's type significant is not always what they say but the very fact that they uphold the right of saying something unpopular and non-traditional. The importance of the exercise of this right is not always properly understood but is of the highest consequence in times of national crisis. For a number of years Rajaji was campaigning against the failures of what he had characterized as "permit-licence raj" decrying the economic and political centralization. Few of us who were wedded to the ideal of socialism and economic equality could appreciate the justice of his criticism although in retrospect today, few would dare to controvert that criticism. His long experience in various walks of life including the government in the States and the Centre had endowed him with an insight of which well-meaning intellectuals had not even the faintest idea.

Rajaji knew well enough the instrument—governmental bureaucracy—through which economic development and social reform were sought to be brought about in the country, and could easily measure up the difficulties inherent in the situation of which even Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had no comprehension. One difference in the situation of these two men led them to these two different appraisals of the situation. Nehru, being well-entrenched in power, was utterly dependent on the bureaucracy to carry out his plans and was unable or even unwilling to see their faults, except on sporadic occasions when he would come out against the bureaucracy. Rajaji, who knew the ways of the bureaucracy first hand, could easily see where they were failing because he, being out of government, had no stake in them. It is remarkable that the leftists, particularly the Communists who take pride in being able to analyse the state systems, also failed to comprehend the direction of development which Rajaji, an avowed rightist, so clearly saw and fought. On a fair computation it would be found that the bureaucracy has been claiming an increasingly larger share of the national product.

Rajaji as a politician has not unnaturally committed mistakes. Where he differs from ordinary politicians is in his ability to come out of the spell of emotionalism and to venture out a logical opinion without bothering if on that account his reputation would suffer with some. This trait was most dramatically seen in his espousing the cause of English as an official language against Hindi for which he had been a great champion earlier. English is nobody's language in India but Hindi is equally unknown to the majority except those in the Hindi-speaking States. Despite all the crores of rupees spent by the Central Government for the propagation of Hindi, the vast bulk of the educated few in

the country still remains ignorant of Hindi—not to speak of the ignorance of the language by the overwhelming majority of the population which remains illiterate. The immediate introduction of Hindi would mean a regression for the non-Hindi-speaking population and would lead to a worse situation than had been provided by the British rule. The introduction of Hindi under such a circumstance would alienate the vast majority of the people from the political system and would create serious problems for national security. The Hindi enthusiasts were not prepared to see the facts. It was a pity, though, since they ought to have been liberal enough to allow others adequate time to pick up the Hindi language well enough to be able to use it as a medium of written and spoken communication. The fact is that the vast majority of schools in the non-Hindi regions had, and even now have, no Hindi teacher of even the most indifferent variety—because a sufficient number of Hindi teachers is not available. When a powerful section of the politicians insisted upon imposing Hindi upon the non-Hindi speaking population, it was left to Rajaji to lead the opposition. It was far less easy to speak against Hindi in those days without appearing as mean-minded as it is now when the Hindi enthusiasts have chastened up a bit not to try to impose the language by coal-tarring car number plates. Few people in this country have any real hostility towards Hindi which is a vigorous and beautiful language and it is sheer calumny to depict the non-Hindi people's expression of their genuine inability to use this language as their hostility or narrow-mindedness. Rajaji stood against this chauvinism at a time when few dared to come forward to do so and he thought nothing of appearing as inconsistent to his past if he had to do this national duty of preventing disruption of the country in the name of a

language. The clarity with which he expressed himself is given by the following excerpt from his writing in the *Swarajya* in August 1967 : "We love our classic past", Rajaji wrote. "We are proud of it. We turn to it often with an irresistible nostalgia. It was a past when we had no English, no Persian, no Arabic, no other religious conception seeking our attention except what the Rishis told us after deep reflexion, no approach to the unknown and the unknowable except through the Vedas and the Upanishads, and the philosophic divergences that arose among the pious and the denominations that took shape as a result of these divergences of Vedic thought. We were undoubtedly great then. But, we cannot be that now or even without being great, hope to be ordinarily happy without English, and with Hindi or with each regional language taking the place of English in each regional university. We are in a different age. And nostalgia, pride or love of the past cannot defeat reality, the reality which in anticipation the Upanishad told us in unmistakable words Satyameva Jayate. We cannot win or hope to vanquish reality by force of voting numbers".

"Since we adopted the mantra Satyam eva Jayate in 1947 and put it on the crest of Free India, we have been fighting for unreality in two spheres. One is the battle for the unreality called Socialism. The other battle is to ignore the language of modern enlightenment."

Rajaji is luckily for this country, one of those politicians who have not abjured moral concern in politics. He has not flinched from his opposition to the lotteries. He wrote in 1968, "The moral issue is clear. It is wrong for any government to link administration with revenue derived from what is evil. If we wish to put an end to or reduce an evil, it is not good government to seek to make money out of it. If there is any hope for India, it lies in our ability to infuse a spirit of hard work among the people, beginning with the young ; and not the opposite of it, to turn the minds of people, young and old, to become rich by gambling and betting.

No state government has power to organise collection of funds for the State by offering to all persons the temptation of a big prize on the investment in one or more raffle tickets issued by the Government." After the exposure in Kashmir and another State where officials connected with State lotteries were alleged to have indulged in widespread rigging of lottery results and other types of corruption, even the secular justification of Rajaji's stand becomes clear. Unfortunately the Congress, which at one time stood for prohibition and ban on races and other type of gambling, has found a way out of its inability to tax the rural rich to raise revenue, in mulcting the common man by exploiting their helpless condition through the allurement of becoming a lakhpati in a day. Fate rather than enterprise is sought to be inculcated as the desirable and dominant virtue. Similarly he has castigated the backsliding on prohibition. "The legal supply of liquor in licensed shops", Rajaji wrote in the *Swarajya* of 16 October, 1971, "aggravates the curiosity of foolish young men who cannot afford the cost of licit liquor and increases the market for cheaper illicit and poisonous supply. The psychological effect of the licensed evil is to increase the evil and not a reduction of it, owing to licit supply, as people speciously argue. We did not hear of many French polish casualties before Prohibition was suspended in Tamil Nad. It is only now that licit supply has led to a spurt in illicit supply." How true is this observation.

Incidentally, the last quotation bears out how alert Rajaji is even at the age of 93 when people half his age leave the field of controversy for a safe berth in a corner. In the same issue of *Swarajya* (16 October 1971) Rajaji joins issue with the Advocate-General of Tamilnadu on the question of expediting the hearing of the writ petition questioning the anti-prohibition ordinances issued by the Tamilnadu Government. So long as an individual retains the power to enter into a controversy on a matter of public interest, he remains relevant. Herein lies the need to have Rajaji in our midst.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND INCREASE OF POPULATION

M. SATHYPRAKASAM

India of course is an under developed country and as such every effort is being made to wipe out poverty from our land. We are in the threshold of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Three Five Year Plans and several other annual Plans having been implemented, we are today girding up our loins to launch the Fourth Plan. Whatever the commissions and omissions of our rulers it might be wrong to play down their achievement in the various spheres of nation building activities. However it can not be gainsaid that what little economic progress has been achieved by the country has done very little to reduce the appalling poverty of the masses with the result the socialistic pattern of society which seemed to promise a millauum for the millions of India still remains a far cry.

Really national production has increased by leaps and bounds, but the standard of living of the working class is yet to be improved. It is therefore obvious that the raising of the standard of living of the masses is the stupendous problem that our Nation has to grapple with. On an analysis of the reasons for the failure of the National objective, it may be seen that the abnormal growth of population has virtually had a stultifying effect on our prime objective. But the rise in population in itself may not be fraught with dangerous consequences provided man power is prudently harnessed to the production of National Wealth. To-day developing countries like India are facing the menace of over-population. It is calculated that in case the present rate of growth in population goes unchecked, by 2000 A. D. the world's population may be doubled. To quote Aldous Huxley "Increasing population is more serious than the Atom Bomb". Statistics show that population of India increases by 2.5% every year. And at this rate, it is apprehended that

the population of India may rise up to the level of 100 crores within twenty years. In this connection it is worth remembering that, thanks to the remarkable advance in Medical Science, death rate has been appreciably reduced. But the fall in death rate is more or less countered by the phenomenal rise in birth rate in respect of people belonging to all sections of the people.

Let us examine how far the increase of population retards the pace of economic progress of our country. The parents who are genuinely interested in the welfare of their children should be conscious of the gravity of this problem. The end and aim of economic planning is to revolutionise the existing standard of living of the common man by making available to each and every one the bare necessities of life on an egalitarian basis. But the noble objectives of our National Planners are relentlessly defeated by the enormous growth of our population.

Both the national income and per-capita income are generally recognised as an index of economic progress. It is admitted that as a result of the implementation of Five Year Plans ; a considerable increase in national production has been registered bringing about thereby a slight rise in national income as well. But this increase in national wealth has failed to produce any noticeable effect on the per-capita income. In 1951-66 the national income appeared to have increased by 63.7%. During the same period the income per head had increased only by 20.4%. It shows clearly that population has increased by 35% during a period of fifteen years.

A modest rise in the national income consequent on the increased production cannot but be too negligible to be felt by the crores of India when shared on an individual or family basis. As a matter of fact, when

there is no marked increase in the income of a family and at the same time as the members of an individual family increase the economic problems are bound to arise. There are two types of people in society, they are producers and non-producers. Children, old people, disabled men and others come under the second category. They are dependent upon the producers. In 1967 non-producers had numbered about 22·2 crores and this figure is estimated to have risen subsequently to 25 crores. It is noticed that 40% of our population is represented by children of fourteen and below fourteen years of age. This is really a great burden on the producing section of India.

The availability of food materials to feed the teeming millions of India has ever remained a knotty problem. The majority of the people do not get sufficient nutritious food. It is estimated that the food production of our country in a year is only 90 crores of tones and it is inadequate for the present population. Our economic planning is beset with difficulties arising from labour problems. It has come to be adversely remarked about Indian labour that vis-a-vis foreign labour, the quality and productivity of our labour does not compare favourably.

The unemployment problem is the most difficult one. During the years 1951-59 nearly 425 lakhs of people were newly recruited for various jobs. During the same period there were only three lakhs of unemployed people in India. But towards the end of the third plan, there has been a steep rise in the number of unemployed people. The figure still rose to 130 lakhs by 1969 and it is expected that by the end of the third plan the number of the unemployed men will have risen to 280 lakhs. Hence if we want to find a lasting solution to the problem our planning should be so job-oriented as to provide 410 lakhs of people with employment. Notwithstanding the magni-

tude of the problem, the unpleasant fact yet remains that our government can at best employ during this plan 140 lakhs, touching thereby only the fringe of this huge problem.

The accursed increase in population has in its wake begotten a number of other complicated problems bristling with difficulties in the field of education, public health and housing. Apart from feeding the mouths of these millions, provision for educational, medical and housing facilities for them may ever loom large in the eyes of the government, for it may be an additional charge on the already depleted financial resources of the state. In highly industrialised countries as employment opportunities increase high income and low cost of living may come to be an outstanding feature of the economic life of the nation, with the result that the cumulative individual saving may be utilised for investment in national enterprises. But in India the unrestricted rise in population has been standing as a stumbling block in the way of advancement in any direction. Anyhow savings are a sine-qua-non in backward countries like India for investment in the public sector. But it is premature to expect much saving with oversized families to be provident enough in the existing economic set-up in which they are hard put to it, to make both ends meets with an almost inelastic income.

Now we have won a historic battle with Pakistan and it has farther impoverished our country. Besides, the refugees problem weakened our economic structure. Therefore we must be determined, disciplined and dedicated to the public cause. Against the background of the foregoing facts, we are forced to the irresistible conclusion that the success of our National Planning really hinges upon effective and immediate birth control. Family planning is therefore to play a vital role being the primary step in the over all organisation for development.

PAKISTAN

A. C

After the separation of Bangladesh (East Pakistan) from the body of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan what remains of that state which still likes to think of itself as a challenger to India requires to be examined. Pakistan had an area of 365 529 sq. miles out of which 55 126 sq. miles have gone out with Bangladesh leaving 310 403 sq. miles to the new Pakistan. From this one might conclude that the loss of Bangladesh has not been so vital ; but when one considers this separation from the angle of loss of population one finds in it a loss of more than half the population. Pakistan had a population of 93 720 613 persons before the war of Bangladesh. To-day the population of Pakistan is only 42 880 378. Compared to this, several states of India have a greater population such as

Andhra Pradesh	43 394 951
Bihar	56 332 246
Maharashtra	50 335 492
Uttar Pradesh	88 364 779
West Bengal	44 440 095

Uttar Pradesh is double in point of population when compared to Pakistan. Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh have populations which also come very close to Pakistan. Even in the past Pakistan including Bangladesh was not big enough in population to be a challenger to India ; but it felt inflated due to American and Chinese aid and boosting by the British and certain other nations. To-day its male population of the age groups 15-55 would be less than ten million against which the Indian male population of the same age groups would be about 130 millions. This

great disparity in population alone makes it absurd for Pakistan to think of war with India even with an endless supply of arms from China and the USA. About the quality of this population, let us take only one fact to judge how effective the Pakistanis can be in case they have to fight India. Before the loss of Bangladeshi Pakistan had a literacy ratio of 21.5 per cent in East Pakistan and 16.3 per cent in West Pakistan. Against this Indian male literacy was 34.5 per cent and 24 per cent including women. One may say that Indian literates out number Pakistani literates by fifty per cent in any random group of 100 persons.

In Pakistan the major industries were Cotton mills, Jute mills, Paper mills and Cement factories before Bangladesh went out. The position has become worse now to a great extent. In India there were in comparison over four hundred Chemical and allied factories, four hundred fifty four iron and steel basic industries. Five hundred three machinery factories and ninety one motor vehicles factories. India also has a well developed defence production organisation and can arm her own soldiers as well as build her own warships, fighter-bomber planes and other military equipment of essential importance.

All these facts go to show that Pakistan is no longer in a position to gear up her war machine to face the Indian army, navy and airforce. Her Western states are no longer as loyally attached to the idea of building a great Pan-Islamic state as they had been before. There are possibilities of revolution in those states too as they no longer think highly of the central power in Pakistan which had to

surrender 93000 soldiers in Bangladesh. In these circumstances the only way Pakistan can remain on the map is by developing its peaceful economic potential. That will give its people a good standard of living, security of life and property and guarantee to them progress and advancement in the world of nations.

Having realised that there was little hope of ever making Pakistan the strongest power in the subcontinent the Pakistanis have agreed to come to a conference at Simla where they hope to induce India to send back home the Pakistani prisoners of war, reestablish status quo in point of occupation of territory, reintroduce over flights by Pakistani planes and to reopen embassies at Delhi and Islamabad. India would be interested in having a no war pact with Pakistan but not at any cost. India's claims on Kashmir will never be given up nor will India ever agree to any Pakistani interference in matters relating to Kashmir. So that, whatever happens at the conference there could be no possibility of India giving up any territory reoccupied by Indian forces in Kashmir. As for return of prisoners of war, the Bangladesh government will not give up their plans of holding war crimes trials and the question of sending back the prisoners will present a very complex and difficult front which will not be easy to handle for deciding who can be permitted to go back to Pakistan and who held back for trial or for giving evidence. Murder of a few million civilians and offences against thousands of women, not

to mention acts of arson, plunder and deliberate destruction of property including industrial machinery; cannot be just overlooked because peace has to be established between India and Pakistan. Russia, America or China may think nothing of genocidal killings and other crimes; but those who have lost their near and dear ones and seen their womenfolk dishonoured cannot forgive not forget. An easy and off hand solution of this problem is therefore not possible. Pakistan must be made to realise that her crimes against the people of Bangladesh have been terrible violations of human rights and she stands guilty before the world. If her guilty soldiers can get away after committing the most heinous crimes against unarmed men women and children, what will prevent them from repeating their gruesome and despicable actions in other regions at other times? There should not and must not be any mercy shown to these wanton killers and violators of all laws of morality. Pakistan therefore may not have easy sailing at the Simla conference. Doors that have remained closed for over two decades may open again, future discussions and bi-lateral settlements may become smoother; but Pakistan will have to understand that she can no longer remain the pampered bad boy of Asia. The British American tricksters playing at Asian politics will cease to dominate the arena and Pakistan will have to forego all privileges and occupy her rightful place.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

One Man Commission on Dr. Mahtab

The "Swarajya" has published a letter dealing with the report of the one man commission appointed to examine the case of Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab. It reads as follows :

Bhubaneswar, June 4 : The 74-year-old Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, who dominated the Orissa political scene for over two decades and headed four of the State Ministries, is now struggling to smother the effect of the findings of Mr Justice Sarjoo Prasad, a former Chief Justice of Rajasthan and Assam, holding Dr Mahtab guilty of corruption charges and acquisition of wealth much beyond his ostensible means.

On three out of the four counts referred to the one-man commission, Dr Mahtab was held guilty. They are : "Guilty of accepting illegal gratification, impropriety and abuse of his power as Chief Minister in granting remission to Kendu leaf contractors resulting in appreciable loss to the State revenue." The rapid acquisition of wealth by Dr Mahtab between 1956 and 1960 "was beyond his ostensible sources of income and must have been derived through unauthorised and illegal sources for which he has completely failed to account."

Mr Justice Prasad also held that Dr Mahtab was guilty of "gross favouritism, improprieties and abuse of power as Chief Minister in granting lease of chromite mines to Mr Serajuddin to the great detriment and loss of the State."

(Dr Mahtab resigned the Governorship of

Bombay and returned to his home State in 1956 to head the State Ministry).

Only a summary of the findings of the Prasad Commission is available. Dr Mahtab told the press that he had asked the Government to supply him a copy of the report so that he might decide on his action. He also told pressmen : "The Commission was unfortunately deliberately biased against me and was bent upon giving findings against me right from the beginning. I request my friends not to be anxious about the report since I have already faced the elections on the basis of such allegations and the outcome is well known to the people of Orissa. I stand or fall on the basis of my life and work during the last half a century and the opinions of Mr Sarjoo Prasad or my enemies are merely transitional".

The enquiry against Dr Mahtab and a few other Ministers was demanded when Dr Mahtab left the Congress in 1967 and he was one of the main founders of the Jana Congress which joined hands with the Swatantra Party and formed the Coalition Ministry. The inquiry was demanded by the then leader of the Opposition, Mr Sadasiba Tripathy, the present leader of the Opposition, Mr Binayak Acharya, a few MLAs and MPs of the undivided Congress Party in a petition presented to the Union President soon after the formation of the Swatantra-Jana Congress Coalition Ministry. The Union Ministry favoured inquiry and the then Coalition Government appointed Mr Justice Mudholkar special judge to examine if there was a *prima facie* case for an inquiry. On his report that

there was a *prima facie* case, Dr Mahtab moved the High Court to quash the findings of Mr Mudholkar. After the writ petition was rejected and when it was about to come up before the State Cabinet a move was initiated for winding up the Jana Congress and in the political crisis, without the cooperation of the Jana Congress, the Cabinet appointed Mr Justice Sarjoo Prasad to inquire into the charges.

There was an inquiry against Mr Biju Patnaik, also a former Chief Minister. Mr Patnaik had bouquets as well as brickbats in Mr Justice Khanna's report. Proceedings were initiated against Mr Patnaik after the report but they were withdrawn later.

Secretary Rogers on Environmental Safeguards

The US Secretary of State Rogers had issued the following statement (reproduced in part from USIS press release) on June 5, 1972 on the opening of the UN conference on Human Environment at Stockholm :

The United States Government will be second to none in applying its energies to the task of preserving and enhancing the global environment.

We look for substantial progress at Stockholm in three areas :

First, the conference should spur efforts to acquire greater knowledge about what is happening to the world's environment. This requires a comprehensive monitoring system, involving for example a global network of stations to measure the effect of air contaminants.

Second, the conference should encourage international conventions, agreements, and other arrangements to deal with problems where action, not research, is needed. We have particularly in mind conventions to control ocean dumping and to preserve heri-

tage areas of special natural, cultural, or historic importance.

Third, because most environmental problems must be solved at the regional, national, or individual level, the conference should encourage and support regional and local efforts.

To help realize these and other important objectives the President has proposed the creation of a United Nations fund for the environment, to be financed by voluntary contributions from governments. We believe the initial funding goal, over a five-year period, should be \$100 million. The United States is prepared to contribute up to \$40 million to match the \$60 million which we hope others will donate.

Firm centralized control and an agreed setting of priorities are essential to the effective administration of the United Nations' environmental activities. Therefore we will propose at Stockholm that a U. N. administrator be appointed. He should have authority, subject to policy guidance from an intergovernmental body within the ECOSOC framework, to administer the fund and to coordinate all U. N. programmes on the environment.

The United States Government believes that the 1970's should be a decade in which the United Nations gives conscious priority to the coupling of scientific advance with the welfare of all peoples. As peacekeeping was its basic concern in the 1950's, as development was added as a second concern in the 1960's, we believe that in this decade the United Nations should adopt a third basic objective—to encourage, through cooperative international action, the application of science and technology to improving the quality of human life. In no area is this task more urgent than in the area of the human environment.

It is sometimes alleged that environment

is a rich man's issue and that developing countries have little to gain from international activity in this field. This allegation is refuted by the presence in Stockholm of representatives of the vast majority of the people of the developing world.

It is natural that developing countries should show particular concern that steps to preserve the environment must enhance rather than hinder the development process.

--We pledge that environmental concerns will not be used as a pretext for trade discrimination against the products of developing—or other—countries, or for their reduced access to U. S. markets. There should be no economic protectionism in the name of environmental protection.

—We pledge that a commitment to environmental improvement will not diminish our commitment to development.

Environmental safeguards, far from being antithetical to development, are an integral part of it. This does not mean that they should be rigidly imposed by industrialized nations as a condition of their participation in development projects. The relative priority to be given such safeguards must be worked out between donor and recipient countries. In our own assistance policy we are emphasizing the primary responsibility of aid recipients for setting development priorities.

The bilateral agreement we signed in Moscow on May 23—the most comprehensive environmental agreement yet reached between major countries—is an encouraging indication that the Soviet Union shares our belief in the importance of this issue.

US-USSR Accord on Vital Matters

The joint Soviet-US communique issued after President Nixon's visit to Russia had two items of vital importance for world peace, which we reproduce below from the USSR Press Release published from Calcutta.

Limitation of Strategic Armaments

The two sides gave primary attention to the problem of reducing the danger of nuclear war. They believe that curbing the competition in strategic arms will make a significant and tangible contribution to this cause.

The two sides attach great importance to the Treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms concluded between them.

The two sides intend to continue active negotiations for the limitation of strategic offensive arms and to conduct them in a spirit of goodwill, respect for each other's legitimate interests and observance of the principle of equal security.

International Issues. Europe.

In the course of the discussions on the international situation, both sides took note of favourable developments in the relaxation of tensions in Europe.

Recognizing the importance to world peace of developments in Europe, where both world wars originated, and mindful of the responsibilities and commitments which they share with other powers under appropriate agreements, the USSR and the USA intend to make further efforts to ensure a peaceful future for Europe, free of tensions, crisis and conflicts.

They agree that the territorial integrity of all states in Europe should be respected.

About Copernicus

The following quotations are from *Polish Facts on File*. They would be found interesting by our readers as the world would soon be celebrating the Quincentenary of the great astronomer.

The town of Padua was chosen for Copernicus to study in mainly because it was famous, among other things, for its excellent

professors of medicine. Copernicus was to dedicate himself to the study of this science because in the place of residence of his uncle Bishop Watzenrode, the remote and lonely Lidzbark there were no good physicians. So he practised medicine all his life and although it took a secondary place, he was passionately fond of the medical sciences, especially of the observations of natural phenomena, experiments and reasoning based on experiment. Copernicus was also said to be interested in surgery although this speciality was treated rather disdainfully, practising surgery by a clergyman was regarded as "improper".

When Copernicus came to Padua, the town had for a hundred years belonged to the Republic of Venice, and the University of Padua had greatly benefitted from that. The Venetians took care to bring to Padua the most eminent contemporary scholars. The number of students attending the University of Padua was said to reach 18,000.

Here are some samples of medical prescriptions which Copernicus wrote down during his medical studies in Padua (perhaps he copied them from one of the text-books of those times) :

"Fat of a pig or ox, boiled for a while in olive oil and applied above the navel brings vomiting, and below the navel—evacuation."

"Washing hand in warm water before eating and in cold water after eating is good for the stomach."

Later on, as a physician of long practice he wrote on the margin of a medical book : "It is best to make the shortest prescriptions." As a young man he usually gave very long prescriptions.

One of the medical notes written by Copernicus is rather puzzling. "Every member is strengthened by what is similar to it : as rhubarb is good for the liver so is lapis lazuli and armenus (blue dye) for the spleen."

Everything indicates that while in Padua Copernicus was also greatly interested in astronomy. This is shown, among other things, by the great number of books on astronomy he bought there, as well as the many notes made by him, which have been preserved to this day. Among the professors of astronomy he could not find anybody who in knowledge and enthusiasm could match Domenico Maria Novara of Bologna. But he certainly found many enthusiasts of this science among the young students. He discussed astronomy a lot with his younger fellow student Girolamo Fracastore of Verona who later became famous as a physician, astronomer, philosopher and poet. Perhaps he also had many discussions with Pomponio who was engaged in the science of perspective and undoubtedly "infected" Copernicus' mind with his study. What is certain is that Copernicus thought a lot about astronomy at that time.

Effect of Noise on Man

We reproduce the following from the *International Labour Review* :

Noise and vibration are physical agents in the environment, which may transmit mechanical oscillation energy to the human body, and interaction between man and variations in his environmental conditions produces a modification of the body's physical and energetic equilibrium.

Reaction to any stimulus occurs initially in that region of the body's sensory system that receives the stimulus. Information about the stimulus is transmitted from the nerve receptors to the nerve centres, and the sensory system makes the body adapt to the changing external conditions. These adaptations take the form of a modification of the body's inner energy levels and metabolic processes, which will, in the long term, normally result in typical reactions to the stimulus.

Noise exerts its effect on the auditory system and produces a temporary rise in the threshold of auditory perception (temporary hearing loss). The lower the initial threshold of hearing and the more intense and prolonged the noise, the greater will be this rise in the threshold level.

Exposure to noise levels of less than 80 dB leads to relatively small reductions in hearing acuity, which are rapidly reversible. However, prolonged exposure to intense noise may lead to a 50 dB rise in the auditory threshold and it may take several days for normal hearing to be restored. Regular, prolonged exposure to intense noise may lead to a permanent reduction in hearing acuity which is aggravated by continued employment, and culminates in occupational deafness. How-

ever, the deleterious effects are not limited to this. Information about external stimuli that is transmitted to nerve centres may disturb the dynamics of the nervous process governing the function of other organs and systems and lead to such disorders as arterial diseases, hypertension and hypotension, ulcers, etc. Statistics show that amongst persons working in very noisy environments, the level of general morbidity entailing temporary loss of working capacity is 20-30 per cent higher than in the general population.

Prolonged exposure to intense noise also reduces vigilance, slows down motor reactions, decreases muscular strength and diminishes resistance, resulting in a 5-20 per cent drop in productivity and a falling-off in work quality



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

"Welfare State and Problems of Democratic Planning", by G. R. Madan, Published by Allied Publishers, and Printed by Debdas Nath at Sadhana Press Private Ltd., 76 B. B. Ganguly Street, Calcutta-12 (Price Rs 20/-).

This book forms part of the series being written by G. R. Madan under the title "Indian Social Problems," wherein the author attempts to analyse the problems which any democratic welfare state faces today. In the forward to this book, Dr. R. B. Das is of the opinion that "the book contains not only discussion on the concept of the Welfare state, in all its bearing but it also raises problems arising therefrom."

Generally speaking, the concept of the Democratic welfare state is a synthesis of many ideas historically, combining as it does, principles advancing individual freedom and liberty, together with regimentation, those of bureaucracy with personal initiative, those of concentration of power in the state with those encouraging delegation of power to individuals. This apparent contradiction is easily explained when one looks carefully at the sources wherein these diverse principles arose.

Historically we find that the stress on individual liberty equality, and fraternity can be traced to the French Revolution, while the concept of group or communal welfare and happiness obviously is the product of the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number", put forward by the Utilitarian philosophy of Bentham and his followers. Ideas of public ownership of basic industries and essential services can be traced

to Fabian Socialism, doctrines of avoiding mass unemployment and the control of the Trade Cycle to John Maynard Keynes, while the stress on Social Insurance and Social Security are the obvious contribution of Beveridge not so very many years ago. With all this has to be considered Sidney and Beatrice Webbs' ideas regarding the importance of Trade Unions and Industrial Democracy. Thus the Author traces the growth and development of the Democratic Welfare state historically, and thereafter discusses its scope and limitations.

In fact the term "Welfare State" in its present sense was first used in Great Britain after the second world war. It has since been defined in many ways, but perhaps one of the clearest definitions is that given from Maurice Bruce's book by Mr. Madan...The welfare state is the concept of "a system of social responsibility for certain minimum standards of individual and communal welfare without however the more through political and social control of a Socialist or Communist state." In fact in quite a few chapters do we find an attempt to compare and contrast the Democratic Welfare state with other types of states such as the Social Service State, The Communist State, the Totalitarian State among others. Briefly, the Democratic State tries to balance the liberty of the individual with the acceptance of general equality, economically, socially, and politically.

Most of the problems connected with this type of State welfare arise in fact from this attempt to balance these two factors; for while planning is an essential part of any welfare economy, the participation of the individual

varies according to the type of the welfare state concerned. In any Democratic Planning while the general details are worked out by various Planning bodies and Commissions, many decisions are left to the individuals. Hence major problems arise when the individual works for his own welfare by diminishing the total welfare, and here we find the necessity of state interference and control. In India an attempt is being made to follow this type of economy and thus the subject matter of this book should interest Planners, Social workers, and administrators in many fields of activity in this country.

—Lakshmi Chatterji

VEDANTA DARSANA—With Sankara Bhashya and translation and elucidation by Swami Viswarupananda, published by Advaita Ashram, 5, Dehi Entally Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 52·00.

It is a monumental work in seven volumes containing about three thousand and five hundred pages. Sankara's commentary has been translated into lucid, elegant and fascinating Bengali. The 'Bhaya-Dipika', the author's elucidation, is a masterpiece of scholarship and comparative evaluation. It is the outcome of twenty years of concentrated labour, which

must be hailed as a stupendous achievement. The philosophical literature in Bengali has been distinctly enriched by it. The work maintains uniformly a high standard. It is bound to be regarded as a classic. Such a work, involving tremendous labour, extensive study and deep penetration, cannot possibly be expected in these days of hardship and unparalleled confusion of thought and worry from scholars who aim at a material advantage. It is only a dedicated monk with a mission who could accomplish this task of tremendous magnitude. I have derived immense pleasure and benefit from its perusal. The author is a monk of the Ramakrishna Mission, but had to procure funds for the printing and publication with great difficulty. The Ministry of Education, both in the Centre and the State of West Bengal, should reimburse the author as a matter of duty and as a token of appreciation of scholarship. This work will bring classical Vedanta Philosophy within the reach of serious scholars who want to make their knowledge of this wonderful system of thought, free from the charge of amateurish acquaintance. Every research Library should have one copy at least in its shelf.

—(Dr.) Satkari Mukherjee

NEHRU HIGHLIGHTS IN PICTURES



Mother and Son



With wife Kamala and daughter Indira



With Netaji Subhas



The Historic Ceremony—Taking over from the British



Founded by :
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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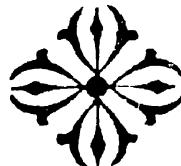
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NOTES

Employment of the Sons of the Soil

Shri Kedar Panday Chief Minister of Bihar addressed the industrialists of Calcutta on the 19th of July 1972 emphasising the necessity for employing the sons of the soil in the industries of Bihar. Why he chose to come to Calcutta to make his pronouncement on this economic principle is best known to himself. For Calcutta is a place where the sons of Bihar came in large numbers to seek employment in the foreign soil of Bengal. And if the employers of Bengal took the lesson given by Shri Panday to heart and acted according to it, several lakhs of Biharis would then find it necessary to go back to their own land to seek employment there. Then, there is the question of linguistic and racial mixing of population in Bihar. South Bihar which is the mineral belt and centre of industrialisation in Bihar has more Bengali speaking and Tribal people in it and Shri Panday should give preference to them in the matter of employment in that area as against Hindi (?) speaking Bhojpuries and Maithils from the

other, northern regions of Bihar. Replacement of Bengali or Tribal workers by Hindi speaking Biharis would be, in fact, contrary to what Shri Panday has propounded as a principle of employment. The major issue however would still remain the one of repatriating Bihari *thela* and rickshaw men from Bengal. These man-pushed and man-drawn vehicles should be abolished and other mechanised transport introduced to replace them. That will satisfy Shri Kedar Panday and all those who think *thela* pushing and rickshaw pulling is debasing to human beings.

Social Security for Persons in Great Distress

There has been some official suggestion that persons in great distress should receive aid from the state. By persons in great distress the government understands persons suffering from any physical disability or handicap like blindness, lameness, loss of hands or arms and general inability to work and earn a living. The Government,

apparently, does not think chronic unemployment, utter poverty, lack of literacy and total want of facilities to employ oneself are conditions describable as great distress. But when government refer to flood, famine or epidemic conditions the words great distress are commonly used by the officials. So that, when Government wish to remove great or moderate distress they should try to help all persons who are suffering badly and not merely the lame or the blind. For the lame can paint pictures or do some work and the blind can sing, weave or even become practising lawyers. Those who have no house to live in, land to cultivate or any resources of economic value whatsoever : are however the people who are in total distress inspite of having no physical disability. The Government are constantly harping on the fundamental theme of socialism. But where millions of persons have no share in the wealth of the nation inspite of their ability and willingness to contribute to it ; the government should first remove all obstacles to the fullest participation of all members of the nation in the nations' economy and thereafter talk of social security measures which they desire to introduce for the benefit of a limited number of persons chosen by reason of their blindness or some such physical short coming.

Purchasing Power of the Rupee

A person who deposited Rupees Ten Thousand in bank which he had received by sale of three acres of land in the year 1939 can no longer buy back even a fraction of that land with that ten thousand rupees. The interest he received from that deposit in 1940 paid for his entire family food bill for the year. But to-day that money will not buy him one meal a day for one person for a year. If some one had been contributing money to his provident fund or for an insurance policy which when mature, he

hoped, would give him an income to live on, would eventually get him an income not worth talking about, due to the progressive fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. Let us say the man began his payments in 1947 at the rate of Rs. 1000/- per annum for the first 10 years (on an average) and continued to pay an average Rs. 1250/- for the second 10 years and Rs. 1500/- for the third 10 years. His total would therefore be in 1972 Rs. 10000 + Rs. 12500 + Rs. 7500 or Rs. 30000/- in all. The accumulated value of his savings let us say would be Rs. 40000/- Invested at $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ this would yield an annual income of Rs. 3000/- or Rs. 250/- per month. In 1947 rates of prices of food, clothing, medicine etc. Rs. 250/- per month would have enabled a small family to live well. But 1972 prices have gone so high, that is, the purchasing power of the rupee has gone down so much now that Rs. 250/- per month would hardly pay for two square meals a day for four persons in 1972. The purchasing power of the rupee has fallen to half during the last ten years. That is what Rs. 250/- could buy in 1962 will now require Rs. 500/- to procure from the market. There are signs that the process of decline in the purchasing power of the rupee is continuing and that in another five years it will be down by another twentyfive percent. So that people who have begun saving later than in 1947 would be worse off when they retire and try to live on their savings.

Inflation is a secret method of taxation. The values that disappear into thin air were sometime represented by certain quanta of money. The money got watered so to say and people's savings, when kept in the shape of money, lost value due to the inflationary actions taken by the government. Due to money watering the money incomes of governments continuously expand and the governments find it easy to pay interest on and

capital back of public debts which also acquire tremendous dimensions.

Rising prices always lead to demands for increase of wages and all current salaries and wages have progressively gained in size with increased inflation of currency. But pensions, annuities and deposits in banks have not been able to add to their sizes along with falls in the purchasing power of money. A deposit of a lakh of rupees in bank made in 1939 is worth about Rs. 15000 in point of purchasing power calculated on the 1939 basis. Money valuations should therefore be avoided as far as possible in fixing ceilings of wealth of any kind whatsoever. If the ceiling of urban houses is fixed in terms of money at Rs. 500000 very soon all persons owning very small houses will have to surrender the same to government as the money price of urban houses will go on expanding in a non stop fashion.

As an example of unrestrained currency expansion and loss of purchasing power of the legal tender, Germany after the 1914-18 war gives a picture which all people refer to in order to emphasise the essential need for keeping inflation in check. In Germany in those days one had to pay in million Marks to buy a cup of tea or a tram ticket. The paper money was in all sorts of denominations and one had to carry a large hand bag to carry money for one's daily needs. We have not exactly come to such a pass but many of our small coins are slowly becoming useless as purchasing agents. We have 1, 2, 3 and 5 paisa coins but a piece of sweet meat costs 25 paisa or a salty fry made of flour requires 15 paise to buy. A packet of potato chips or pop corn may be priced at 50 to 75 paise. 30 paise for an egg or 15 paise for a small cup of tea are other examples of the worthlessness of the small coins. But the market needs them for fixing prices in a fancy and convincing manner. Small coins are in short supply.

Some say because their metal value is much higher than their face value and it makes it profitable to melt them down for sale as metal

The Governments at the centre and in the states have become so used to talk and spend in hundreds of crores that they can never think of the purchasing power of the single rupee. There used to be, at one time, a silver rupee of $11/12$ ths purity which now sells in the market at the price of silver which is a little less than six new rupees for one tola of sterling silver which is the weight of a silver rupee. General prices now as compared to prices prevailing in the days when the silver rupee was in use, would be about 7 to 10 times higher. Salaries and wages of persons who worked in those days for monthly emoluments of rupees ten to rupees fifty have gone up to rupees seventy to rupees five hundred. People who earned four figure salaries in those days are now earning four or five thousand a month as against one thousand or fifteen hundred then. That is, the highest salary groups have lost income proportionately due to inflationary fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. The government have also imposed much heavier taxes on them and they have raised the minimum for income tax assessments in favour of lower income groups. The higher income groups are also being subjected to various other taxes which leave them high and dry in the matter of savings. These "socialistic" moves are really helping governments to raise funds for their expenditure and not in any manner of speaking for betterment of the standard of living of the poorer classes. They are eating worse food, living in more crowded rooms, getting inferior medical treatment and getting the children educated anyhow or not at all. Inflation is intensifying poverty instead of removing it. The only people who are on the winning side are the profiteers, black

marketers, wagon breakers, smugglers and such members of the bureaucracy as were addicted to corrupt practices. The word bureaucrat of course included the lower grade henchmen appointed by government to enforce the law, the rules and regulations and the other checks and obstacles to the freedoms that people should enjoy but do not.

Governmental Encroachment on the Peoples' Rights

When Indians fought the British imperialists to gain freedom they did so for the reason that the imperialists ruled India for the advantage of the British and their collaborators and the general public were reduced to the position of hewers of wood and haulers of water, so to speak. We have now got political independence ; but as our Central and State Governments are getting progressively used to wielding power the the people are losing their advantages, privileges and individual rights more and more, until freedom is acquiring a limited meaning which is not quite what we thought of when we talked of rights and freedoms during the days of British overlordship. If someone living in independent India tries to do anything now for his own convenience, betterment and advantage, one soon finds that he is not free to go this way or that, choose his own methods for achieving his lawful objectives, work here or live there ; in fact do anything whatsoever according to his own desire and considered view point. He has to abide by a thousand restrictions and limitations. These are not in many cases what the people's representatives discuss and decide in the various legislatures ; but are the products of bureaucratic thinking. The ministers mostly act according to the advice of the officials, who naturally like to strengthen their own hands and become more powerful. The Rules and Regulations that crowd the code books are mainly for reducing the public

progressively to a slavish position of utter dependence on the officials. In the circumstances as the powers of the bureaucracy assume new shapes and forms the true freedoms of the people recede into insignificance.

The latest attacks on the peoples rights have been on the so-called socialist front. The declared policy of the ruling Congress party being the establishment of socialism in India the bureaucracy are busy discovering newer ways of advancing towards this goal. One might think that a state that aims at total equality of all persons should at least begin their good work by introducing compulsory free education for all persons of the age group 5-15. There should also be more roads, more hospitals and arrangements for the full employment of all who can work. But the bureaucrats have thought out a different way of achieving socialism. This is by taking over well developed private economic institution by nationalisation or ordinance. This method has the advantage of getting things "ready made". No risk, no hard work but plenty of gain. But this method does not increase the National Income. And without a substantial increase of the total national product there can be no progress. The average annual income of the average Indian being about Rs. 300/- per annum, if all wealth were redistributed equally, no one shall have any more than Rs. 300/- per annum. That will be the end of all progress and modern developments too. All bureaucrats will have to cut their salaries down to about Rs. 100/- per month (allowing for the families) Expertise will vanish and brain drain will be intensified. What the government have done already has increased this brain drain and thousands of technically qualified men and women have left India for jobs in other countries. Indian farmers too are being pressurised for reducing the size of their holdings. Indian farmers can find very

large farms in countries like Brazil, Argentina or Australia and they may soon begin to leave India for other countries. Once the idea begins to take proper hold of the public imagination that other lands are better places than India to work and live in ; the exodus will grow in volume. The Indian government are wiser than the wise and more socialistic than the socialists. But in undertaking new responsibilities, our government is not so very enthusiastic. Nor are they very good at improving their management of what they have to run themselves. They are now trying to get a stranglehold on whatever exists ; forgetting that what exists is very little and that without industrial development India's progress would be impossible. And there is little chance of public cooperation in the work of development in the present "socialistic" atmosphere.

Attempts to Destroy Calcutta Port

Calcutta is one of the greatest cities of the world. Its permanent inhabitants are about 4.5 million. On working days another 3 million or more people come to Calcutta for occupational reasons. There are therefore about 5 million people who earn a living for themselves and their family members in this great city. There are some persons who earn in millions of rupees and many earn in hundreds of thousands. The persons who earn ten thousand rupees annually or more are quite numerous. Among the rest are thousands who earn 5 to 10 thousand rupees annually and the poorest manage to get more than a thousand a year if they are not unemployed. So the people of Calcutta do productive work the wage value of which will be hundreds of crores annually. The total may be nearly 1500 crores. Many of these Calcutta people are non-Bengalis and if the economic life of Calcutta is disrupted the result will be felt all over India. Calcutta also handles business

activities for India the value of which will be several thousand crores and if Calcutta slowly disintegrates due to lack of port facilities, all the organisational buildings wharves, sidings, godowns, stores, offices etc. etc. would become useless and investments worth ten to twenty thousand crores of rupees would become valueless. No doubt the business will slowly be recommenced in other places ; in Paradip, Kandla or Haldia ; but the waste of the nations valuable assets caused by the malicious action of a few petty minded politicians and a number of rustic nation builders will not be compensated for. Irrigation by diversion of riverwater, instead of by exploitation of subsoil water resources, was not an essential of economic development when such arrangements caused tremendous losses to the Nation in other regions of the country. Just as individual gains made at the cost of social losses of a more extensive type cannot be permitted on the ground of the individual's right to engage in gainful work ; so also the gains of the people of a district, subdivision, division or province can not be justified according to the principles of economics when such gains are made by causing greater losses to the nation as whole. Looked at from this angle the gains made by the cultivators of Uttar Pradesh or Bihar by drawing off the waters of the Ganges through irrigation canals would have to set off against the great national loss that all Indians will suffer directly and indirectly as a result of shortage of water in the Bhagirathi on which Calcutta Port has been operating for more than two hundred years. This fact must be recognised at high level no matter what a few South Indian ministers might feel about Calcutta's Right to Exist. If they can prove that using up Ganges water for other purposes is a sound idea, they have to prove it. A body of economists can be entrusted with the work of assessment of the gain and loss caused by

not carrying out the Farakka Project in the manner that it was planned initially. The West Bengal government does not appear to be fully conscious of their basic responsibilities to the people of the state and are very eager to be popular with the various ministers at the centre at any cost. No ministry has the right to exist and function as a government which does not assiduously try to protect the vital interests of the people who voted them to power. The government of West Bengal should be well advised to remember this golden rule of democracy. The central government should examine the national value of the minor and major irrigation projects which are interfering with the Farakka Feeder Canal Scheme and limit their off take of water in a manner which will not kill the Farakka Project. Alternative schemes of irrigation can be made to make good any loss of water supply caused by controlling large withdrawals from the Ganges. The Prime Minister of India should handle this matter herself so that provincial interests, appeasement of third parties and malicious intents do not vitiate the proper valuations that will have to be made in order to settle this matter to the best advantage of the nation. We have great faith in Sreemati Indira Gandhi's nationalistic outlook and her fearless impartiality. We are sure she will realise what a terrible calamity it will be to allow the Calcutta port to be wiped off the map and to break up the great economic complex of production, distribution and consumption that has grown up round Calcutta since the earliest days of modern industrialism and international trade.

Language Riots in Karachi

The attempt to give a higher place to Urdu as compared to Sindhi in the fields of education and governmental activities has set aflame a language conflagration in Sindh. The supporters Urdu in Pakistan are mainly

the Bihari, Uttar Pradeshi and other run away Muslim population from India backed by many Urdu speaking Punjabis. The Baluchis and the Pakhtoons do not much favour the use of Urdu for education or governmental purposes. They like to have Baluchi and Pustu in their rightful places. The Urdu fans in Pakistan have forgotten very quickly the lesson they were taught by the East Pakistan people regarding the use of Bengali as a state language a years ago. Since then they have lost East Pakistan entirely by their anti-Bengali activities and military crackdown on the Bengalis of Bangladesh. But it appears that Pakistani fanatics lack the ability to learn any lessons that history teaches them. Pakistan will eventually founder in the turbulent waves of language, religion and unjustified pretensions like guardianship of the peoples of Kashmir. All symptoms go to show that their mental ailments are incurable.

Where Nationalisation Helps

Work of production or supply of skilled services such as medical treatment, teaching, entertainment etc. is usually carried on by groups of persons or individuals in order to make profit. If there is no profit such work stops, unless there is a charitable motive behind it. There are however many types of production of goods or services which require to be carried on even if there is no profit or even loss. These are of such great necessity for the happy, healthy and safe existence of the general public that these have to be supplied by the state anyhow. Supply of the necessities of life would come first among such goods and services. Essential food articles, basic clothing, housing and medical aid can be mentioned as the prime necessities of life. Then come teaching, maintenance of law and order, protection against natural calamities, communication, transport, water supply and many other essentials. When roads and railways are built one thinks of linking up all corners

of the country without reference to the profitability of all the bits and pieces that complete the whole plan. Water supply or supply of medicines and skilled medical assistance too should be available everywhere no matter if the people benefiting thereby cannot pay for what they get. Education is a must in all civilised countries. The control of floods, epidemics and protection of life and property should be arranged for even if the immediate beneficiaries cannot make good all the expenses incurred for these purposes.

It is the duty of all civilised nations to arrange for the supply of basic food, housing, medical aid and education to all nationals. Sanitary arrangements, water supply and employment facilities are equally important. A nation that is trying to find an honoured place among other progressive nations cannot afford to have any wide gaps in the supplies of essentials described above. If people are starving even partially or going without necessary clothing, housing, medical assistance, water supply or employment facilities in a country ; the managers of that country should arrange to remove these wants without any delay and before undertaking to do other more spectacular things to divert attention from these short comings.

In India there are millions of persons who cannot obtain their full quota of food, blankets in winter, a roof over their heads ; not to speak of other wants of their life in roadless villages with no supply of pure drinking water, medicines, doctors, teacher or guards to protect them against violence from the strong and the unruly law breakers. These people are rarely fully employed and what they manage to earn is unbelievably insignificant. Even in developed areas the unemployed, the illiterate, the sick, the underfed and the persecuted are numberless. So, even before we can suggest that the utilities of civilised existence should

be provided to all nationals through state enterprise, which should include public transport, fuel supply, medical assistance, sanitary and hygienic arrangements and essential supply of food, clothing and housing ; we have to say that basic human needs must be provided for right away. If and until that is not done all talk of socialism comes to mean nothing. Not even if all industries are nationalised and all private property is taken away by the state. For, the real problem is one of greatly increased production, road and house building, educating the masses etc., and not one of grabbing what little there is from their present owners. That expropriation will not inspire greater production, rather, it will put a brake on all individual effort and enterprise, which will make things difficult for those who want everybody to pull together to make an immobile economy go forward swiftly.

Is State Management More Efficient ?

Many people are of the opinion that state management of the nationalised banks has not been a great success. They also say that Life Insurance too has produced less surplus under state management than it did, on the whole, under company management. The take over of the coal mines has been too recent to provide any scope for such enquiry. But the critics refer to the working of the public sector industries to show that management by government has not been a success in most cases. They also say that the institutions that are organised and managed by the state as a matter of course for a long time, such as, posts telegraphs and telephones or the railways are also not famous for their efficient running. The Indian Air Lines too have not been very well managed though the government have tried their utmost to make this a faultless organisation. The critics think there is something seriously wrong with bureaucratic

methods of control for which state enterprises always fail to run smoothly and well, [and government should not increase their liabilities by taking over more private sector undertakings before this flaw is removed. If government can muster a great force of talent, that should be better utilised by being used to remove India's problems of illiteracy, low productivity, lack of roads and of dwelling houses, doctors and hospitals. There is a tremendous shortage in irrigation facilities, drinking water supply and employment opportunities. Bank, Insurance or Coal Mine nationalisation have not helped in solving these basic problems of national progress, nor will they be successfully removed by the taking over of other economic institutions from private owners. And so long as these problems remain unsolved all talks of socialism or a socialist pattern of society merely confuse those who like to believe implicitly in what the V. I. P.s say.

Exploitation Has a Multiple Nature

Exploitation need not necessarily be of Man by Man as described by some critics of social facts. A single individual can by exercising autocratic power exploit a whole community of men. This has happened many times in history and can happen again if men carry their hero worship too far. A large community of men can exploit a single person or a small minority group of persons, even reduce the exploited persons to a state of slavery, if the minorities can not resist the actions of the ruling majority. In certain cases military minorities have been found to be persecuting unarmed majorities, as happened in Bangladesh quite recently. In India as well as in other countries minorities are sometimes persecuted on the ground of their caste or complexion. State managed industries do not always do justice to their workers and

there have been complaints about alleged exploitation of the workers by the state, that is by the community at large, from time to time, leading to strikes, slow downs etc. which cause losses to the exploiters as well as to the exploited. Society therefore, can exploit the individuals at times, just as individuals can exploit society. The institution of slavery, autocratic or oligarchical overlordships, monopolistic control of production and sale of essential commodities, forced labour or 'begar' compulsory military service etc. are all examples of exploitation of one kind or another. What one has to realise is that no form of government can protect the people from exploitation of every kind. If some states stop exploitation of workers or consumers by capitalists, the same states may by state capitalistic measures, start exploiting the workers and the consumers in a more intensive form, and, the exploited could only find it much more difficult to resist such exploitation by the states than before when their fight was against private capitalists. The states can also impose unjust taxes or adopt economic measures which expropriate some persons of their property while leaving others in full enjoyment of their undeserved gains. These have a doubt edge with which they cut into the ethical and economic structure of society. Many governments act in a manner which remind people of the ancient theory of divine right of kings. Just as then the king could do no wrong ; today the governments backed by majorities in their parliaments or autocratic political parties supporting them do what they like and the people have to surrender abjectly to the officials who justify all their actions by reference to political principles which are not always founded on the fundamental laws of ethics, social science or logic.

SOCIALIST REALISM: AN EXPOSITION

AJOY RANJAN BISWAS

1

SOCIALIST REALISM is a methodology of art claimed to be the most advanced form attained in the 20th century by realism in its long history of development. If art is fundamentally the expression of the human quest for reality, realistic art is more pronouncedly so, based as it is on social analysis and the portrayal and study of man in society. The early realists could very accurately portray their environment but failed to reveal the contradictions between their cherished principle of social freedom and the bourgeois society which they paradoxically regarded as the norm of civilization : the result is a tendency in their work to idealize the central figure. The 18th-century realists went a long way toward exposing the contradictions but they failed to resolve them because the bourgeois revolution of the period while declaring freedom as an ideal did actually set up a new form of exploitation. This situation led to the emergence of neo-classicism which represented a static view of life in which the concept of social duty was absolute. Though the romantic search for reality often led into a web of illusions, poets like Goethe and Shelley brought in a dynamic attitude to life and man. The dreams of the blinded Faust for a new region to be re-created clearly indicate that the human quest for a 'golden age', the striving for solution to social problems is to succeed only in the future, i. e., in the course of history. Prometheus Unbound too embodies a search for a better moral and socio-political order than obtaining in the bourgeois system.

Realism at its peak in the 19th century made a thorough analysis of social life which led to the discovery of fundamental contradictions, the intensifying conflicts between the people and the exploiters, and thus with

powerful writers like Dickens, Balzac, Tolstoi, the realistic method took on a critical character. This is what Gorky has called 'critical realism' which represents the highest development of the artistic method in progressive bourgeois democracy.

With their artistic aim at a comprehensive understanding of the world, the critical realists sought to acquire a sharply defined conception of life based on historical development. This creative search for the link between life and their characters, between the course of events in society and their art, led the writers to closer understanding of the processes of history. This 'historicism', though imperfect in many ways, enabled them to discover the contradiction between labour and capital. In the present century the critical realist art marks a new phase in that it now concentrates on the fate of the society rather than upon that of the individual in conflict with it. The qualitative changes thus introduced gradually led to socialist realism. This is not, however, to say that critical realism automatically changes into socialist realism, but rather to claim, as does Boris Suchkov, that it forms part of the heritage of socialist realism but not all its features are inherited.² The socialist realist artist has a conscious materialistic approach to life which he reflects in art in the light of the historical laws discovered by Marxist-Leninist philosophy that provides 'a truly scientific conception of history', 'an integral, forward-looking understanding of man and the world'³ in that it takes into account the enormous growth of socio-political consciousness in the proletariat. Thus the class factor is conceptually fundamental in socialist realist art, as much as the artist's intrinsic obligation to take up the cause of the proletariat's revolutionary mission.

II

while socialist realism has many things in common with critical realism, both are basically opposed to naturalism and modernism. With an aesthetic based on true-to-life portrayal, naturalism does only copy life as it is, makes a photographic representation of things, events and people ; that is to say, it limits itself to 'appearance', portrays the superficial aspects only, instead of penetrating into the deep layers of an individual's behaviour in society, or of 'taking part in the act of creating the world which is in constant process of formation, and putting one's finger on the pulse of its inner rhythm'.⁴ Naturalism lacks both social analysis and the ability to typify. Even powerful writers like Flaubert and Zola have sometimes fallen a prey to naturalistic tendencies. *Madame Bovary*, for example, portrays the heroine's emotional drama in a social environment represented as a static background with the result that the heroine, though shown as a product of her environment, does not become its typical product. Zola's realism in novels like *Nana* and *Germinale* is really powerful and profound, which is why one finds it so shocking to mark his deviation toward naturalism in *The Beast in Man* which poses to turn the table by explaining the social behavior of certain individuals in the light of their animal instincts.

Modernism is the direct product of the imperialist stage of capitalism. While realist art reflects and opens up the objective world, modernist art closes it up, takes 'flight from reality and the reproduction of its true laws and complex contradictions' by subordinating the objective facts to a limited, anarchistic point of view, be it some Freudian complex, the stream-of-consciousness, the theory of human irrationality or the pessimistic idea of human destiny. In the field of the novel, for example, the modernist has developed a

psychic fear of life which compels him to withdraw into a world of subjective irrational ideas—a world that does not constitute an artistic whole but is rather 'a fragmented consciousness, the Kaleidoscope of disconnected impressions'.⁵ Modern psychology seems to have dazzled the vision of the modernist artist. The socialist realist artist, on the other hand, acknowledges the contributions of modern psychology to his understanding of man, but in his attempt to penetrate and imaginatively re-create the human personality he cannot afford to remain 'bound by the purely biological view of the mental life which is presented by Freud, or by the purely mechanistic view of Pavlov and the reflexologists'.⁶

The results of these modernist attitudes are the anti-novel' (initiated by James Joyce and Virginia Woolf) and the 'anti-drama' (the absurdist plays of Ionesco and Albee), which are based on certain formalist and abstractionist ideas, such as, de-heroisation, plotlessness and de-dramatisation of situations. These are the tendencies which in their highest developmental phase in America during the fifties and sixties were scathingly exposed by Herbert Kubly who characterized the generation as escaping 'to the more ephemeral shores of their own subconsciousness, into the hallucinatory worlds of marijuana, and the mushroom, of heroin and lysergic acid, into the Reichian world of sex and deviation, into the mystical exercises of Oriental sects'.⁷ One aspect of modernism, namely, the inward shift is best exemplified in James Joyce's *Ulysses* which, considered against its implied mythological background, shows certain disjointed moments instead of the open-air life of reality, the closed-up, stagnant worlds of certain spiritually masturbating individuals. As one passes from this suffocating world into the novels of Louis Aragon, Sean O'Casey, Remarque, one feels spiritually refreshed, not

because they provide any vision of happiness but because they build up the living world of reality in all its complexity and represent man as facing it up with boldness and dignity. Writers like them have been keeping up and developing the realistic traditions in Western Europe and thus fighting against bourgeois decadence.

Both naturalist and modernist methods are 'antihumane' and 'anti-realist' in that they tend to distort the image of man as a social being and present a fragmented, mutilated image of the world. Modernism is philosophically anti-realist because the individualist position which the modernist artist necessarily takes in his search for reality leads him to subjectivism. This calls forth an epistemological question which Lenin frames as follows :

The really important epistemological question that divides the philosophical trends is not the degree of precision attained by our descriptions of causal connections.but whether the source of our knowledge of these connections is objective natural law or properties of our mind, its innate faculty of apprehending certain *a priori* truths, and so forth.'

The subjectivists deny the existence of objective laws both in nature and society, and explain all such laws as creations of the individual mind. They concern themselves with the individual's perceptions and impressions (or what Virginia Woolf¹⁰ defines as 'an incessant shower of innumerable atoms' coming in from all sides) which constitute for them a reality existing outside and independent of the artist's mind. This is clearly a paradoxical position, and hence the modernist's claim to objectivity is a philosophical hoax. They do not accept the world as objectively real and yet claim that their representation of it in a conglomeration of psychic impressions is quite objective.

This fundamental contradiction in their stand-point leads the modernist artists into certain other difficulties. First, they tend to rely excessively on modern psychologists who explain all psychic processes in the light of purely subjective causes : as a result one notices in their work a 'dissociation of human personality'. Secondly, the subjectivist stance sometimes makes a modernist work grossly tendentious, because the artist's impressions of reality may prove to be none short of his arbitrarily dressed-up ideas and prejudices (as in Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eightyfour*.)

III

The anti-thesis between socialist realism and critical realism ought not to be oversimplified, though Gorky, the coiner of the terms, conceived them as anti-thetical to each other. A socialist realist fundamentally accepts society and looks at reality from a positive social perspective, but he is also a critical realist. Gorky never meant--as often alleged--to exclude criticism from socialist realist art, but on the contrary affirmed that the foremost task of the artist would be to express the experience or the vision of the new society which would be pointless unless accompanied by criticism of the old order as well as of man's struggle to change it. Marx also insisted upon the need of self-criticism for proletarian revolutions. Thus the critical art is an essential component of socialist realism, though here criticism itself takes on a new function : while in the capitalist context criticism aims at undermining the principles of society, in the socialist context it builds up new principles of social stability.

The exponents of critical realism, different as they are from each other in many ways, had (as Gorky puts it) 'breadth of vision, a balanced attitude towards life and acute awareness of life itself : they were interested in the world as a whole.'¹¹ Indeed, socialist

realism inherits this from the old masters, the other important legacy being the principle of typification of characters and circumstances, and a strong moral and social sensibility that takes the shape of social analysis. The other common features between critical realism and socialist realism, e. g., absence of subjective arbitrariness, true-to-life motivation of human character, conscious striving for authenticity in details, have obviously accrued from the realist traditions which both have been drawing upon. What basically distinguishes socialist realist art is its committed attitude to society with its acceptance of the 'historical viewpoint of the working class'¹² and the progressive interests of the masses.

It may be relevantly asked how a committed view can help the quest for objective reality, because commitment may bring about a subjective bent in one's approach or judgment. Without going into the logical niceties of the problem we may start from the commonly accepted premise that none can be absolutely objective in one's judgment, nor can one judge except from a particular angle. But this should not land us on a Kafkaesque paradox : 'Only a party to a case can really judge, but, being a party, it cannot judge'. The possibility of judgment cannot be ruled out, because a committed view may nevertheless coincide with reality. One viewpoint, adopted deliberately or unknowingly, may enable the artist to see a wider range of reality in the process of its historical development than another which may turn the artist's glance backward into the past or inward and away into some private fantasies. And if taking a standpoint means taking sides, the greatest possible objectivity in judging present-day reality is offered by taking sides with the working class, with those forces of society that are striving to undermine the capitalist system and to build up a new order free from the besetting vices of the old. There is, however,

no guarantee that socialist commitment would necessarily be a sure passport for the artist in his exploration of reality. As Ernst Fischer puts it, 'in order to present reality in the process of developing, it is not enough to be convinced of the victory of socialism or to have a knowledge of general social principles. It is necessary to present the forms of transition—of change—in all their contradictory concreteness'.¹³ What this commitment can do is to endow the artist with a creative attitude to life that enables him, firstly, to discover the deeper ties between human feelings, interests, passions and their basic social principles, and secondly, to see society from a revolutionary, socialist angle.

Thus it is the uncompromising realism or objectivity of the artist in the context of the present day that makes him adopt the socialist-committed view. Realism *fundamentally* implies 'the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances'.¹⁴ And in order to realise this *typicality* of both characters and circumstances in art the artist must have what Fielding calls 'invention and judgment'.¹⁵ By 'invention' is meant the artist's power of quick penetration into the true essence of objects, and by 'judgment' the power of discerning the differences between those objects. These are concomitant powers with which writers like Shakespeare, Aeschylus, Dante, Cervantes and Fielding were endowed. Both Engels and Gorky discerned these powers in Balzac who, in spite of his overt sympathy for the ruling class, could see its inevitable doom and subjected the demoralised nobles to the bitterest satirical onslaughts in his work, while admiring the representatives of the people in no uncertain terms. Lenin also observed the contradictions in Leo Tolstoy's works, knew him to be a misery-mongering saint-idiot on the one hand, and on the other, a great realist who exposed the inner falsity of all the institutions of contemporary society-

the church, the law-courts, militarism and all that¹⁶; he also calls him the true mirror of the revolution because he 'reflected the pent-up hatred, the ripened striving for a better lot, the desire to get rid of the past - and also the immature dreaming, the political inexperience, the revolutionary flabbiness'.¹⁷ In the present-day context, however, the concomitant powers of 'invention and judgment' would reveal the inner contradictions in a man and the external contradictions which are inextricably blended to constitute the motive forces of human actions.

IV

The foregoing analyses should lead us to a clear understanding of the basic principles of socialist realism, its artistic tenets and its philosophical implications and assumptions. Marxist philosophy is its basis. its concept of reality is founded upon the Marxist premise that 'being determines consciousness', and its concept of the aim of art upon Marx's thesis no. XI which emphasizes the need to *change* the world instead of merely *interpreting* it in various ways. Lenin, Gorky, Lunacharsky, Alexi Tolstoi, Brecht and others have contributed to the building up of socialist realism as a new methodology of creative and critical art. It is a school not in the narrow sense of a circle of 'standardized prescriptions' but in the broad sense of 'a stylistic tendency' that helps portray life in all its diversity and complexity.

Some of the basic principles of socialist realism may be summarised as follows. (1) It studies man not in isolation from social environment but as an integral part of it ; that is to say, it portrays man as a *social individual* who embodies both collective and private tendencies. (2) It aims at portraying the dialectic of social relationship which implies a truthful picture of the conflict between the positive hero and the opposing forces, both elements presented in their dialectical unity. (3) Both analysis and portayal of reality

proceed from the artist's *conscious historicism*. (4) It recognises scientific foresight or what Gorky calls expression of the third reality. (5) Circumstances and characters are both required to be typified.

Socialist realism provides the artist with a balanced, comprehensive and synthetic understanding of life and man in the modern age. Guided as he is by his fundamental principles, the socialist realist artist would be very choosy in respect of the content of his work and the values underlined in them his value-judgment would be intrinsically rationalist humanitarian, anti-religious and connected with liberation movements, national or class-based as the case may be. Intimately connected with the value-judgment is the principle of aesthetic pleasure. Brecht explains it very lucidly in "Socialist Realism in the Theatre".

The joy which every form of art should give takes the shape in socialist realism of joy at the knowledge that society is capable of determining man's destiny.

The knowledge of the dialectic laws of the world and of social development is the ultimate source of the perception of beauty. Socialist realism thus contributes to 'an aesthetic understanding of life' and this understanding enables man to try to determine his own fate. This is what makes for 'the optimistic catharsis' which the socialist realist art evinces.

Modern bourgeois art and philosophy in their search for reality have discovered only fathomless darkness and despair. Freud sounds profound and sombre when in *Civilization and Discontents* he finds death to be the goal of life and frankly confesses to his failure to provide any prophetic 'consolation' to his fellow-men. Socialist realist art makes a way out of this disquieting darkness, not just through cheap optimism but through a revolutionary approach to life and a conscious historicism in analysing and judging man and the world. This is probably in this sense that Fielding

calls the novelist a 'historian' and Gorky wants the writer to be an 'impartial historian' of his class and time. Historicism is essentially an attitude to reality that depends on a perception of the 'historical event' which arises from different individual wills under different conditions of life. It is not a matter of simple equation or a simple cause-and-effect relation. Engels explains that 'there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant—the historical event'.¹⁸

V

This historicism sharpens the artist's insight into reality and is thus connected with the principle of typification. A reference to Engels' critical comments on Margaret Harkness' novel *City Girl* would be very enlightening. The novel in its attempt at a realistic portrayal of the working class represents them as a passive mass incapable of struggling out of its wretchedness. This, he admits, may be true of the workers of the East End London in particular, but this is not a realistic enough representation because the mental conditions described are not *typical* of the working class of the time. The book misses what Engels calls the conscious or semiconscious attempts of the working class to assert their human rights, their revolutionary response and hopes, which 'belong to history and may therefore lay claim to a place in the domain of realism'.¹⁹

The principle of typification which implies a causal connection between social phenomena and human behaviour is essential because without it artistic representations would tend to be naturalistic. The *typicality* of characters and circumstances is 'attained when a particular character or social condition, besides being an individual or particular case, does also contain the general or rather the ideal trends of the class and time. In order to typify the circumstances the artist's 'invention

and judgment' may work in two phases. First, he would extract the cardinal principles or ideas from a given sum of reality and embody them in imagery, and then he would add the probable and the desired to the ideas thus extracted and the images thus formed. This second phase of the creative process, if not cautiously followed, would make art crudely *tendentious*. Character in socialist realist art is conceived not simply as the sum of various qualities or a conglomeration of complexes, neuroses, hereditary diseases etc., but primarily as an *individual* manifestation of varied *social* influences. To put it in the words of Engels: 'Each person is a type but at the same time a completely defined personality'.²⁰ Both Marx and Engels looked upon Shakespeare's presentation of the human personality as the ideal method for socialist writers to follow, because Shakespeare could make his characters at once a single personality and a representative of his class, an individual and a type. While building up a character into its dialectical unity, emphasis is to be laid on its social aspect showing the individual as bound up with the complex processes of history and the changing society, which in turn condition the inner conflict of interests, inclinations and passions. This is best exemplified in Sholokov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* whose central character Grigory, beset as he is with the habits and passions of the old society, is so aesthetically exaggerated as to be a *type* of the Cossacks of the time reacting with a peculiar robustness to the inflow of the revolutionary movements. Typification of characters also involves a double process, and it is in the second phase that the need of 'aesthetic exaggeration of characters'²¹ arises.

This second phase of the process of typification also implies a recognition of the need for scientific foresight on the part of the artist. Gorky calls this an artistic concern with the third reality or the future, by which he does

not surely mean any detailed knowledge and description of future events or some motivated fortune-telling. If art is to be elevated above naturalistic copying of reality, it must not desist from looking into the future. This does not suggest utopian day-dreaming, nor any visionary escapism, but an affirmative attempt at mentally conceiving or dreaming of the future 'ahead of the natural march of events'.²² Socialist realism, however, cannot concern itself with vague or blurred visions. The aesthetic need to 'dream' works on the principle of 'probability', according to which art has to take into account not what happens but what may happen. To illustrate, the way Nora (in Ibsen's '*Doll's House*') left her home might be an 'impossible' thing for an ordinary woman of the time to do, but it was by no means 'improbable', and in presenting a character like her Ibsen actually visualized the womanhood then in the process of emerging.

The two important factors — typification and scientific foresight — involve the question of *tendentiousness*. Purposeless art is a misnomer, and in one sense all art is tendentious. Engels notes that Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Dante, Cervantes and many other great writers are decidedly tendentious but they knew the art of concealing themselves. While criticising Mina Kautsky's novel *Old and New* Engels emphasizes the need for an author to conceal his views, to desist from publicity declaring his convictions, from lining up openly on any particular side and offering any definite solution. All these ought to come 'as naturally as the leaves to a tree' (as Keats would have it). Engels inculcates upon Mina Kautsky that 'the bias should flow by itself from the situation and action, without particular indications, and that the writer is not obliged to obtrude on the reader the future historical solutions of the social conflicts pictured'.²³

VI

Certain other questions involved in socialist realist art may be casually touched upon. First, it is to be noted that while socialist realism is fundamentally opposed to formalism which implies absorption in forms for their own sake, it does not rule out adoption of modern stylistic methods and techniques in so far as they reveal the *objective essence* of the phenomena presented. Indeed socialist realism opens up a vast range of artistic possibilities in matters of style and techniques : the ancient Egyptian sculptures and Picasso's paintings, Homer's poetry and the latest literary achievements are all open for the artist to draw upon. Brecht, as quoted by Ernst Fischer, asserts the need of newer forms of expression without which new points of view, new subjects, the new experiences of the masses could not be adequately communicated.

The second question is about the freedom of the artist.²⁴ The whole issue depends on the concept of freedom itself. The idealist concept of freedom leads to contradictory conclusions, such as, belief in absolute freedom as well as in determinism : the free will-versus-necessity conflict has proved philosophically irreconcilable. The Marxist concept of freedom is fundamentally different : freedom being nothing but 'known necessity'²⁵, means, in the social context, rational utilization of the objective laws of the development of society and history. Thus if freedom is not synonymous with licence, then the real freedom for the artist consists not in his freedom to say or do whatever he likes but in his unwavering adherence to his art of realistically reproducing life and human relationships, in his artistic appreciation of the *historical necessity* and in harnessing it to the human will and to the service of man. This principle of the artist's freedom is, in Marx's view, a sacred one never to be deviated from — a

principle which none but the artist himself can destroy. Marx says on the writer's profession :

The first freedom of the press consists in its not being a business. The writer who debases it to a material means, deserves, as punishment for this inner lack of freedom, an external lack of freedom, namely, censorship, or rather its existence is already his punishment.²⁰

Socialist realism is basically opposed to blind dogmatism, because its very concept of art implies striving to understand the truth of life and an active, revolutionary humanism. Party slogans and programmes, doctrinal formulas and catchwords constitute none of the business of the artist, and he who takes it upon himself to illustrate these in his works is unequivocally condemned as 'a bad artist'. The artist is free (and is expected to be so) to break into new spheres of experience which statistics and logic fail to penetrate and thereby to open up new vistas for socialist realist art.

Notes and References

1. Goethe, *Faust*, Part Two, Act V : "The Great Outer-Court of the Palace", translated by Philip Wayne (Penguin Books) :

Here man and beast, in green
and fertile fields,
Will know the joys that
new-won region yields,
Will settle on the firm
slopes of a hill
Raised by a bold and zealous
people's skill.

Such busy, teeming thronge I
long to see,
Standing on freedom's soil,
a people free.

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3. Nikolai Leizerov, "The Scope and Limits of Realism" : *Ibid.*
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15. Tom Jones, Vol. I, Book IX, Chapter I (London, G. Bell & Sons, 1913), 463.
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19. Letter to Margaret Harkness, *op. cit.*
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- 23. Letter to Mina Kautsky, op. cit
- 24. For an exhaustive discussion of the problem, see Z. Aprosyany's book Freedom and the Artist (Progress Publishers, Moscow).
- 25. For a detailed analysis of the Marxist concept of freedom, see D.I. Chesnokov's Historical Materialism, Chapter 2, Section 3 ; "Freedom and Historical Necessity", 59-71 (Progress Publishers, Moscow).
- 26. Marx on "The Writer's Profession" : Literature and Art, op. cit.
- 27. Anatoly Lunacharsky, On Literature and Art, 18 (Progress Publishers, Moscow).

WHITHER EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL ?

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

The euphoria generated by the emergence of an independent Republic of Bangladesh, now fast gaining international recognition and the battle of politics in West Bengal have over-shadowed all domestic problems for the time being. But with the final examinations of schools and colleges sweeping over us, it is not altogether impertinent to have a close look at the affairs of education in West Bengal.

It is inevitable that very soon Bengali will replace English as the medium of Honours examinations at the university level. But the disagreement at a recent meeting of the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of the State over a common syllabus for all the universities does not augur well. However, a change is sought to be initiated in the very structure of education itself by the West Bengal Government by scrapping the 11-year higher

secondary course and reintroducing the old 10-year course at school, along with the 2-year degree courses at the college level. While all connected with education in this problem-ridden State will heave a sigh of relief at this delayed realization by the authorities that higher secondary education as it exists today is an exercise in futility, they will regret the huge financial loss incurred in upgrading high schools into higher secondary schools. With limited resources the Government could so far help upgrade only 2,300 schools, leaving a backlog of 2,000. The lure of the towns has starved most village schools of sufficient trained personnel, specially in the Science stream. Moreover, this multi-purpose scheme of studies has totally failed to produce the vocationally trained youths who can find easy employment after completion of their school

life and not rush for higher education to vegetate in colleges for another three years for obtaining an ordinary and now highly devalued degree in Arts, Science or Commerce.

But the question is, whether the reinstitution of the ten-year school course and the corresponding old Intermediate and Degree courses will prove to be the much-needed panacea for the academic anarchy in West Bengal. To start with, as has many times been stressed, the answer lies in providing a full or near-full-employment arrangement in the country, so that our boys may get themselves usefully engaged, after the liberal education at school, by self-employment or employment under others. This will reduce the unwanted rush for higher education.

The current academic session 1971-72 has seen a somewhat large increase in the intake of students in colleges. It is common knowledge that most of our college teachers have to lecture before a mammoth class of anything between 150 and 250 students and this for three or four classes in a run daily. The quality of education purveyed is anybody's guess, specially when most of their time is occupied in shouting down unwilling listeners. It is against this background that the proposal for examination reforms should be studied.

A few months ago the University of Calcutta sent to the colleges under it a

questionnaire on suggestions from their teachers about examination reforms and, predictably, the response was lukewarm. Can anything be done with degree colleges with an ever increasing student community? When final examinations for college students have become so difficult not to speak of tests and other means of internal assessment of students, like tutorials for which the atmosphere is far from ideal. And academic discipline in the colleges has not shown any remarkable improvement so far, as far as holding of examinations is concerned.

When the proposal for changes at one level has once been made, it must snowball into other levels also, the most important of which is the admission level. The intake of students must be restricted and higher education must be strictly limited to the students of better academic ability. In order to implement this, a simultaneous dispersal scheme will have to be introduced and those schools which have been already upgraded with the necessary equipments for a multi-purpose scheme of studies can profitably be converted into vocational and technical training centres. But above all, the employment prospects before our youths must be made a little less bleak, a little more bright for any scheme to succeed.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

History is not merely the chronicle of the exploits of monarchs, conquerors, captains of industry and political leaders. It is the systematic study of the collective thoughts and the activities of various groups since the dawn of creation and their effects on mankind. In studying the history of a group of people, we begin with the story of its past, come to the story of its present and with the help of the social forces extant in the present, visualise its future. It is most interesting and profitable to study the history of three groups of mankind, the Indian, the Chinese and the Jewish, who have been, more or less, able to preserve their historic continuity for thousands of years. Each of these groups stands today before us to deliver its distinctive spiritual message to mankind. The modern age affords a unique opportunity to the students of history, in that it is possible now to study the history of mankind as a whole by making full use of the findings of pre-history and the records of all ancient, medieval and modern nations or peoples. By means of radio, television, communications, newspapers and appropriate literature, we are now linked with all classes, tribes, races and nations. Willy nilly we are developing an international mind, and becoming interested in the past, present and future of mankind.

To understand comprehensively the process of history, we must simultaneously follow the three ways of approach. (1) Certain internal drives in life, and the motives, impulses, and ambitions in the mind, which lie behind the thoughts and activities of all groups of people,

have to be seriously studied. This leads us to the close study of human nature that makes history. As the human race has emerged from the anthropoid apes, which were the result of the millions of years of evolution in the animal kingdom, we must know the nature of animals in order to know properly the nature of man. (2) Toynbee, in his 'A Study of History', has dealt with the challenges and responses in the emergence of the various civilizations, ancient, medieval and modern. Humanity has to be fully conscious of the challenges of today and find out the needful responses for its progress and continuity. The greatest challenge has been thrown out by nuclear energy. The fate of mankind will depend on the response of the great nations to this challenge. According to one theory, the primates, which successfully faced the challenge of the Ice Age, by coming from the trees and using a meat-diet, changed gradually into men. Henri Breuil in his "Beyond the Bounds of History" refutes this theory and opines that some of the apes in Central and tropical Africa and in Siwalik Hills of Northern India, developed an upright attitude. The builders of the Sumarian civilization, perhaps the first civilization in human history, faced the problem of desiccation (getting dry) in Asia and developed their civilization in the lower valley of the Tigris and the Euphratis. Perhaps due to geological and other reasons, riverine civilizations in Hoangho and Yangsikiang in China, the Indus and the Ganges in India, the Nile in Egypt, the Missoori and Missisipi in North America and

the Amazon in South America, grew up in ancient times. (3) The process of history and the historical evolution become clear to us, when we know the Marxian view of the economic foundation of the various forms of society, which have evolved in the civilisations of the East and the West. Just as the thoughts and activities, and art and culture of an individual appear between his breakfast and lunch, lunch and tea, tea and dinner and dinner and breakfast, so all the various social, political, legal and cultural institutions evolve in the process of history on the basis of the mode of production and distribution of food, clothing, shelter and other essential things of life. Man must live before he can think and enjoy art and culture. We are seldom dazzled by the exterior of a civilization when we know its economic foundation as crucial in the mode of production and distribution of the most needful things of life.

Pre-history is most significant, because it tells us about the evolution of the Homo Sapiens through the apes, the hominids and the homos and deals with the periods in which the foundations of true spirituality were laid, a co-operative social system without classes grew in diversified forms, and the various types of family bond on the equality of men and women developed. It covers more than a million years. We find the traces of the earliest known hominids in South and East Africa, of advanced hominids with crude chopping tools in Java and China and of hominids with hand axes in East Africa. We begin to find the representatives of Homo in Europe from about 250,000 BC. From 100,000 BC to 40,000 BC, several representatives of Homo, such as Neanderthal in Europe, Asia and North Africa, Rhodesian man in South Africa and Solomon in Java using flake tools, appear before us. During and between the first, second and third extensions of ice, in

Asia, Europe and parts of Africa, advanced hominids, two-legged, but not very superior to apes, are found with chipped stones in tools or weapons. They knew how to use fire. In the fourth ice age, the Neanderthal race is found living in rock-shelters and caves from 187,000 BC to 70,000 BC. They hunted mammoths, rhinoceroses, cave-bears, wild horses and reindeer. After studying their ways of burial and the worship of skulls, some historians are of opinion that they had the idea of the life after death.

According to Henri Breuil, the second half of the fourth or last ice-age, human beings, like the men and women of today, appear in Europe after 70,000 BC. He opines that there are signs of commerce and division of labour, and they knew specialized working of stone and bone. Historians speak of the Cro-Magnons with improved implements, knife-blades and engraving tools. They had magic rites and ceremonies. Their sculptures and paintings have a vitality, which is rarely seen in the sculptures and paintings of the historic periods. The pre-historic cave-paintings of France and Spain are highly inspiring, and the achievements of the Aurignacian, Solutrian and Magdalenian cultures prove the high qualities of the men of the palaeolithic age. There was no unbridled individualism in these cultures. The efforts were collective. The unfrustrated human nature sought co-operation. The struggle for existence demanded it. Both in the old and new stone ages, stone implements are found together in large numbers, showing thereby that the fashioning of the implements was done collectively. The cave dwellings with storeys in the valleys of the tributaries of the Dordogne in France suggest that the palaeolithic men lived in groups, not in an isolated manner. The clans came together to take communal meals at the burials and on

other occasions. Workshops of flint implements are found near the neolithic settlements. It is under a system of primitive communism that the neolithic men produced their implements and pottery, and organized horticulture and agriculture.

Hunting and fishing were not in the nature of the primitive men, who emerged from the anthropoid apes. The mode of living had to be changed in the northern parts of Asia and Europe, because of the rigorous nature of the ice age. In the southern part of the old world, men and women followed a harmless mode of living by food-gathering, primitive horticulture and simple agriculture. Real human nature is revealed by studying the nature of animals, as some common qualities are ingrained in all forms of life. Whenever there is life, there is intelligence and consciousness. At the California University, earth-worms were taught to reach nice and moist moss by making correct turns. They could avoid electric shocks and rough sand-paper. A Chinpanzee kissed compassionately the wrist of his owner who pretended to have a pain. A five-month old kitten used to play with a mouse. In Circuses, lions, tigers, goats, monkey etc. are taught to sit side by side. The co-operative endeavours of bees and ants, the migration of birds and eels, and the engineering skill of beavers astonish us. The primitive man, following the line of all animals before him, was intelligent, compassionate and co-operative, so long as he remained unfrustrated. Man is terribly perturbed by his own anger, jealousy and aggression, because they seem to be not in his nature. Every life has a sense of affinity with every other life. Man's historic destiny is to make that feeling fully explicit in all his individual and collective pursuits. This feeling of affinity promoted the collective way of living in the palaeolithic and neolithic men. This

communistic way of living intensified this feeling and developed spiritual and ethical ideas in their simple and unfrustrated minds.

Ideas always have their solid roots. No idea drops suddenly from Heaven. The spiritual and ethical ideas were the result of a social consciousness formed in the most ancient society in which there was no priest, king, class or property, in which men and women were equally free and in co-operation participated in the processes of food-gathering, primitive horticulture or simple agriculture. Procuring and producing things through co-operative efforts, distributing things according to the needs of the members of the community, and establishing relationship on the basis of mutual aid and natural affection, men and women of that society knew nothing of slavery, exploitation or oppression. That such a society existed is told by ancient literature, proved by the mode of living of certain clans and tribes of today and admitted by some historians and anthropologists. The emergence of the human species and its survival in the struggle for existence in the primary stage needed mutual aid and co-operation.

The consciousness of men and women reflected fully the co-operative behaviour of that ancient society based on common ownership and common pursuits. It was natural for the individual in that society to feel 'the self in all, and all in the self', to act according to the principle, 'Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you', to establish relationship without seeking mutual gain, and to develop the idea of universal brotherhood. Living continuously in harmony with nature and all creatures, they evolved in their consciousness the feeling of spiritual one-ness with all. Being in a community without tensions and strains, they had natural tranquillity and repose. Their minds developed the power of

keen insight and detached observation. In such a society, we find not only the foundation of spirituality, but also of all religions, which, in later ages, became distorted by the class society.

However favourable the environment may be, man's consciousness cannot evolve anything from within itself unless the germ of it is already there. Life stands with a vague feeling of affinity with all, since it is the product of the evolutionary process of the entire universe. Every form of life has a vague feeling of affinity with every aspect of nature. Their vague feeling of affinity with all becomes more and more explicit in a suitable environment.

It was in the most suitable environment of the ancient society that the spiritual ideas about the common source and universal brotherhood, as preserved in the great faiths of the world, spontaneously grew in different periods of history in different countries according to their respective spiritual growth. The great ideas of "The consciousness of the Self as all" (Vedanta), "Thou shalt not kill" (Judaism), "Happiness comes to one from whom happiness goes to others" (Zoroastrianism), "May all beings be happy" (Buddhism), "The Tao is everywhere" (Taoism), "True goodness is loving your fellow man" (Confucianism), "Non-injury is the only religion" (Jainism), "The deity manifests itself in a tender blade and in a single leaf" (Shinto-ism), "Love thy neighbour as thyself" (Christianity), "No one is a believer until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself" (Islam), "Ogoun is every-

where in the earth, the water, the air, the food and the trees" (the Negro Shungo Cult) and "Sun God is the source of all" (Maya and Aztec religion), had their origin in the ancient age. With the emergence of the class society, priestly religions based on fear, self-love and wish fulfilment and other political, economical and social factors came into existence, suppressing the spirituality of a former glorious age just after the dawn of human history. Prophets and saints appeared sometimes only to revive some of the old ideas in an alien environment. For thousands of years, the true spirituality implied in all faiths has been struggling to evolve a classless society as its appropriate social vehicle, but is not succeeding to the point as it ought to due to various factors. To delineate that aspect of human history is a long story and can hardly be couched in a short article. The study of history unravels two aspects of human mind both in individual and collective capacities. There is constant struggle between the good and the evil, sometimes one dominating over the other. The saner sections want to do good to the majority and the greedy sections want to exploit the weaker sections both individually and collectively through differentisms. Strifes in the spheres of religion, politics and economics are there and the very existence of human civilization sometimes seems to be at stake due to power-hungry world's power-politics. But then thinking people will prevail over the ravings of the power hungry powers and individuals and human civilization will proceed progressively towards the betterment of mankind, as the same seems to be the goal and ideal.

SOCIO-RITUAL IMPACT OF THE GAJAN FESTIVAL ON FOLK LIFE

R. M. SARKAR
ARUN KUMAR GHOSE

The Gajan festival is not only the most ancient and popular festival of West Bengal but it is also regarded as the festival of the people in the true sense of the term. It is widely celebrated throughout the different parts of the province and though there are some differences in the ways of performance of the ceremony yet the basic elements are the same. The festivals of West Bengal have a uniqueness of their own. These are conditioned by age old customs and traditions. True to speak, the folk-culture of West Bengal is based on the different festivals that are performed round the year. These festivals are not only the joyous expression of the folk mind but the very heart and soul of the people have been integrated into these. These are regarded as the storehouse of thoughts and ideas of the people through the ages—the historical, social, economic and religious life of the people are reflected in these. On this consideration we have taken up the Gajan festival of Siva as our subject for discussion in order to focus the life and manner of living of the people belonging to divers castes and communities. The study was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Calcutta, at two different regions of West Bengal viz., the rural areas of Birbhum district and one urban centre in Calcutta. The paper aims at enquiring into the socio-ritual impact of the festival on the life of the people living in these regions and also to find

out the regional variations in the observance of the ceremony in which the people as a whole participate.

I

In the district of Birbhum, village Rasa under P. S. Khayrasole has been selected as one of the centres for this study. The Gajan of Anadinath Siva, in this village, takes place with pomp and eclat. The village is inhabited by 17 caste groups and all of these participate in the annual festival of Anadinath. The deity is installed at the northern corner of the village within the boundary of the Temple of the goddess Kali—the ruling deity of this region. The chief organisers of the daily worship and annual festival of Anadinath were the Mukherji (Brahman), Sarkar (Kayastha), and Mondal (Sadgop) families. It should be noted that the Brahmans, Kayasthas and Sadgops of this village are regarded as the dominant caste groups. Formerly the expenditure relating to the daily and annual worship of the deity were met from the income of 18.65 acres of landed properties. The *Soloana* of the village used to administer all the matters relating to the village deity—Anadinath. In a special meeting in the year 1933 the *Soloana* decided to appoint a manager as well as a caretaker of the estate of Anadinath. He had also been given the power of appointing the priests for daily and annual worship of the deity in question. Sri Kasinath

Mukhopadhyay had been appointed the manager-cum-caretaker on behalf of the *Soloana* of the village. Sri Kishori Mohan Sarkar (Kayastha), Sri Sibnath Sangui (Barui) and Sri Mathan Mandal (Sadgop) had been requested to extend their direct help and cooperation to Sri Mukhopadhyay in the execution of his duties. The Acharya (Brahman) family was appointed priests of Anadinath.

The festival proper starts during the last week of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* (March-April). When the month in question is composed of 30 days, the festival starts on the 24th of the month, and it begins a day later in case that month is composed of 31 days in any year. A few people belonging to the different castes come forward to become devotees or *bhaktyas* of Anadinath by the observance of certain rites and ceremonies. On the 25th of *Chaitra* the barber shaves the Brahman *bhaktya* (who comes from the priest's family), known as *Dhamai kanya* and he leads the other *bhaktyas* in the religious performances. On the next day the chief devotee or *Pat-bhaktya* goes through ceremonial shaving by the barber. The other devotees are shaved on the following day. It is the duty of the *Pat-bhaktya* to give a lead to his subordinate devotees in all sorts of ritualistic affairs during the festive days. All the *bhaktyas* are to maintain a restricted life. They eat *habishyas* i. e. sun-dried rice boiled in water, milk, clarified butter and fruits. Before initiation they take bath in the nearabout tank and assemble at the *ghat* where the *Dhamai kanya* offers them sacred threads which are worn by them after the ceremonial change in the *gotra*. A short ceremony is held at this time when the priest changes the *gotras* of the *bhaktyas*. All the *bhaktyas* ceremonially take *Dev gotra* and naturally all the restrictions in relation to castes come to an end after this. Everyone of

them wears a new *dhuti* and cover the body with new napkin. It is customary to keep a cane stick all through the time. In the year of study 22 *bhaktyas* took initiation of whom 14 belonged to Bagdi, 7 Sadgop, and 1 Kayot caste groups.

The *bhaktyas* after their initiation take out the *Baneswar* —a three feet long flattened piece of *bel* wood (*Aegle marmelos*), at one end of which a number of iron nails are stuck vertically, for giving it a ceremonial bath. Then on the next day the *bhaktyas* move around the village lanes with *Baneswar* on their shoulders. The drummers beat their drums incessantly and *bhaktyas* praise, in one voice, the name of Anadinath—“chalo baba Anadinath hey” (Oh, father Anadinath, please move on with us). On hearing the joint call and the sound of the drums the villagers, irrespective of castes and classes, come out of their houses to bow down before the *Baneswar*. All the families offer rice and fruits to the *Baneswar* which are collected by the *bhaktyas* in a large basket. Sometimes the *Baneswar* is called in a house ceremonially by the head of the family. It is believed that the presence of *Baneswar* in a family helps in warding off evil influences within the family. The *Baneswar* is said to have some fertility effect. The sterile trees or plants may acquire fertility if the bathing water of the *Baneswar* is poured at the root of the trees or plants. With this sort of belief the villagers ceremonially call *Baneswar* to their houses to pour water of fertility at the roots of their sterile plants.

On the night of 28th *Chaitra* a number of ceremonial performances are held which are organised by the *bhaktyas*. The *bhaktyas* jump on thorny twigs, walk on fire, beat on each others' body with plaited sticks made of *babui* grass etc. All these are seen and enjoyed by a large number of people belonging to the different caste groups. Before



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showing all these feats the Bauri drummer ceremonially beats his drum after reciting a long ballad which depicts the different aspects of the history and organisation of the Gajan festival of the village. The *bhaktyas* at this time lie down in a row in front of the temple of Anadinath and the Bauri drummer recites his ballad at the farthest end. When the recitation is completed the *Dhamal kanya* comes out of the temple and walks over the bodies of the *bhaktyas* to the Bauri drummer to offer him blessings on behalf of Lord Anadinath. After this all the drummers belonging to the Dom caste begin to beat their drums jointly which changes the night atmosphere of the village. At the time of showing the physical feats, the *bhaktyas* get direct help of the village barber in the different shows.

The organisation of the *Homa* on the next day is characterized by the active cooperation of various caste groups of the village. All the villagers including the orthodox persons belonging to higher castes come to witness the performance ignoring the scorching heat of the summer sun. The performance starts at round about 2 P. M. and it continues till the evening. The faggots of wood for lighting the sacred fire are supplied by a particular family to the Sadgop caste, the pure ghee for the offering is supplied by another Sadgop family. They are the traditional suppliers of these materials. The Chakravorty family of the village brings some essential wild wooden pieces to be offered into the sacred fire. They also work as village astrologers and at the end of the ceremony they read out the pros and cons of the new year from the almanac. The ceremony of this day ends with the bringing of the *bana* from the house of the village blacksmith. One of the *bhaktyas* is engaged to carry the *bana*. A fire pot is placed on his head and four burning torches

are put crosswise on his body. The *bhaktya* is then directed to proceed towards the temple of Anadinath. The Karmakar follows him closely and he throws incense on the fire off and on to keep it burning. The bringing of the *bana* is an important event of the day and everybody, irrespective of castes and classes, assemble at the temple yard for observing the same.

All the villagers contribute their mite to the general fund of Anadinath organised by its manager Sri Santi Kumar Mukherjee. Besides this they also offer rice and vegetables to the house to house collector of the same on behalf of the *bhaktyas*. On the closing day of the festival a general feast of the *bhaktyas* is held at the residence of the priest with the collected rice, vegetables and the chopped off heads and legs of the sacrificed goats. At the time of taking meal the *bhaktyas* take their seats side by side irrespective of castes. This *bhaktya bhojon* (feeding of the *bhaktyas*) event is attended by a large number of persons who enjoy the manner of eating of the *bhaktyas*—a Bagdi (lower caste) unhesitatingly taking his seat beside a Sadgop or even a Brahman.

II

The study of the Gajan festival in the urban areas was conducted at Chetla locality in Calcutta. In Chetla, the Gajan festival is one hundred years old and it is celebrated at the market place. The organiser of the festival is the Auddy family, the former Zemindars of the locality. The origin of the Gajan festival here is depicted by a beautiful anecdote. It so happened that two logs of wood of enormous size were found floating in the waters of the *Adiganga*, which at that time became inundated by a heavy flood. These logs of wood were floating in a whirling fashion which attracted the attention of the local public. At that time boats remained

anchored at the bank of the said river. On seeing the whirling motion of two heavy logs of wood the boatmen jumped into the water and tried to catch hold of the logs. After a lot of difficulties they caught hold of one of the logs whereas the other one floated away. Amulya Charan Auddy, the zeminder of the locality, dreamt a dream at that time that god Taraknath himself came over there to receive his worship. On the next morning Sri Auddy disclosed the matter of his dream to the different stall holders and middlemen in the market who jointly decided to perform the Gajan festival within the market in honour of the Lord Taraknath. In the meeting Sri Auddy promised to contribute Rs. 250.00 every year to meet the expenses of the festival.

In the Gajan festival of Chetla market the *Sunnyasis* (devotees) take initiation five days before the festival starts. The number of members in the *Sannyasi* group is limited to 5, 7, or 9. They follow all the rules and regulations that are minutely observed by the devotees of Mahadeva. Prior to becoming active participants they undergo a ceremonial shaving by the barber of the market and wear sacred threads round their necks. The *sannyasis* are not required to beg from door to door as the organiser's family supply necessary food and clothing, a new napkin and one piece of new cloth dipped in turmeric solution. As the Gajan festival is principally organised by the owner of the market it is quite natural that it would be directed by the stall holders and vendors of the market. It is seen that the *sannayasis* generally come from the fishermen group though other persons may also take initiation as *sannyasis*. The leader of the group is known as mul-sannayasi and the person who remains at the end of the procession is called sesh-sannayasi. In the year under study three *sannyasis* took initiation of whom two belonged to the Kaivarta (fisher-

man) and one to the Mahishya caste group. There is no traditional barber here and the ceremonial shavings of the *sannyasis* are performed by any barber who receives cash payment. But the priest is traditional. Sri Manik Chakravorty is now officiating in the post. He receives Rs. 16.00 in cash and all the materials offered to the deity as his remuneration. Moreover he gets Rs. 2.00 for supplying sacred threads to the *sannayasis*.

The festival at Chetla is continued for five days and on each day a number of feats are performed by the *sannyasis* which are enjoyed by the people irrespective of class and creed. The most attractive of these feats are *kanta jhap* and *banti jhap* which take place on the 4th and the 5th days of the festival. On the day of *kanta jhap* the *sannyasis* ceremonially collect thorny herbs at the neighbouring region and bring these to the place of worship. A high platform is constructed beforehand by means of two vertical and one horizontal poles. The thorny herbs are placed beneath the said platform and then a bamboo is rolled over the thorns. The *sannyasis*, then climb upon the wooden platform and uttering the name of Lord Siva they jump on the thorn—one by one. On the eve of taking leaps the *sannyasis* throw away the consecrated fruits towards the people attending the ceremony. The latter eagerly collect these fruits, as it is believed that these have got a power of giving fertility to the sterile women. The *banti jhap* is also performed on the same day. A few iron *bantis* (vegetable cutter) with sharp edges are placed on a sack packed up with sand. The *sannyasis* jump on these sharp implements from a high'y raised wooden platform. The *charak* is held on the last day. The log of wood mentioned beforehand is planted on the ground which possesses a revolving mechanism on its head. A horizontal bar is fixed on it, at the two ends of which two ropes

are hung. The sannayasis tie themselves at the two ends with the help of the ropes and begin to revolve around the vertical pole. As a general rule each sannyasi should revolve 108 times but it has been decreased to 28 times only. The log is believed to be living and spend the whole year in water of the nearabout pond. On the eve of charak festival the sannayasis along with the drumbeaters go to the tank for bringing the log ceremonially to the place of festival. The sannayasis on reaching the pond begin to call out to the god Mahadev and the drum beaters beat the drums forcefully. At one time people used to see the log rising up from underneath the water. But now it was believed that the log had died due to the want of strict observance of various procedures of worship by the sannayasis during recent periods.

When the sannayasis move in a body along the street they sing songs in praise of Siva. At this time they have to face some obstacles which are put up by the people and the sannayasis must not go over such obstructions. When the procession of the sannayasis face any physical obstruction, such as of bamboo poles, on the road, they start singing songs asking the man concerned to lift the bamboo poles to make way for easy movement of the associates of Mahadev. This particular custom is greatly enjoyed by the people and everybody tries to take part in placing and lifting the barricades in the path of the sannayasis.

The sannayasis, like the *bhaktyas* of the Birbhum village, lead an ascetic life. They take *habishyas* for three days and enjoy a high socio-ritual status by the change of their own gotra to the *deva-gotra*. On entering into the *deva-gotra* all the caste and class restrictions vanish. In this urban area a number of Gajan sannayasis have been met with who have taken initiation in the name of Mahadeva.

They do not take initiation at the temple or shrine of any particular god. They offer themselves as the devotees to the god Siva in the neighbouring area or at any other place of their liking. The *sannayasis* wear new cloth dipped in turmeric solution and a napkin is thrown over the shoulders. They also wear sacred threads round their necks. The *sannayasis* beg from door to door and at this time they move solitarily or in a batch. It is interesting to note that many of these *sannayasis* belong to the rural areas around Calcutta and they come to the city and maintain their livelihood by begging. The women also become *sannayasis* who move side by side with their male partners. The intentions behind the initiation as *sannayasis* are various and these differ from person to person. In most of the cases the general intentions of *sannayasis* are to get rid of the different incurable diseases. The *sannayasis* who are attached to the worship of a particular deity differ from the *sannayasis* just mentioned in some of their behaviour patterns. The former *sannayasis* directly help in the worship of the deity concerned. They move jointly under the leadership of *mul-sannyasi* and depend on him in their different activities. But the *sannayasis* of the second type are individualistic in nature. Though it is seen that sometimes they move in a band yet the ritualistic connections amongst each other is not so rigid as is found among the *sannayasis* of the first type.

From a general survey on the Gajan festival at the two different regions it is seen that the people belonging to different castes and communities exert great influence over the different ceremonies. But in the rural areas the integration of the different castes is very clear and they still maintain a clear cut division of labour and responsibilities at the different stages of the festival ; whereas in the urban area the traditional pattern has not

been maintained due to the lack of active cooperation of the people and the causes of it are manifold. In the urban areas the traditional remunerations of the different workers have been transformed into cash payment. The *sannyasis* receive better social prestige in the rural areas in comparison with their counterparts in the city setting. Moreover the persons in the urban area who take initiation as *sannyasis* only for an economic motive, receive the disrespect of the people

which ultimately brings an aversion towards the genuine *sannyasis* working at the shrine of the age-old deity.

The authors acknowledge with thanks the cooperation extended by Sri Sabyasachi Lodh in the collection of primary data on Gajan festival in the district of Birbhum. They are indebted to the organisers of the Institute of Social Research, Calcutta, for the active help given to them during the period of work.

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CRISES IN EDUCATION—ANALYSIS AND REMEDIES

G. P. SAXENA

Anybody who is concerned with education and employment will agree that there is definitely a crisis in our educational system. The campus unrest, teachers' strikes, educated unemployed etc., are some of the symptoms of the disease. There are many deficiencies in our educational system which have been pointed out by eminent educationists and various Education Commissions and Committees appointed from time to time. So far as higher education is concerned, there is hardly anything which can be described as higher. Students are not interested in studies but are more interested in getting degrees so that they may get higher social status in society. The wide-spread mass copying and use of unfair means in examinations clearly indicate the motive of the students in pursuing their studies. Therefore, there have been suggestions that there should be some selectivity in higher education. Only those who are interested in higher education should be admitted to universities. Secondly, higher education should be linked with manpower needs of the country. The comments of the Education Commission are :—

"In the first three five-year plans, a policy of open door access has been in operation in courses in Arts and Commerce, in most of the affiliated colleges. A stage has been reached when policy of selected admission will have to be extended to all the sections and institutions of higher education. If the present rate of expansion (10% per year) is

assumed to continue for the next 20 years, the total enrolment in higher education would be between 7 and 8 million by 1985-86 or more than twice the estimated report of the Manpower for national development. A country like ours can neither have the funds to expand higher education on this scale, nor the capacity to find out employment for the millions of graduates who would come annually out of the educational system at this level of enrolment."

On the other hand, there is great demand for higher education for middle class and rural people, because there is a feeling that higher education gives them better social status and chances for improvement. William H. Knowles has pointed out the attitude of emerging middle class to higher education. "Neither parent nor child is certain as to the value of education, but considers diploma a passport to respectability. Neither parent nor child is certain about career opportunities but has faith that diploma will improve earning ability."

(William H. Knowles, 'Manpower and Education' in Puerto Rico in Fredrick Harbinson and Charles A. Myers--Editors "Manpower and Education" page 125.)

Perhaps he is not irrational. As it is found that applicants with university degree are preferred over matriculates. Studies conducted by Blaugh show that earnings of graduates are more than those of the matriculates (M. Blaugh and others—"Causes of

Graduate Unemployment in India—page 169) Here, investment aspect of education should be looked into. We should also examine the recruitment policies which are responsible for such distorted investment in education.

Thirdly, there is hardly any vocationalisation. Present education does not equip the students sufficiently so that they may start independent career after the end of education.

Fourthly, examination system is out of date and some sort of new examination system should be evolved.

Fifthly, quality of education has gone down due to over-crowding in classes. Let us examine, the first two points, how selectivity in education and public demand for higher and better education can be reconciled. It will be better to quote here Professor Galbraith on this point: "If education is viewed as a consumer good, it is the privilege of every individual to pursue the curriculum of his choice. Everyone has a right to an arts degree if this is preferred and fashionable course of study. But if education is a form of investment, then planning of educational output becomes desirable and even imperative. Education must be created to the distribution of talent between engineering, science, medicine, agriculture and other needed specialities. I am not going so far as to suggest that students should be forced into professions they do not prefer. And planning of a university specialisation is an exceedingly difficult matter. But I am certainly suggesting that when education is viewed as an investment, serious thought should be given to the accommodation of students to the needs and incentive and other arrangements upon which this is brought about."

(Economic Development in Perspective—pages 53-54.)

This selectivity becomes imperative in our country because our resources are very scarce

and we can not invest in such projects indiscriminately where the return is nil. If a graduate works as a clerk where the knowledge attained by him at university is not utilised, it is mere waste of resources. However, it may be pointed out there is some amount of selectivity in the admission of professional colleges. Admission to engineering colleges and medical institutions are regulated by competitive tests. There is also some selection for science education in universities. But this selectivity is due to various reasons. It is very costly and difficult to start an engineering college or medical college and even science classes in universities. However, a degree college in arts and commerce can very easily be started without much expenditure—Only a building is required and some teachers can start teaching.

However, this aimless education can be stopped if guardians know that it will not be useful. It may be pointed out that recently the rush of admission in engineering courses has considerably gone down due to unemployment of engineers, but it did not occur in case of education in humanities and commerce. As pointed out earlier, a university degree gives them an edge over matriculates. And hence they continue to seek admission in higher classes. This can be solved only when negative methods are adopted by employers, for example, employer must decide that no person shall be appointed as peon if he is not above 8th class standard. Recruitment age should also be reduced to 15 years from 18 years. Similarly, in case of clerks, it should be the policy of employers that university graduates shall be disqualified for appointment as clerks. Since minimum age for passing higher secondary examination is 16 years, and 15 years for matriculation, there is no point in fixing higher minimum age for recruitment. Government is the biggest employer of educated persons and it must

come forward with some measures for this purpose. Maximum age should also be reduced to sufficiently low level so that aimless education is not followed. We know that in National Defence Academy and Indian Military Academy examinations, lower age limit has been prescribed for recruitment in Armed Forces. Recently, there has been some provision for increasing the age limit for the post of clerks and other lower services to safeguard the interests of rural and backward regions. This is a retrograde step. It is better to reserve vacancies for backward people and backward regions rather than to increase the age for recruitment. This possibly will encourage the tendency for aimless education. This will also help the upper class in competition with backward classes as most people belonging to backward classes are poor and that they cannot get higher education but they will have to compete with the persons with higher education. If graduates are appointed in the post of clerks and other lower services, it will not be an investment but a waste of scarce resources which could be utilised in better ways in some other sectors. To help the backward people and backward regions, Government offices must be opened in backward areas instead of concentrating them in metropolitan cities and the post carrying less than a salary of Rs. 500/- per month must go to the local people. Next important problem is that of vocationalisation of education. This problem requires serious attention. There are certain universities which are changing the courses of studies in graduate classes. University of Delhi has taken lead in this respect. However, some caution is required at this stage. We have seen that number of engineers and other technically qualified persons are unemployed. If persons with vocational education are unemployed, what is the guarantee that persons

coming out of the new educational courses shall not remain unemployed?

For vocationalisation of secondary education in most of the States, some courses of vocational bias were started. These courses are known as pre-technical courses (PTC) high school (technical) etc. But the fate of such students is not better than the rest of the matriculates. As a matter of fact, candidates coming out of Industrial Training Institutes are better than the students who have passed high school with technical course. It is very unfortunate that educationists have also begun to live by slogans and vocationalisation of secondary education is such a slogan, which will bring ruin to the trainees. It is better to open separate vocational institutes than to vocationalise secondary education. It is still better if vocational education is given in factories under actual working conditions. Notable achievement has been made in this connection with the promulgation of Apprenticeship Act. This system is also vague in Railways and Ordnance departments where special apprentices are recruited and trained. This training of apprentices is better than training in schools and universities, as apprentices are ultimately absorbed in jobs.

However, admissions to technical courses should be made on the basis of aptitude tests. It has been found that many persons get admission in technical courses but they fail to be successful in actual practice. Professor V. K. R. V. Rao has pointed out that industrial inefficiency can be attributed to the fact that people are drafted into occupations that are unsuited to their aptitude, capability and interest.

(Professor V. K. R. V. Rao—Education and Human Resources Development—page-40)

To bring about selectivity in education as well as some change in educational system,

there should be two types of examinations. Upto 8th standard, there should be only home examination or no examination at all. Main emphasis should be that the student should be acquainted with the three 'R's and they should also do some manual work. They should be given option either to work in agricultural field or they should learn some craft. On 8th standard, students should be given option either to appear in public examination or in home examination. However, those who appear in home examination shall be qualified for only service. Those who qualify in public examination shall be admitted in 9th standard. If funds permit, there should be some sort of psychological test for admission in various arts, science, commerce and technical groups.

In some States like Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana, one Board can conduct the examinations. But in bigger States like Uttar Pradesh zonal bodies should be created for such public examinations. The option to appear in home examination or in public examination should be given upto university graduate level. This will reduce number of

examinees. Those students who do not want to continue further studies will not like to appear in these public examinations. This will reduce the number of examinees and unfair practices adopted there. However, the system can only be successful if recruitment policy is enforced as described above.

Lastly there might be some persons who are really interested in attaining knowledge. This may be regarded as consumers service. For such persons either correspondence courses should be started or they may be allowed to appear as private candidates. Such provision exists for ladies and teachers. This can be extended to the other citizens. In this way overcrowding can be avoided in schools and colleges which is the main cause of campus trouble. Talented students do not indulge in undesirable activities.

There should also be provision for vocational guidance from primary school to university level. However, Vocational Guidance Officers should be fully qualified and trained to do proper guidance work, otherwise it will become misguidance by quacks.



SONGS OF THE AGE OF DESPAIR

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The devotional songs of Ramaprosad Sen, who lived in the eighteenth century, are household favourites in West Bengal. Dr. Jadunath Sinha, the eminent scholar of Indian philosophy has rendered into English 313 songs of Ramaprosad from Bengali. The songs are impregnated with the cult of shakti and have been composed in the context of the rural life of the Bengal of two hundred years ago. Thanks to the utterly slow pace of change in India most Indians have no difficulty in recognizing the imageries used two hundred years ago. The clue to the popularity of Ramaprosad's songs has to be sought in the simplicity of the language of the lyrics, their heart-warming tunes and the common man's familiarity with the message conveyed by them. His songs represent a yearning for union with Mother Kali which makes them popular with the devout. But this alone would not account for their continued popularity which has to be sought in the songs' delineation of the day-to-day problems of the common man. The songs represented a yearning for justice. In a way the songs also represented a protest against the traditional approach to religion which the common people found it difficult to observe in full—particularly in the context of deteriorating economic conditions and the uncertain political situation of the mid eighteenth century. Ramaprosad's songs raised questions latent in the people's mind regarding the nature, object and process of religion. For example Ramaprosad raises

a fundamental question regarding the wisdom of the observance of rituals or of making pilgrimages in the following lines :

Why should one go to Gaya or Kasi, in
whose heart
Kali is always awake,
Why should he perform any religious rites,
who knows
Her real nature? (Song 20)
Worship Her in secret, unknown to the
world.
What is the use of making an Image of a
metal, stone or earth?
Make a mental image and set it on the
lotus of thy heart.
What is the use of procuring sunned rice
and ripe plantains?
Offer her mentally the nectar of thy devo-
tion, and fill Her to Her heart's content.
What is the use of the light of candles,
lanterns and chandeliers?
Kindle the gem of thy heart, and let it
shed its lustre day and night.
What is the use of sacrificing sheep, goats
and buffaloes?
Sacrifice thy six passions,¹ crying Jai² for
Kali.
“What is the use of drums?” Says Prasada,³
“Clap thy hands”, crying Jai for Kali, and
fix thy mind on Her blessed feet. (Song 22)

-
1. Lust, anger, greed, delusion
pride and envy.
 2. Victory.
 3. Ramaprosad Sen.

Ramaprosad's devotional songs thus contained a direct attack upon many of the accepted ideas of the day and sought to draw attention from the observance of rituals to the essence of religiosity which lies in mastering the self and being composed oneself. It is not by going to Gaya or Kashi—places which even now are considered sacred by the Hindus—that one can have salvation which, according to Ramaprosad, can come only through dedication to the realization of the objective in life.

Ramaprosad writes :

People think, they will discharge their debts to forefathers by offering them pinda
at Gaya !

But, oh ! I laugh at this going to Gaya,
who meditates on Kali !

Siva assures, 'Death at Kashi leads to
salvation'.

But devotion is the root of all ; o mind !
salvation is its maid. (Song 25)

It is remarkable that Ramaprosad was not ostracized for preaching these revolutionary ideas about religion and God-realization which went opposite to the traditional views of the priests and philosophers. Perhaps the great uncertainties of the period (it was the time when Bengal came under the occupation of the Christian British after the defeat of the Muslim Serajdaula at the Battle of Plassey in 1757) had sufficiently unnerved the traditionalist school and had prepared the people to receive a new message. The conditions of war and plunder create an objective necessity to give up the ritual forms, which threaten to attract attention of the foreigners, and revert to less obtruding mental worship is also genuinely more independent of external control. Perhaps Ramaprosad was providing a new philosophy to the people of his times to enable them to tide over the critical period of a change of rulers.

Ramaprosad's awareness of the importance of the control over human minds is remarkable, indeed. In the thirty-second song in the volume Ramaprosad says :

O mind ! thou knowest not the art of tilling
Such (fertile) field as human nature lies
fallow ; it would yield gold if it were
tilled properly.

Fence it off with Kali's name ; crops will
never be lost or forfeited.
The fence made of Kali's name is strong ;
O mind ! Death will not dare approach it.
Do know : crops will never be forfeited in
a day, a year or a century.

The field is under your power ; grow
plenty of crops and reap a rich harvest.
Master hath sown seeds ; do irrigate thy
field with the water of devotion.
If thou can't do it alone, (O my mind !)
Call Ramaprosad to help thee. (Song 32)

Once the people's mind is influenced it will leave an abiding impact. "Crops will never be lost or forfeited." In all ages the principal battle has been to capture the minds of men.

Ramaprosad had a long and arduous life. His preoccupation with escaping death is easily noticed in very many of his songs. "O Death ! get off ; what canst thou do ? I have imprisoned Mother Kali" (Song 34). "O Death ! don't touch me ; I lost my caste when gracious Mother blest me with Her grace" (Song 35). "Get off, O messenger of Death ; I am son of Divine Mother" (Song 36). "I stand firm, drawing a boundary line with Kali's name./Listen, O Death, I tell thee ; I was not prematurely born ; Why should I bear thy threats ?" (Song 37.) "Wait for a moment, O Death, let me call Divine Mother/to my heart's content /Let me see if Divine mother comes in my distress" (Song 38). "O Consort of Durga ! save me from affliction./My life is at an end ; death is at my

door" (Song 189). "Oh ! see my firman/O messenger of Death ! tell the King of Death ; I am son of Kali/.....If thou threaten me, I shall go to Mother's court" (Song 208). "Mutter the name of Kali or Tara/Which shall dispel the fear of Death." (Song 108). "O Death ! Why dost thou threaten me in vain ?/He, who hath given thee thy office, hath assured me of release." (Song 102). "O Death ! I am not thy victim ; wherefore dost thou persecute me in vain ?/Know it for certain O Death ! I am a servant of Durga ;/I owe thee nothing" (Song 103). "I have dedicated my life to Her secure feet./Am I afraid of death any longer ?" (Song 56). "O Death ! thou knowest me not ; if thou know me, thou wilt be terrified" (Song 87).

This fear of death in a man who had to undergo terrific suffering in real life is extraordinary, indeed ! The contrast is Rabindranath Tagore who welcomed death as a dear friend looking very very beautiful ! Perhaps this fear of death had originated in the utterly helpless condition of the citizens—particularly the Hindus in those uncertain days of political and military turmoil in Bengal where the citizens—but mostly the Hindus were exposed to the pitiless extortion and persecution by the rulers turned brigands—a phenomenon that was again witnessed in the eastern part of Bengal —two hundred years after Ramaprosad Sen ! For all practical purposes the defenceless persons were dead facing the plundering hordes and the merciless capriciousness of the rulers of the day. The general degradation left no hope for Ramaprosad to overcome his personal suffering which could, if anything, only go on increasing. In his supplications to the Mother he was unburdening himself of the load of his suffering. The songs touch our mental chords instantly, precisely because Ramaprosad had based his songs on his own genuine feelings.

Intense Suffering

Some of the songs of Ramaprosad reflect the intensity of his suffering. "O Mother Tara ! destroy my mental agony which is unbearable" (Song 123). In another song he says :

O Tara ! my luck is not good.
It is not good, Mother, at any time.
I lost my father, O Mother ! When I
was a child ; my property was robbed by
others.
I am of scant intellect ; Thou didst float
me on the waters of a sea
I float about, O Mother, like moss in a
current." (Song 95)].

Again,

O Mother ! how many times shall I tell
Thee the story of my sufferings ?
I float on the water of misery like a moss
drifted by a current (Song 109).

His personal frustration makes him at times cynical.

My time is wasted in fun and pleasure.
I have missed my work under the influence
of Time.

When I earned money in different places,
My brother, friends, wife and children were
obedient to me.

Now I can't earn in my old age,
All of them are angry with me because I
am poor,

When a minion of Death will sit near my
head and catch me by the forelock.
They will dress me like an ascetic, lay me
on a stretcher, give me an earthen pitcher,
Take me to a cremation ground crying out
'Hari', 'Hari' and then go home.
Ramaprosada is dead ; they will cease
crying, and eat their meals happily.

(Song 113)

At other times he seems to resign himself to his grief :

O mind ! cherish no hope for happenings,
if thou desire to abide at Mother's
secure feet.

— — — — —
There is grief in joy, O mind, be not angry
at this ;
There is pain in pleasure as there is
pleasure in pain, so the proverb goes.
(Song 124)

Anger Forthcoming

But the suffering is inconsolable. So Ramaprosad is angry again.

He says,
I know for certain, O Tara, how merciful
Thou art.

Some starve the whole day ; others eat
their fill, and have gold in their treasury.
Some ride palanquins ; others carry them
on their shoulders.
Some are wrapped in double shawls ;
others lack even torn clothes (Song 173).

Why has he to suffer ? Ramaprosad seeks
the answer in the basically irrational nature of
his deliverer.

Can there be compassion in the heart of
one who is daughter of a mountain ?
If she is not unkind, can she kick Her
husband in the chest ?
Thou art called 'compassionate' in the
world ; but there is no trace of
compassion in Thee, O Mother !
Thou wearest a necklace of heads by cutting
them off from others' sons.
The more I cry 'Mother', 'Mother', the
more Thou turnest deaf ears to my cries.
Prasada is used to suffering Thy kicks ; yet
he utters 'Durga', 'Durga'. (Song 141)

How can there be happiness and content-
ment in a system where the rulers are irrational
and devoid of any sense of justice and mercy ?
Do the songs not portray the state of affairs

in the Bengal of two hundred years ago ? Do they not remain relevant even now in the context of happenings in Bangla Desh from where seventy lakhs of people had to run away to India in search of an illusory safety ? Even West Bengal, where conditions are certainly not as bad as in East Bengal, the vast masses some time have to lead a life of fear and humiliation. If individual murders are reprehensible, the "combing operations" carried out by the military and the police in the name of upholding peace and which subjects the innocent citizens in large numbers to the same humiliation as the guilty few is no more comforting. The sacredness of the privacy of the citizens' home has been given the goodbye quite frequently in many lands.

Burden of Wants

Ramaprosad was a devotee of the Goddess Kali but in his supplications to his Mother he was reflecting very truthfully the objective condition of his life. It was the discontent of the material life that was pushing him to find an escape in spiritualism. The burden of the material wants was so pressing as not to allow him to forget the same even in his supplications to Mother (God). In the last song in the collection of Dr. Sinha, Ramaprosad says,

O Kali ! let me tell Thee my story of
suffering.

Who calls Thee compassionate to the poor,
O Mother !

Thou art stony-hearted.

Thou hast given some, O Mother, wealth,
attendants, horses, elephants, and
chariots, and made them victorious.

Thou hast made some day-labourers, who
get not pot herbs with rice.

Some live in palaces ; I desire to do so.

O Mother ! are they Thy father's spiritual
guides, and am I none to Thee ?

Some are clad in double shawls, and eat
curds and sugar with rice.

Others are destined to live on rice mixed with sand, and parched paddy with husks.
 Some are carried in palanquins, but I carry loads.
 O Mother ! have I destroyed Thy rich harvest ?
 Prasada says, "Forgetting Thee, I suffer from misery.
 O Mother ! I yearn to turn into dust under Thy secure feet." (Song 313).

The last two lines are remarkable. They have no connection with the main argument in the preceding lines and go contrary to them. These lines represent the abject surrender of the poet to cruel destiny. But he does not call it cruel. Rather the writer blames himself for not having enough of trust in the wise dispensation of powers that be—a true picture of the utter helplessness of the subjects in Bengal in the eighteenth century. A vivid account of the social life of the Indian people in the eighteenth century has been provided by the late V. P. S. Raghuvanshi in his work *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century* which was posthumously published in 1969. "The foreign accounts of the eighteenth century", writes Raghuvanshi, "agree in emphasizing that on account of the despotic powers wielded by the feudal chiefs, there was nothing like an impartial honest administration of justice. They condemn the Indian systems of government as tyrannical under which people could not prosper and were condemned to a debasing state of slavery. On account of the disruption of the Mughal Empire, in the 18th century, the territorial chiefs usurped in their hands dictatorial powers and administration deteriorated. There is no doubt that many Princes governed their subjects on humane principles and that people flourished under their beneficent rule. But in an age in which political revolutions were frequent, oppression and extortion necessarily flowed from govern-

mental activity. Ghulam Hussain, the Muslim historian of Bengal, corroborates the reflections of the foreigners by stating at length how the decline of the Empire was the "loot" of its citizens by "an infinity of evil doers, who plague the Indian world, and grind the face of the wretched inhabitants". He characterizes the 18th century as "an age of senseless, slothful princes, and of Grandees, ignorant and meddling," under whom "the Sun of Justice and Equity. at last entirely set in the Occident of ignorance, imprudence, violence and civil wars". He writes : "It is in consequence of such wretched administration that every part of Hind has gone to ruin, and every one of its discouraged inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself is become disgusting to most. So that, on comparing the present times with the past, one is apt to think that the world is over-spread with blindness, and that the earth is totally overwhelmed with an everlasting darkness." About the Muslim government in Bengal, we have the following testimony of Scrafton : "With respect to the executive part depending on power, the government of the Moors borders so near on anarchy, you would wonder how it keeps together ; here every man maintains as many armed men as the state of his finances will admit, and the degree of submission is proportioned to the means of resistance ; and the grand mystery of their politics is to foment this disunion." Robert Orme, a member of Madras Council in the fifties of the 18th century, pronounces a severe indictment on India's feudal governments. In his opinion, the authority of the monarchy was eclipsed by baronial ascendancy in the internal political life, and there were no codes of laws uniformly observed in the country. The wealthy and influential upper classes could purchase justice by bribery in their own interest." (Pp 7-8).

The result was the degeneration of the rulers and the ruled. The demoralization of the ruled finds eloquent expression in the songs of Ramaprosad which reflect the abject helplessness of the people. To quote Raghu-vanshi again, "The other writers have observed that the people were politically a dead sea of humanity. 'In a government like that of India', says Alexander Dow, 'public spirit is never seen, and loyalty is a thing unknown. The people permit themselves to be transferred from one tyrant to another.' William Henry Tone who served in the Peshwa's armed forces, says that the Hindus considered misfortune as their fate ; they had few passions, and submitted to every authority without a struggle. In 1800, the Duke of Wellington boldly asserted : 'As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country (India), I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with—if indifference constitutes that character.' This indifference of the people was a sequel to the domination exercised over society by morally degraded, selfish, ambitious chiefs and their cliques." (Pp-9-10.)

In depicting the conduct of Mother Tara, who is supposed to protect children but does not do so in fact, Ramaprosad was depicting the capriciousness of the rulers of the day. Herein is to be found the clue to the secret of the great popularity of the songs of Ramaprosad : They brought out the minds of the suffering masses of the citizens. They represented an inverted protest against what was happening.

Religious Songs

Some of the songs are, of course, purely in line with the mythology and may be considered to be predominantly religious in character. Thus he describes the goddess Kali in the following words :

The Lady of noble birth is nude, bent in three parts of Her body, funny and young in age. The Lady routs the demons in the battle ; among the corpses She wears dishevelled hair. She roars dreadfully, fights fiercely in the battle, and Her beauteous form fascinates Cupid, the god of love. Ghosts, devils, Bhairavas and other attendants of Siva dance merrily ; Her merriest maids are nude and equally dressed. She swallows elephants, chariots and chariooteers and strike terror into the hearts of gods, demons and men. She walks fast, trembles and overflows with emotion ; Her waist is decked with human hands. Prasada says, "O Mother Kali, the preserver of the world, be merciful to me ; Take upon Thee the task of taking me across the ocean of birth and death, O consort of Siva ! destroy my afflictions." (Song 278.) Again, Oh me ! what a shame ! a woman standing upon a man ! Oh Siva lies at Her feet, a wonderful Yogan. How shameless is this woman ! Thou art placing Thy feet upon Thy husband's breast. And standing nude, eager for fighting. Why dost Thou not look at Him ? Siva lies as a corpse. How ruinous woman Thou art lost to shame and modesty. (Song 279.)

Changing Moods and Images

Ramaprasad's image of his deliverer from suffering changes with his moods. When he is happy he visualizes Durga in the following words : Her face is like the stainless full moon ; She is always blissful drunken with nectar.

Disembodied Cupid starts at the sight of Her slim body.
O King ! do not think Him amiss ;
He whom thou thinkest to be Brahman
Lies as a corpse at Her feet ; Who is the
Lady in the battle ?
The earth is the infant moon, sweet and
smiling.
She enlightens the earth ; my life overflows
with joy.
Ponder in thy mind ! the moon, the sun
And fire are Her beautiful eyes emitting rays
of light.
The Lady is supreme and blessed... (Song 254.)

Next time she is the dearest daughter.
 Ramaprosad writes :
My Uma is not an ordinary girl.
She is not, O Mount, thy daughter—I tell
thee aright.
I am afraid to tell thee. Mount, what I have
dreamt.
Oh ! Uma is on the heads of four-faced and
five-faced gods.
She, Supreme Goddess, talks with a smiling
face.
Oh ! Visnu black in complexion riding
Garuda entreats her
with folded palms.
Prasada says, "O Mount ! blessed art thou
who hast got
such a daughter,
Who is inaccessible to sages by meditation
and trance."
 (Song 259)

(Durga reborn as Uma after her death on Daksa's sacrificial fire. Daksa, Uma's father. Four-faced—Brahma. Five-faced—Siva. Durga, Divine Mother. Garuda—Bird, vehicle of Visnu.)

In no time however, with increasing difficulties of actual existence, the dear Uma turns into a fearful fighter.

Who is the charming Damsel, the abode of hope, Who dispels dense darkness ?
Her lustre of black colour and great splendour
eclipses many a Brahma !
The Moon shines on the beauteous Lady's
forehead ; She stands on Siva's breast with
long dishevelled hair.
She wears a necklace of human heads ; She is
drunken with nectar ; the noble-born
Lady dances.
She walks fast, shakes others, and overpowers
demons with the strength of Her arms.
Jackals cry, and turn day into night—what a
wonder !
Weak and poor, wicked and hard-hearted.
Ramaprasada is bewildered because of Kali's
enmity. (Song 270.)

Useless Tara

As the poet is unable to find a solution of his problems, Tara loses much of her charm in his eyes. Ramaprosad then thinks :
 The name 'Tara' makes all prosperity vanish.
 Only a torn bag it leaves on the shoulder,
 but not for all times.
 As a goldsmith steals gold and gives dross
 in lieu thereof
 So Thy name destroys prosperity, O Mother, and leaves trifles in lieu thereof.
 If a person utters 'Durga' in his house,
 frightened by many dangers,
 Thou knowest it in time, biding in his heart
 O Mother ! it is very doubtful that Thy son will live at home,
 Whose parents live at the foot of a tree and
 and besmear their bodies with ashes.
 Tara has encircled Prasada ; it is difficult
 to find him out.
 O brothers and frierds ! cherish no
 more hope for Prasada.
 (Song 257.)

Ramaprosad has been honoured as a composer of devotional poems in praise of Mother (who is called Durga, Tara, Kali and by many other names). To me, as has already been made clear, it appears that his songs are the repository of very genuine human reactions to the realities of the world. It is this intimate relationship of the songs with the realities of human existence and aspirations that has kept them alive through the centuries in the hearts of men. As Dr. Sinha explains in his scholarly way, the poems have also a spiritual significance which makes them attractive to those seeking spiritual solace.

The helplessness of the Bengalis which finds reflection in the songs of Ramaprosad has not been reduced even by a bit during the two centuries that intervene between the present and the days of Ramaprosad Sen. The Bengalis are virtually prostrate before the forces of disruption and annihilation. For man there is no alternative to bewailing, like Ramaprosad, their fate by pointing an accusing finger to an invisible protector who has failed them.

Time will pass away, O Mother, only the story will remain ;
The story will persist ; it will endure :

O Mother, Thy disgrace will live for ever.
Either good or evil, Kali, must be my fate.
What will dew drops do to one whose bed
is in the sea ?

I am worn out with sufferings, Mother ;
how much more miseries wilt Thou
give me ?

Only Thy name, 'Durga' or 'Kali' will be
disgraced. (Song 2.)

Ramaprosad considers himself "aimless, unintelligent, ill-intentioned and incapable" and lives only "in the hope of getting Kali's blessed feet which will make me fearless" (Song 131). Ramaprosad, the middle class Bengali, cannot muster a better self-confidence or self-respect than to seek the protection of the very person who is the cause of his suffering ! This self-persecution is the attribute of the utterly useless in society. This type of life depending on the mercy of others is far from being a desirable or respectable one.

Dr. Sinha deserves to be thanked for the immense labours he had undertaken to make the songs of Ramaprosad accessible to the non-Bengali reading public. He has provided ample footnotes to explain the very many mythological and allegorical references in the songs.



THE CHIEF MINISTER AND HIS CABINET

Prof. NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Sometime before the collapse of the second UF ministry in West Bengal, a heated controversy centred round the position occupied by the Chief Minister vis-a-vis his colleagues. While the Chief Minister himself claimed a superior position in the cabinet, it had been argued by some people that the CM was only *primus inter pares*, and that he could not claim pre-eminence among his cabinet-colleagues. It had further been contended that the authority of a coalition CM was further circumscribed by the prior agreements of the constituent parties of the United Front which could only jointly claim a majority in the State legislature.

The office of the CM (and also that of the Prime Minister) in our constitution has been modelled upon the position occupied by the Prime Minister of England. And, moreover, the phrase *primus inter pares* has apparently been borrowed from the British constitution. So, it will be proper to evaluate the exact position held by the British Prime Minister in the cabinet arch.

The British Prime Minister.

It may safely be contended that the relation of the British Prime Minister with his cabinet-colleagues has long been obscured by the phrase *primus inter pares*. The conventions have changed as years have rolled by and the position of the Prime Minister has evolved steadily with the growth of the new understanding regarding the political governance of the country.

Though Lord Morley regards the Prime Minister as the key-stone of the cabinet arch,

the office was unknown to the law until 1905. A royal proclamation of 1905 gave place to the Prime Minister next after the Archbishop of York. The Ministers of the Crown Act which determined his yearly salary did neither prescribe his constitutional duties nor his relation in regard to other cabinet-members.

As a matter of fact, everything remained unsettled and yet the system posed no difficulty due to the firm establishment of binding conventions. Thus, the Prime Minister, even without legally conferred powers, has occupied the salutary role inside the cabinet and all recent developments, as Jennings correctly observes, have intensified his hold over every sphere of political life.

Until the ascent of the Hanover dynasty, the ministers were all equal. The king presided over the cabinet-meetings and enjoyed obvious authority in the ministerial affairs. The ministers were appointed by the king and they held office during his pleasure. But at the beginning of the new regime, the German king George I ceased to attend the cabinet council owing to his ignorance of the English language. In his absence, the task of presiding over the cabinet meetings were naturally shouldered by Walpole. His colleagues were chosen by him and he retained them as long as he pleased. Thus, he dismissed Townshend and Chesterfield as he substantially differed with them. By exercising royal prerogatives of appointment and dismissal of the ministers, he actually secured uniformity of policy and unity of action. Thus, Walpole has been

regarded as the first Prime Minister in England (though Jennings would ascribe the title to Peel).

The convention of royal absence in the cabinet-sittings and the resultant predominance of the Prime Minister were firmly established in the subsequent constitutional history of the land. Though Walpole himself denied the scope of the Prime Minister's superiority in the cabinet and Gladstone declined to regard the office as that of a Grand Vizier, yet the development was obvious. It seems that both of these illustrious incumbents underestimated the importance of the office they gloriously held.

Three superb powers.

Appointment, distribution of portfolios and dismissal of the ministers are the prerogatives of the King. But now these are the rights which the sovereign only theoretically possesses. The initiative has been shifted to the Prime Minister and the King only legalises the latter's choice.

Theoretically, it is the King who chooses his council of ministers. But, practically, he only appoints the Prime Minister and the other ministers are virtually appointed by the latter. Once the Prime Minister is chosen, the King can hardly influence the composition of the cabinet. As Marriott points out, in the choice of the Prime Minister the King is restricted within narrow limits, but, in regard to other political appointments, the Prime Minister is supreme.

In regard to distribution of portfolios, the Prime Minister's choice is final. Different departments are allocated to persons whom he regards as the best to suit them. But, in order to ensure better efficiency of the government, he can, at any time, change the original scheme of distribution. Thus, as Jennings

puts it, the Prime Minister can shuffle his pack as he chooses.

The ministers, legally, hold office during the pleasure of the King. But this means, in actuality an entirely different thing. The King does not dismiss a minister so long he enjoys confidence of the Prime Minister. The King exercises this prerogative only in extreme cases when the Prime Minister so desires. Normally, the Prime Minister requests an unwanted minister to resign and only when the latter declines, the Prime Minister gets him dismissed by issuing royal proclamation.

The Prime Minister, thus, exercises a preponderant authority and the appointment and tenure of his colleagues rest exclusively on his satisfaction. As Ramsay Muir puts it : 'The phrase *primus inter pares* is nonsense as applied to a potentate who appoints and can dismiss his colleagues.' Similarly, Jennings concludes that the Prime Minister is not even what Her court once described as '*inter stellas luna minores*' ; but he is actually like the sun round which planets revolve. As Dr. Wheare observes : 'In theory *primus inter pares*, he is in practice the motive force and directing head of the whole government.'

Supervision and co-ordination :

The Prime Minister hardly retains any particular portfolio for himself. This is because he is the most hard-working executive of the world. It is his stupendous duty to look over the entire affairs of the state and hence he has to supervise the work of all the different ministries. He encourages the junior colleagues and assists them in their difficulties. He is the link of co-ordination among ministerial departments and it is his primary duty to patch up differences between colleagues. As Herbert Morrison puts it : 'He is, of course, eminently a co-ordinating and, up to a point, a supervising minister.'

Usually, the cabinet as a unit, takes public decisions and often political questions polarise the cabinet-members. In such divisions, the Prime Minister has a single vote like his colleagues. But, here again, the predominance of the Prime Minister is obvious. Crick and Jenkinson Scathingly remarks that formerly the whole cabinet discussed the decisions to be taken by the cabinet, but now-a-days a Prime Minister more often informs the cabinet of the decisions he has already taken.

Munro has correctly pointed out that the Prime Minister is the leader of his colleagues, and not their boss : yet his power is enormous so long as he remains in office. Laski, in a convincing analysis points out : 'The Prime Minister is no longer, as in the classic analysis, *primus inter pares*. He is the master of an organisation in which he has important colleagues, but quite certainly, no equal.'

Commenting on the causes of Peel's success as a Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, who himself happened to be a Prime Minister of England, held that the former was conversant with all departmental questions and imposed opinions on the departmental ministers. This is, indeed, essential for all British Prime Ministers of repute. As Finer puts it, 'distraction of other ministers by their own heterogeneous departmental responsibilities can put a Prime Minister in a despotic position.' The exact position has been succinctly enumerated by Jennings in the following way. 'Above all, the Prime minister exercises a general oversight of the policy of the government. He can no longer follow Peel's example and keep in touch with the work of every department, but at least he must watch that ministers do not go joy-riding with departmental policy.'

The foregoing analysis induces one to agree with Ogg that within the ministry and cabinet alike the premier is the keyman, even if not always the most outstanding personality. The

cabinet, indeed, is the representative of the majority of the people and Bagehot thinks, it is in the Prime Minister that the representation is actuated.

Cabinet system in England is an extra-constitutional arrangement and its working has been determined by changing conventions. But, as Marriott rightly points out, cabinet system depends on the essential principle—ascendancy of the Prime Minister.

English constitution is really living and it has grown in every generation. Despite popular conservatism, the constitution has adjusted itself with changing need of society. Thus, without having amended the constitution, the genius of the people has transformed a monarchical system into a democratic set-up. The growth of cabinet has made it possible. As Ranny, Carter and Herz observe, it is the Prime Minister who has been the principal beneficiary of the cabinet's growth of power. In the new arrangement, his task has been multiplied and it is still increasing. He is, no doubt, assisted by his chosen followers, but now it would be an intellectual blunder to regard him as equal with them.

An Indian Chief Minister.

The Indian constitution expressly mentions the office of the Chief Minister and determines in unambiguous terms his relationship with the governor and other cabinet-members. Thus, the Makers intended, despite their desire to follow the British pattern, to settle the issue inside the constitution itself.

Art 163(1) enjoins that there shall be a council of ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the governor. The term 'head' leaves no room for uncertainty in this matter and the CM is hereby assigned a legal superiority to his cabinet-colleagues.

Secondly, the CM, under Art. 164, shall be appointed by the governor and the other

ministers shall be appointed by the governor on the advice of the CM. This article makes the CM the virtual authority of appointment of the ministers. In England, as pointed out earlier, the cabinet consists of those ministers whom the prime minister invites to join him in tendering advice to the sovereign on the governance of the country (Wade and Phillips). But in the matter of composition of the council of ministers, the CM is legally the exclusive decision-maker.

Thirdly, distribution of portfolio is also a matter of CM's personal choice. Of course, the constitution does not specifically mention it. But appointment of other ministers as enjoined by Art. 164 definitely means appointment with some specialised responsibilities. The CM, as the leader of the team, must himself decide as to how governmental functions should be allocated to different ministers in order to ensure best results. Consequently, it is upto him to shuffle the pack if he deems that the existing scheme of allocation needs re-arrangement for the sake of administrative efficiency.

Fourthly, it is the CM who can get rid of an unwanted minister either by personal request or by utilising governor's prerogative of dismissal. Though the CM's authority in this field is rather indirect, yet it is substantial. For, in the practical politics of parliamentary democracy, the governor cannot retain a minister who has displeased his chief. Art. 164(1) enjoins that the council of ministers shall be collectively responsible to the legislative assembly. This doctrine of collective responsibility would mean, above all, as Dr. Ambedkar held in the Constituent Assembly, that no minister can be appointed against the wishes of the CM and that no minister can be retained without the satisfaction of the CM.

Sir Jennings has described the 'pleasure

doctrine' as the right of the chief of government to reconstitute his cabinet. As Prof.C.R. Rathee points out, the late Sardar Kairon, former Punjab Chief Minister, used the 'pleasure doctrine' to sack Rao Birendra Singh, one of his colleagues ; Bhim Sen Sachar did away with his minister, Mr. Ram Sharma in 1953.

Prof. Rathee further holds that the doctrine of collective responsibility as enshrined in Art. 164(2) can be interpreted to mean that the CM is the chief supervisor and general coordinator of the various governmental departments. It is under this article that the CM calls for the files belonging to departments headed by various ministers. And it is under this Article, the writer adds, that the CM can even supersede orders passed by his colleagues.

Finally, he can, when so requested by the Governor, submit for the consideration of the council of ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but which has not been considered by the council (Art.167).

A coalition Chief Minister :

It has been suggested that in a coalition government the authority of the CM is much circumscribed and that he becomes an equal among equals. But the arguments hardly carry any weight.

The coalition CM remains the Chief Minister even in the hybrid amalgam. To use the epithet 'Chief' and yet to regard him as an equal among equals would be self-contradictory.

Secondly, coalition is an extra-constitutional arrangement and as Mr. Ram Gopal observes, the law of the land does not take into account such a contingency. Thus, powers conferred on the CM under the constitution are not legally affected even in a coalition-government.

The supervisory powers of the CM in a coalition government are not affected at all as held from some quarters. My submission is that the CM's authority of supervision and co-ordination needs, on the contrary, a more elaborate and frequent exercise during a coalition ministry. Such a government is composed of heterogeneous elements and not infrequently the constituents of the coalition are at cross-purposes. This calls for a general co-ordinator and supervisor of the governmental business ; otherwise the whole system would crumble down. Prof. Rathee very rightly observes that a coalition with one or two over-ambitious party or parties might collapse under its own contradiction. In such cases, he argues, the CM has to be bold enough to ensure unity and uniformity and more often than not his preponderant authority needs to be asserted.

Every State government, further frames Rules of Business for the convenient discharge of its duties. Such Rules of Business which are adaptations of the Rules of Business of the British Council of Ministers, normally supplements Art. 164(2) of our constitution in so far as the CM has been invested with the powers of general supervision and co-ordination. A coalition-government, cannot, without an amendment of this law, deprive the CM of his rightful authority.

Thus, the CM, normally and in a coalition government, is head of the council of ministers and he enjoys pre-eminence in the cabinet. As Dr. Mahajan concludes, the CM is the leader of the State cabinet and that 'no matter can be passed if the chief minister opposes it.'

Conclusion :

The British Prime Minister, despite his insignificant constitutional authority, approaches 'more than anybody else to the practical ruler of the country' (Lord Haningsford). So Gladstone rightly remarked : 'Nowhere in

the wide world does so great a substance cast so small a shadow ; nowhere is there a man who has so much power, with so little to show for it in the way of formal title or prerogative.' Yet, it can be held that Gladstone could hardly anticipate the vast increase in the authority of the modern prime minister.

Compared to the British Prime Minister the Chief Minister of a provincial government in our country has a far better constitutional opportunity and authority. Though much depends, above all, on his personal character, wisdom, sacrifice and tact, the constitution offers him a wide field of action and his predominance over the cabinet-colleagues is only natural. He is practically the ruler of the province and if he exercises his authority with consummate skill and bold determination, no member of his cabinet can in any way challenge his initiative and leadership.

He is the only link between the governor and the council of ministers. He communicates to the governor all decisions of the cabinet and furnishes any information which the former calls for [Art. 164(1) and (1)]. This Article, interpreted properly, would prove beyond doubt the superiority of the CM to his colleagues in yet another field.

In a coalition government, certain ministerial departments might be, by prior agreements, reserved for a particular political party and the party hierarchy, in stead of the Chief Minister, might choose the incumbent thereof. In such cases much interference by the Chief Minister or a strain on the pact may lead to the break-up of the United Front. But this is a remote possibility. British experience of the coalition administration hardly suggests that the prime minister during such time is reduced to equal his colleagues in any respect whatsoever. The unwritten conventions have made the office of the prime minister practically highly elastic. A person of political

wisdom and commanding personality can be the directing head of the government. As Asquith once observed : 'The office of the Prime Minister is what the leader chooses to make it.' In such case, the cabinet members can hardly be compared with their chief.

But, even if it were not so, the authority of an Indian Chief Minister could be least affected. The Chief Minister of any Indian state derive his power not from British constitution or conventions, but from the written constitution of India itself. It is the text of the constitution which offers tremendous authority to the CM and, as Sirdar D. K. Sen correctly points out, no extraneous theory should be resorted to in the interpretation of our constitution.

It is significant that some of the powers

which have been conventionally conferred on the British Prime Minister, have been vested in the CM by express constitutional provisions in India. Moreover, the Indian constitution determines unequivocally his superior position in certain respects while this aspect of constitutional relationship has been left in England to the unwritten conventions. In any analysis, then, as Dr. A. C. Kapoor observes, the CM is the Keystone of the State-Constitution.

If some people seriously argue that the CM is only an equal among equals in his cabinet, it can be humbly submitted that they have underestimated the position of the British Prime Minister due to a gross misreading of the British Constitutional system. And, it can also be questioned whether they have gone through the Indian Constitution either.

STATE MANAGED ECONOMY

A. C.

Individuals, when allowed by the community at large, to do what they like, often take advantage of this *laissez faire* condition and begin to exploit other, less favourably placed persons in a manner which violates the ethical principles guiding human rights and the basic social ideal of assuring the greatest good of the greatest number. People are made to work for very unfair wages, to live in hovels and to pass their lives without any joy of existence, education, proper medical care and to pay exorbitant rent if they are agricultural tenants. They are also forced to sell their produce at a non-profitable price by buyers who know

how to keep prices down. When they borrow money they pay interest at utterly unjustifiable usurious rates. When they buy for cash the prices are kept high by combines of tradesmen. If they make credit purchases the shopkeepers cheat them on weight, jot down higher amounts in their books and charge them interest at any rate they choose to.

These exploitative acts by landlords, employers, stockists, traders, moneylenders and others have called for reforms in the economic field and socialistic measure have been increasingly introduced by the governments in many countries which included restrictions on hours

of work, age and sex of workers, methods of payments, deductions for loans or impositions of fines, leave, sickness, holidays, maternity benefits, etc., etc. The question of increasing the national income and improving the living conditions of the people also drew and directed the energies of the governments towards setting up industries, organising irrigation, road building, railway expansion, housing and other projects. The whole idea behind social benefit activities that the governments of states engage in, is economic growth, improvements in point of profitability from a national angle and provision of amenities and benefits to a greater number of persons than those who enjoyed the same before the measures were introduced.

Examining the actions taken by the Indian government to fit this country into an economic mould of a socialistic pattern one finds certain deviations from the guiding principles set forth in the preceding paragraph. When government takes action to increase the work potential of the country, quite often the percentages of man hours worked (productively), persons employed and the output of goods and services decrease while costs go up. Living conditions, wages correlated to cost of living and purchasing power of money, social security measures etc. deteriorate. In fact the Jawaharlal Nehru government borrowed thousands of crores of rupees from foreign countries but it never succeeded in showing proportionate results in the field of out put, costs, employment or amenities provided to workers or to the public. Since those days foreign countries have not financed Indian government projects to the same extent and the government of India had to direct its attention to taking over ready made establishments in the industrial commercial spheres rather than set up any new establishments. The nationalisation of fourteen private sector banks and two hundred fourteen collieries are

fair examples of the government's recently framed pattern of socialistic enterprise. Very recently the Government nationalised the Indian Copper Corporation and took over the management of the Indian Iron and Steel Company. So long as the government represents the majority of the voting public and acts within the limitations provided in the Nation's constitution we do not think we can object to what the government does. But the constitution does not authorise the government to indulge in damaging criticism of the previous managers of the establishments they choose to take over. Words like mismanagement and inefficiency occur quite often in government notifications and the intelligent public think that these are instances of the pot calling the kettle black. The government have been incurring losses of a very heavy and alarming kind in their economic ventures. Their other undertakings which have been operating for a long period, viz., the railways, the posts and telegraphs including telephones and the projects like the Farakka were all clear proofs of the government's inability to manage economic institutions properly and efficiently. If one goes into other spheres of national life the government's mishandling of law and order has caused a phenomenal increase in crimes like murders, wagon breaking, etc. and their policy in the educational field has created a situation in schools and colleges which never had a parallel in India's social history. The growth of the semi-political organisations which have introduced the murder cult in Indian politics can also be traced back to governmental inaction in proper times and places.

It is, therefore, a fair possibility that the bureaucrats who handle government's affairs will not succeed in delivering the goods and the institutions set up or taken over by government will suffer losses which will eventually cripple these institutions to an incurable

extent. The losses then will really be suffered by the public with particular reference to the shareholders of the companies taken over by the government. If such losses occur whom should the public accuse and hold responsible? If the members of the Lok Sabha who authorise such governmental action are held responsible; in what manner and to what extent will they be subjected to punitive action by the succeeding bodies who will acquire power of government? It should be made clear, while there is time, to the reformers of the nation's economy that, if by their action the nation suffers losses of a gravely damaging kind they shall be made to compensate the public for their ill planned and unsound activities in all spheres of the nation's life. In a democracy representatives of the people are elected by voters and a majority of voters can always put their nominees in governmental power. So that the voters remain indirectly responsible for the actions of their elected representatives. If, therefore, the voters allow these representatives to nationalise banks or take over the management of institutions and establishments without exercising considered judgement; then all the voters shall remain responsible for the actions of the governments they set up. And, later on, if and when, it is found that the nation has lost heavily, through the losses suffered by numerous individual nationals who had been owners, managers or

gainfully associated with the industrial and commercial concerns taken over by government; the voting public shall have to make good such losses by punitive taxation. Such taxes should be higher for persons who would be found to have been the initiators of these economic reforms. If however these socialistic changes create better living conditions for the people of India, increase the national income and social security, employ more persons at higher wages and lead to developments which will increasingly cause benefit to greater number of Indians; all glory should then belong to the makers of the socialist pattern for India. The real trouble is that the kind of low selfishness which induces individual capitalists to exploit the people of India, also prevails among politicians and bureaucrats. The workers too do not try to earn their wages but try to get as much as possible and to work as little as they possibly can. There is no self denying idealism in most people, be they capitalists, politicians or bureaucrats. And there is no Stakhanovist outlook among the workers. The result is that all efforts made by the Indian investors or the government lead to the greatest benefit to the least number of persons. Influence, privilege and favour seeking reign supreme in the economic field; not to speak of bribery, corruption and acquisition of wealth by criminal means.





Fig. 1 - Collection



Jewellery for the defence effort : Examining donations from Himachal Pradesh



Discussing the Mountbatten Plan—Jinnah, last but one on the right

SMRITI AND BISMIRITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

(Continued from previous issues)

Another interesting person I met was Shri M. G. Desai, who was a journalist and also a budding Socialist. He was very often with me, when I went to Mr. and Mrs. Sinha. He was a keen student of economics preparing himself to be an international journalist. We became fast friends in London and later on the friendship deepened when we were both arrested in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. His main offence, as a reason for his arrest, seemed to have been that he had started a weekly journal and gave it's name 'Iskro' (Park) as had been done many years back by Lenin himself. He was convicted to 5 years' R. I. by the Sessions Judge of Meerut Mr. R. L. Yourk but was acquitted by the Allahabad High Court. The case was heard by Justice Md. Rahaman.

We two moved together to study the British nation. To see Exhibitions, attend election meetings of different political parties or meetings in Hyde-Park. He had money just enough for himself and was not in a position to help me financially nor did I ever ask for it. Our friendship continued up to Meerut and many years afterwards and to some extent up to this day.

D. K. Dhar

In London, I was not mixing too freely with the Indian students and was describing myself as an Afghan and speaking in English or in Urdu and not in Bengali. I thought that thus I would avoid the spies. It was a

silly thought. The spies would know me anyway through their secret sources of Scotland Yard, but my unintelligent conduct was keeping the ordinary and honest students away from me. But soon this stage was over, thanks to the keen power of observation of Shri Durga Ratan Dhar, who was a medical student there. We were together in Jessore Zilla School for two years in 1911 and 1912 in class VIII and he was one year junior to me. That was twelve years back. He was one of the naughtiest in his class and belonged to our notorious trio. I had also a reputation of being very naughty. One day while gossiping in the lounge of the Indian Students Hostel (Shakespeare Hut) with some Indian students, suddenly Dhar recognised me and said "say, are you not Pundit of Jessore?" Pundit was my nickname, as my uncle was a Sanskrit Pundit there. I denied, but he insisted and ultimately the matter was dropped then. Later on I sought an opportunity to meet him alone and confessed that he was right, but I have been trying to keep my identity undisclosed and passing as an Afghan student. I told him all about myself for the last 12 years, since we were separated at Jessore, including my stay in Kabul and Moscow and also my Socialist convictions. He was not very political, but was much interested. I requested him to keep my secret, which he did. And we two became constant companions at Tea in Shakespeare Hut and he more often than not played the host. It went on like this for 2/3 weeks, then one day, there was to be a lecture

in the auditorium of Indian Students' Hostel by one Englishman, who had recently come back after touring two weeks in Russia. Both Dhar and myself attended. But unfortunately (or fortunately for me) this English mandid not turn up. Dhar, without consulting me at all, got up and, to my consternation, said that the announced speaker of the evening had not come, but there was one Indian amongst us, who had come very recently from 'Russia', after spending two years there ; would the sponsors of the meeting, request him to say something. I was taken aback, but had to get on the dais. I said I was not at all prepared for a speech on Russia. It was a vast subject and justice could hardly be done to the subject, by an impromptu speech. It would be better if questions were put by the audience and I answered them. It was agreed and questions started coming and I replied briefly. It continued for over one hour and a half. I neither eulogised Russia and Communism nor condemned it. I said freely and frankly what I felt then about Russia and Communism, which had not much changed in the last 45 years.

My answer to nationalisation of women and freedom to divorce was much appreciated by the women present. Among them were Mrs. Banalata Das, wife of Shri S. R. Das, Law Member of the Viceroy's council and another was a philanthropist lady, a close friend of Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal. I was not aware of their identity, but after my lecture, those two ladies along with many others stayed back and talked long with me. Mrs. Das, was visibly moved and invited me to her place next day. Her two sons were studying law in London. They were then very prominent in Indian circles, as they had started heated newspaper controversy with their father Shri S. R. Das, a cousin of Shri Chitta Ranjan Das, Congress leader,

Next day, I met at her place and told her all my difficulties and my plans. She promised and actually helped me in all possible ways to get an Indian Passport and failing which a visa to come to India.

When India Office and Scotland Yard doubted my statement, she took personal responsibility for me and declared she would stand guarantee for me. She took a motherly attitude towards me. The people of India Office and Scotland Yard were at a loss about how to tackle her. She was the wife of a big boss of their Indian Govt., and they did not wish to disoblige her and used to say, this important lady didn't understand politics and still dabbled in political problems. Ultimately she had her way and though she could not get Indian Passport for me, but she managed to get my Afghan Passport back and get a Visa for me on it, to come to India.

In this connection, I saw Lord Willingdon, who was Governor of Bombay and later of Australia. Shri D. P. Sinha, M. L. A. and Advocate knew him well. He was in London then. He was a liberal and I met him also with Shri Sinha, and told him that the Tory Govt. was most unfair. It may refuse to issue Indian Passport to me, but how could it refuse to give back my Afghan Passport also. He agreed with me and also moved in the matter and I got my Passport back. Lord Willingdon came to India as Viceroy of India, after 2/3 years when the Meerut conspiracy case was started and I had put the name of Lord Willingdon as defence witness. But neither my claim that I was an Afghan national and Sec. 121 to conspire to overthrow British Rule did not apply to my case, was accepted by the court nor Lord Willingdon was accepted as my defence witness. But I am anticipating ; for, full details of these will appear when I write about the Meerut Conspiracy Case.

Threat of Jail

I was given back my Afghan Passport, but almost along with it came a notice that I must leave Britain immediately, as the Visa given to me for a stay of six weeks had long expired. I formally replied that I was unable to leave Britain at least for six months, for all the money I had, had been spent in the last three months. I wanted time to earn enough for the journey from London to Calcutta. But they were not prepared to listen to any argument and ordered me to leave Britain within 3 days. I was called to Bow Street, corresponding to Lalbazar of Calcutta. I went there and said politely but firmly that I could not comply with the unjust order and would rather face arrest and follow the principle of Non-violent Non-cooperation. We have bitter taste of Indian jails and would welcome an experience of British jails. They did not want to put me in jail there, for then I would get more publicity on being put into jail. I pointed out that they considered me to be an Afghan National having an Afghan Passport and as such I could only be sent back to Afghanistan. I would welcome it. But in my heart of hearts I doubted whether I would be welcome to prince Amanullah, as I had left Kabul in the way I did. With the Moulana moreover, the validity of a Passport issued by the Afghan Ambassador, Md. Nabi to me might also be challenged. Any way, I did not agree to leave London like that. The result was that I was prosecuted.

But thanks to the efforts of the Labour Party leaders like Col. Wedgewood, George Lansbury, Fenner Brockway of Independent Labour Party, H. N. Brailsford the Fabian journalist and the old Secretary of State for India and last, and by no means the least, the vigorous efforts of Mrs. S. R. Das, at last I got a visa to come to India on my Afghan Passport.

During this period I had secured a job in a Punjabi firm Bharat Engineering Co. Ltd., which carried on trade with Germany. The employer an energetic Punjabi youth wanted my help in carrying on German Correspondence for his export business to India from Germany. Germany was not allowed at the time (in 1924) even six years after defeat in the World War of 1914-18, to export her manufactures to India and many other countries but could do so to Britain. So, many enterprising Indians had started importing German goods to Britain and then re-export them to India. I became acquainted with this young man of my age in the Indian Students' Hostel. He was a fair and tall Punjabi with sharp features, no beard and prominent nose and penetrating eyes. He spoke broken English and our acquaintance and friendship grew through our conversations in Urdu. When he knew of my financial difficulties and also of my knowledge of Germany and the German language and also that I was a science student, he offered me a job in his small office employing half a dozen men and women. I was offered £7/- a week. It was about double the minimum wage, which in Britain was about £4/- per week. He was a nationalist and treated me with consideration and even respect. I was quite happy with the job. I worked there for about three weeks and 2/3 times a week he would invite me to lunch and we would continue talks about the work and expansion of his trade. We would also talk about our own lines. During the tiffin break, we became more acquainted and friendly. The work allotted to me was congenial to me and I was glad that I could be of some help to him in translating the German business letters he received and in writing replies. This helped me to brush up my knowledge of the German language. When the order came from British Govt. to "Quit Britain" I sent application to be allowed to stay for at least six months to

continue to work for the firm. This company was doing some useful work both for India and Britain. Shri Rajendra Sinha was good enough to recommend my application very strongly, but the Tory Govt. was determined to make me 'Quit Britain'. I was also willing, rather eager to do so, but not at my expense but at the expense of Britain or at least India. I had written a letter to Late C. R. Das from Vienna to give me a loan of Rs. 500/- to cover expenses for my return journey. Scotland Yard often referred to this and enquired about the result. (I wrote a reminder from London but did not get any reply.) I doubt whether he got those letters at all. When I came back actually, he was in Darjeeling and died before I could meet him. I did not write to him on my return to India, as he was ill. I really wanted to meet him and discuss about democratic socialism, which I was not destined to do. Nor could I learn, whether he got my two letters, or whether the censors detained them.

My father's plan for me

When I wrote to my father about the difficulties of coming back to India under a Tory Govt. and coming back might mean 3/4 years in jail, his advice to me was to stay in London and study law and come back as a Barrister-at-law. After I passed my B. Sc. Examination in 1918, he expressed his strong desire to admit me to M. Sc. in Mathematics also and Law. He himself took the initiative in getting me admitted to both and in this he had the strongest support of my schoolday and life-long friend Shri Amulya Mukherjee, veteran lawyer of Chinsura. I was keen on Mathematics, but not at all on Law. Gandhiji's writings made me believe that one can not shine in the legal profession, following the principles of absolute truth and honesty. Even then I would have studied Law for my father's satisfaction, for it was not obligatory to

practise. I had studied all along as a free student in School and College as my father was a poor school teacher. I applied for a free-studentship in the University also but when I learnt that law students are not given free studentship, I decided to give up law as this meant an additional expense of Rs. 20/- per month, which would be a very heavy burden on the family. It would be very selfish of me to incur so much expenses for myself, when the family, though not actually starving, was living from hand to mouth on a very low standard, even in a village environment. My father was sad at this state of affairs and very reluctantly agreed to my suggestion and I gave up law, after being student for a month or so. I got a free studentship in M. Sc. through the kind efforts of late Sri Ashutosh. My father's desire or ambition was that I would become an M. Sc., B. L. and an Advocate and become a High Court Judge following Sir Gurudas Banerjee. My father admired Sir Ashutosh also, but his ideal was Sir Gurudas. I was more enamoured of Sir Ashutosh and my ambition was to be a professor, helping Sir Ashutosh in his educational work. But neither my father's dream nor my own has found fruition. I was not destined to be a professor and became a preacher of Democratic Socialism instead. I could not even keep my resolve not to be a practising lawyer. In the 42 movement while in jail, I passed the preliminary and the Intermediate examinations following my daughter Mrs. Anima Chakrabarty, and would have passed Final Examination also but for being released from jail only one month before the final examination for which I was fully ready. So my father's desire would have been partly realised in my becoming a B. Sc. B. L. But in one respect, I have been following my father's desire of attending law courts and practising there, though not in the High Court of Calcutta, but in Industrial Courts.

And several times in the Central Tribunals and in High Courts in Raipur, Madhya Pradesh and once in the Calcutta High Court too. Once I was in the Supreme Court of India not really as a two-thirds lawyer, but as an official of a Registered Trade Union representing the workers. My father's soul if it has any separate existence must be feeling great joy on seeing me frequenting law courts and arguing my cases there. However, he may have the satisfaction that, his grand-daughter and her husband are M. A. B. L.'s though not practising yet. His one grandson is an M. A. B. I. and also his grand daughter-in-law is also M. A. B. L. and M. L. And she is practising in the Calcutta High Court. Another grandson is a Barrister at Law; what my father expected me to be.

While working with Shri Rajendra Singh I had actually toyed with the idea of joining the British Bar, but after I succeeded in getting a Visa to India on my Afghan Passport, I left my job, started for India and naturally, the idea of becoming a Barrister-at-law was dropped.

Adair Dutt.

Another enterprising Indian and a Bengalee I met in London was Shri S. N. Dutt. His brother, Shri Prabodh Dutt, was in Germany when the war of 1914-18 broke out and had to stay there for four years. He was connected with the world reputed Carl Zeiss Co., makers of Microscopes, Telescopes, eye-glasses etc. After the War he came to London and started one firm in collaboration with an Englishman, named Adair and started importing Zeiss productions to London and then export them to India. Shri Dutt was much impressed with my adventures and offered me a post in his Calcutta, Bombay or Madrass office on Rs. 1000/- a month, on condition that I gave up politics for at least three years. I could not agree immediately and hence the offer remained in abeyance.

Krishna Menon

I met Shri Krishna Menon also in London in this trip. He was struggling for a footing in London and called himself the Secretary of some Indian committee for Indians in London, but had no office, worth speaking about. He was a tenacious man and left no stone unturned. He was an enterprising worker, but many of his Indian associates I met there were not particularly loyal to him. He assured me that he would try to help me to get a job in London or help me to go back to India with the help of Labour Party members with whom he claimed near personal and friendly relations. During my stay in London for four months I met him several times and every time he would hold out high hopes, but did not succeed in actually doing anything for me.

Shri Paul

I met one Bengali boy, a little younger than me and he was an unforgettable character. He was rather short and dark, but his determination to stay on in London and shine anyhow was inflexible. He had managed to come to London somehow and tried this and that in everything, from dishwashing to selling newspapers in the morning and vegetables like cabbages, cawlfowers, tomatos etc. in the evening, hawking his goods standing or walking on the footpaths near big Ry. or Tube Stations, without any hawker's licence. It was his advice that helped me to make big economy in my budget. From 35 shillings a week for bed and breakfast, I came down gradually to only one shilling a day for unfurnished room with a wooden chair, table and bed minus breakfast. It was of course very difficult to live there, but I managed. Anyhow it was better than the arrangement in my own village home in Khulna. Paul invited me to join him in his hawking business and I kept him company, without hawking myself.

It was interesting indeed and reminded me of hawking near Sealdah or Howrah Stations. We often took our frugal meals together and he would always give me tips how to get cheaper and more substantial food. I made offers to pay some times his bill for meals, but he would not accept, as he said that I was in no better position than he was. It was a very honourable posture he took and he inspired me and kept up my courage. He was non-political. I wonder what he achieved in the end.

Labour Bureau

To get a job as a domestic servant or call it, assistant, I enlisted my name in one of the Bureau on payment of a small fee. I was taken to be an Italian. I was asked to come every week to find out whether a suitable job was available. In two weeks time I was offered a job as butler's assistant in the house of a Baron, some 8/10 miles outside London. I had gone to the Labour Bureau rather shabbily dressed as I was going for a job of domestic assistant, a manual or menial job. But the elderly lady in charge of the Bureau office advised me to dress more neatly, with clean tie, etc. I smiled within myself for her sympathetic advice. My wild globe trotting career had started with my application to Service Securing Agency of Delhi. I got a job. It was at Indore. My first, and then had managed to go to Kabul, Moscow, Berlin and London. I tried to see what was in store for me as a domestic servant. I did not know any domestic work ; cooking, cleaning, serving or anything. But I felt sure that having energy and intelligence, I would be able to do the simple things and be generally helpful to all other domestic servants, which I thought would number at least a dozen or two in a Baron's house.

With a letter of introduction with me, a copy of which had already been sent to the owner

of the house, I reached the place two hours ahead of time. It was early morning, and I walked twice in front of the big compound and the big gate of the palatial feudal building, looking like a small fort and walked back but there was no sign of life except smoke coming out from the chimney. The gate man himself was sitting in his room by the side of the gate clothed in a big thick overcoat. My heart was beating fast as it was a very novel experience. I enquired from some passers by whose house that was ; that I myself knew it very well. To meet the feudal Baron would be easy for me as I would meet him as an equal, but to meet the butler for being his assistant was a different matter. At last five minutes before the appointed time I entered the gate with a genial Good Morning to the Gatekeeper. I showed the letter to him and he directed me to go in and ring a particular bell. I did and a 6 feet tall stately man in uniform, greeted me with a good morning, as I simultaneously said good morning to him after shaking of hands and how do you do ? He took me to the butler of about the same height and in Butler's dress. After good morning, he asked me whether I had any experience. I said No, but I can pick it up very soon. I said I have been throughout Europe to impress him, but evidently failed to do so. With a few more questions, the interview was over in a few minutes, for which I had made physical and mental preparations for more than two days. I was told that if I was needed I would get a letter. I left slowly after a Bye Bye, losing directions. I knew that my application was rejected. I was sorry that I could not get an opportunity to see the inside of the family of a Baron, how they lived and behaved amongst themselves, with their servants, neighbours and friends etc. But I was not destined to have that personal experience. For I knew from the Labour Bureau later on that they wanted

another man with experience which means I was rejected after the interview. I never knew why I was not acceptable but guessed it was due to my lack of experience. Till I left London in two months time, I did not get any other offer, though I sometimes went to the Bureau to see how it worked. It was a kind of Trade Union also for domestic assistants (or servants).

H. N. Brailsford

Of the Labour Party leaders, I became very closely associated with Mr. Brailsford, a very sincere Socialist, a reputed author and journalist. He was of middle age, and not very large in size. But he possessed a high class intellect and was very human by temperament. He was very sympathetic to the Indian struggle for independence and I was very welcome to his house and his intellectual German wife, who was a keen collaborator in all his activities. I spent much time there. He, like many others, was also confident of Labour's Victory in the General Elections. After the debacle of Labour in General Election, he and a few other Socialist leaders advised me to slip out to France on any week end, as Passports and visas were not closely scrutinized in weekends on the Continent when tens of thousands cross the channel to spend the weekends over there. This habit was more common among the British, than with the continentals. I was impressed by the depth of sympathy of genuine British Socialists towards me as was signified by this advice for my safety. However, I was keen to fight it out in London. Some years afterwards, Mr. Brailsford had come to India, when I was in Meerut jail, being an accused in the Meerut conspiracy case. He went to Meerut to see how the case, which had been running for years and had become an International Scandal, was going on and on. He saw me also and we were glad to meet each other again.

Through my advocate Shri Sinha I suggested to him whether he would care to be a defence witness in my case. He readily agreed and his evidence was very much in my favour, though the Prosecution also tried to utilise his evidence to prove that I was in Russia and in the Eastern University there and all the rest of my tours in Asia and Europe, as the Prosecution had no tangible evidence to prove all these facts. Anyhow, the evidence was very much in my favour and bore out my statements in the case.

One interesting point I noted with amazement was how the British, even of the socialist views, had a'm st implicit faith in Scotland Yard's statements. On the strength of this Lord Olivier, the ex-Secretary of State for India, was reluctant to move in my favour. After nearly 8 years during which I worked in India, often in open conflict with the Communists, Mr. Brailsford had still a lurking suspicion that Scotland Yard's information might have been correct at that time at least. He told me that due to the system of scientific checking and cross checking they do not make many mistakes. They did so at least in my case. It was crystal clear that, their information that I was a Communist Agent, passing as a non-Communist was farthest from the truth, Mr. Brailsford is no more but I cherish his memory with affection and gratitude.

Fenner Brockway

Another house, where I was very welcome was that of Mr. Fenner Brockway, leader of Independent Labour Party, but there was a funny incident when I met him first. I phoned to him to meet him in his home at his earliest convenience. It was a very warm telephonic welcome. I hurried to his place, but when we were face to face and shook hands, the warmth of his voice on the phone was missing. In a halting manner, he explained tha' on the

phone, he mistook Banerjee for his old friend Biman of Bombay. After the first hurdle and shock was got over by him, our conversation soon became very intimate and warm when he knew all about myself, specially about Kabul and Moscow etc. Our relations became very cordial and I frequented his house quite often. I had several meals there. His wife was very hospitable and his pretty small daughter was very interested in India. She later on married one African. I met many foreigners from different parts of Europe, Asia and Africa in his house. His sympathetic attitude and advice to me were always a source of great assurance and pleasure to me.

Fabian Society

I had great respect in my mind for the famous Fabians like Bernard Shaw and Dobb and others, I did not agree with their political views, which were much more rightist to me than the Labour Party itself, but their researches and the learned booklets they used to produce, supplied all the facts and figures which served as very useful and effective ammunition to the party agitators.

Socialist Commune

I met a group of Socialists, about a dozen of whom were staying together in a kind of Hostel or Commune, having meals and doing work all jointly. They were bringing out a Socialist journal of high standard of intellectual appeal. One woman worker and her enthusiastic

daughter, just above teen age, interested me much. They were very curious about the Soviets but at the same time very critical also. I used to spend my spare time there and I was cordially welcomed to the Socialist teas and meals there. I saw something of the collective effort and spirit, so common and usual in Soviet Russia and so rare among the British.

Sight Seeing

In the 4 months I was in London, I had been to places of interest like the British Museum, to see the place where Karl Marx used to sit and work, read and prepare the manuscript of *Das Capital*, which was the biggest weapon in the hands of Lenin and other revolutionaries for the proletarian Revolution. It may sound curious, that though my whole thought process was revolutionised by Karl Marx, I never even went to the grave of Karl Marx which lies in Hampstead Heath in London. I thought, it was idolatry, but when I analyse myself, I find that I often succumb to feelings, which are, no doubt, manifestations of idolatry.

I had been to the House of Commons, West Minister Abbey, both near the T. U. C. and Labour Party Office. I had been to Madame Tussaud's famous gallery of wax models, Scotland Yard, Tower of London, Westminster Bridge, the East End, the Billingsgate fish market, Tilbury Docks and Indian seamen's haunts.

THE SUPREME COURT AND RIGHT TO FREEDOM

M SALEEM KIDWAI

The Supreme Court of India has been quite explicit about its role from its very inception. On a number of occasions it has had to make its observations on the fundamental rights of Indian citizens. It seems imperative to study the leading cases decided by the Supreme Court because these decisions clarify the court's approach to fundamental rights and explain the position of the judiciary in this respect.

Supreme Court and Right to Freedom

The case of A. K. Gopalan V. State of Madras (1950)¹ was the first and the most important case in which the Supreme Court expressed its verdict regarding its role in respect of the fundamental rights.

This case was taken up by the Supreme Court within its original jurisdiction under Article 32 of the constitution. A. K. Gopalan, a communist leader was detained by an order of the Government of Madras under Section 3(1) of the Preventive Detention Act 1950 enacted by Parliament in accordance with Art. 22 of the constitution. Gopalan applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus and challenged the order of detention claiming that Preventive Detention Act was unconstitutional as it contravened the fundamental rights guaranteed by Articles 13, 19, 21, 22 and 32 of the constitution.

The majority of the Constitution Bench of the Court dismissed the application and declared that the Preventive Detention Act except section 14^c was not unconstitutional. Each member of the Bench delivered a

separate judgement. The following conclusions can be reached on the basis of majority opinion :

(i) Personal liberty restrictively meant subject to physical restraint by way of confinement or detention

(ii) In personal liberty area the law was not required to conform to the rules of natural justice, or requirements of any due process clause : and

(iii) Preventive Detention legislation fell exclusively under Article 22 (4)-(7) Article 21, and wholly beyond the reach of Art. 19 (1)(d) 1(5) ; and could not, consequently, be judicially reviewed under reasonable restriction clause.

Thus, the legislative prescription seems to be placed beyond the judicial review. However, the decision in this case does not lead to this apparent inevitable conclusion after an analysis of the reasons given for declaration of unconstitutionality of Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act 1950. This provision prevented the detenu to disclose to the court orally, or otherwise information, facts and grounds for his detention, although communicated to him officially. Further, the court also could not call upon an officer to make the necessary disclosures, production of detention order, or confidential report of the Advisory Board. So, the theoretical right enabling him to file a habeas corpus petition without being able to substantiate his allegation of illegal detention would have been rendered an empty formality.

The court by declaring section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act unconstitutional did not sanction establishment of a black-hole in India. While conceding the supremacy of legislative power in personal liberty area, the court did not go to the logical limits of its argument. It stopped short of it. It held that the legislature could not prevent a detenu to seek access to the court. Once in the court the detenu, the court held, could state the substance and particulars of the detention "grounds", communicated to him by the Government and also the facts made out by him in his representation. For doing this he was protected. This was a definite achievement of the court.

The case of Romesh Thappar V. The State of Madras² is another important case involving Fundamental Rights.

Romesh Thappar moved the Supreme Court in 1950 for the issue of certain writs against an order of Madras Government. The Advocate-General of Madras, appearing before the court on behalf of the state of Madras, raised the issue as a matter of orderly procedure whether the aggrieved person should not have first moved the Supreme Court in the first instance. He referred to certain decisions of the American Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, in its judgement, however, did not agree with the Advocate General and held :

"We are of the opinion that neither the instances mentioned by the learned Advocate-General nor the American decisions referred to by him, are really analogous to the remedy offered by Art. 32 of the Indian Constitution. That Article does not merely confer power on this court, as Article 226 does on High Courts, to issue certain writs for the enforcement of the rights conferred by

Part III or any other purpose as part of its general jurisdiction. In that case it would have been more appropriately placed among Articles 131 to 139 which define that jurisdiction. Article 32 provides a 'guaranteed' remedy for the enforcement of those rights, and this remedial right is itself made a fundamental right by being included in Part III. This Court is thus constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of such rights".

The above decision rates very high among major decisions involving Fundamental Rights.

Over the years the scope of procedural safeguards given in Article 22 (4)-(7) has been determined and fixed by judicial interpretation. The spate of cases under the Preventive Detention Act following that of A. K. Gopalan V. State of Madras case in the first decade of the Republic afforded repeated occasions to the Supreme Court to declare the law on the subject. The first important occasion was provided by The Atma Ram Shridhar Vaidya' case.³

The respondent was detained under the Preventive Detention Act. A communication of grounds of detention was sent to him eight days after his arrest. The respondent moved the Bombay High Court for a writ of habeas corpus contending that his detention was for "delightfully vague" grounds. He further urged that the detaining authority had acted malafide and for a collateral purpose.

The High Court issued the writ releasing the detenu. The High Court raised the question "that whether the detaining authority could be permitted to justify the detention by amplifying and improving the grounds

originally furnished in the first communication," and answered in the negative. The state of Bombay belong an appeal. By this time the Supreme Court was able to speak more clearly. The majority judgement laid down the following principles :

(i) Art. 22(5) gave a detenu two separate but independent rights : (1) a right to be communicated the grounds of detention ; and (2) to be given an opportunity to make a representation.

(ii) The grounds supplied should have a rational relational connection with the objectives of the Preventive Detention Act and should be sufficient to enable the detenu to make a representation.

(iii) The grounds meant conclusions based on facts and particulars ; and must exist at the time of passing of the detention order. No grounds can be held back, and after a communication has been sent to the detenu, no addition to them can be made , and

(iv) A subsequent second communication could not make out any fresh grounds, although any communication of facts and particulars was not objectionable.

This decision created a remote possibility of an indirect judicial review. In the case of Harikishan V. State of Maharashtra, the appellant was served with a communication of the grounds of detention written in English. Not conversant with English, he could not make out charges levelled against him and asked for a Hindi version. The request was refused.

The Supreme Court held, on appeal against the judgement of the Bombay High Court dismissing an application under section 491 Cr.P.C. that as explained in the Atmaram

Shridhar case the communication of the grounds in a language not understood by the detenu was as good as not supplying him the grounds within the meaning of Article 25 (5) of the constitution, and therefore, any continual of detention under the Preventive Detention Act was illegal.

The above mentioned case is illustrative of the circumstances of the effective intervention by the court substantiate its claim to be sentinels on the qui vive against all those who seek to deprive a Preventive Detention Act detenu of his personal liberty.

To sum up it may be said that the Supreme Court, did do precious little for a detenu. In the A. K. Gopalan's case it ensured his access to the court, and freed him of all penal consequences for any disclosures made before the court. Later in the case of Vaidya V. State of Bombay it created a remote possibility of an indirect judicial review to secure for him an opportunity to an effective representation. As regards Harikishan V. State of Maharashtra, it stressed the condition that a communication should be communicative. Occasionally it pulled up the executive officer concerned for not following the prescribed procedure formally as well as strictly and substantially and his "loose language" communication.'

1. SCJ 174.
2. The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol.I. Part VI, Pp. 594-605.
3. Ibid.
4. State of Bombay V. Vaidya, AIR 1951, SC. 157.
5. AIR 1962 SC 911 : (1963) SCJ 352.
6. Thakur Prasad V. State of Bihar, AIR 1955 SC 63/-.

FOREIGN TRADE FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

Y. R. SINGH

In free societies, a large part of economic activity is related to foreign trade. Since foreign trade offers a consumption possibility frontier, which can give more of all goods as compared to our domestic production possibility frontier, it places foreign trade in an important place in the economic development of a nation. There are only two processes which can be followed by a nation. One is based on the Russian model i. e. the country should produce every thing it needs, within its boundaries. International trade should only be engaged in when it is absolutely essential and that too in controlled conditions, while in the other system, a country takes into account the advantages which might arise from division of labour. This is not only considered in a static sense but also in the dynamic sense, i. e. when the development of the potential human and material resources leads to the dynamic concept of comparative cost. In case of USA and USSR it is the continental character of both the nations due to which they are in a position to produce almost every thing of their need within the national boundaries. Except for these two major developed countries of the world, no other country can neglect foreign trade, without inviting enormous misery for its people. One very important consideration of development, along the lines of division of labour is that it is possible to borrow capital from international markets, without which the speed of economic development is bound to be very slow. It is needless to emphasize that in the process of economic development, developing countries can derive enormous benefit from

international trade. In the begining of the process of economic developments, capital goods are necessarily imported. In the absence of foreign exchange these goods can either be purchased by putting restrictions on import of consumer and luxury goods or by promoting exports.

Historical Experience

The experience of Britain, Japan, USA, Switzerland, Canada and Germany is a clear proof of export oriented growth. Britain is a classic example where export of wool and textiles sparked off development, in the 19th century. During 1870 to 1913 the export of Britain was roughly one fifth of its national income and one third of its industrial output. During the 1st World War, the proportion of gross product exported declined from 18.8% in 1909-13 to 8.4% in 1944-48. This again reached 16% during the period of 1949 to 53. In 1957-63 again it declined to 13.8%. All these movements in the trade were found to have a parallel effect on Britain's Industrial output and national product.

In Japan during the early stages of development, silk played a vital part in the export sector. Foreign trade, not only widened markets for her goods, but also provided the crucial supplies of raw materials for her industrial development. The proportion of exports to gross domestic product in 1914-17 in Japan was as high as 22%, this was the time when the growth process was firmly established in Japan.

Similar other examples of export led growth are USA during 1790-1860 and

Switzerland and Canada during 1900 to 1913. Exports of grain have been a major factor in early stages of development of Canada and USA. Not only this, export of Coffee from Brazil, Tin from Bolivia, Cocoa from Ghana Oil from Venezuela, and Iron from Iraq, have been responsible for improving their respective domestic economies. In the past decade countries which have oriented their manufacturing sectors towards exporting, have been more successful in both growth and employment creation than those which have continued to rely entirely on import substitution. With these evidences of world economies it goes without much proving that expanding of foreign trade is a dynamic factor in the developmental process of a nation. Higher rates of economic growth tend to be associated with higher rates of export growth and therefore a significant correlation exists between exports and the economic development of a nation. In case of developing economies like that of India, foreign trade is of strategic importance, the very structure of these economies, with imbalances between the patterns of domestic production, and internal demand makes them highly import hungry. The production structures of these countries are dominated by a few primary products but the domestic demand extends over a wide variety of goods. The rising incomes and increasing number of mouths to be fed have further aggravated the situation.

Till domestic production is adequate to meet the demand imports are liable to grow. Experience of India in recent years has clearly demonstrated, how inadequate foreign exchange could be a crucial constraint on economic growth of a nation.

India's Performances During First Three Plans

During the first two plan periods India's export earnings remained more or less

stagnant. The second plan average of export value at Rs. 614 crores per annum was slightly better than that of the 1st plan. On account of international developments the actuals of the second plan were better than the expected export earnings. The slow rate of increase in India's exports in 2nd plan together with a large requirement of foreign exchange for development, repayment and debt servicing caused severe strain for payments. It is admitted by the planners that one of the main drawbacks in the past has been, that the programme for exports was not regarded as an integral part of the countries' development efforts under the five year plans. No attempt was made to make a export policy and for the creation of an exportable surplus. There was no emphasis on cost reduction, the export planning was absent and every thing was left vague undecided and uncertain. Fiscal incentives were lacking and whenever there was short fall in production, the first cut was on exports. Indian planners took the structural problem for granted in addition to a too passimistic view of the world markets.

*The long term perspective plan (1951-76) for India projected a big drop in relative importance of exports. A doubling of exports was foreseen by 1975-76 as against an almost four fold increase in the national product.

Fourth Plan Estimates

During the fourth five year plan Indian economy will require total imports valued at about Rs. 9730 crores, of this Rs. 7840 crores will be maintenance imports Rs. 1300 crores for project imports, Rs. 590 crores for food imports, Rs. 140 crores for remittance on account of dividends, commissions, consul-

* Comparative costs and economic development "The Experience of India" American Economic Review May 1964 by (W. Malenbaum).

tancy charges and insurance. Apart from that Rs. 2280 crores will be needed for debt service and Rs. 280 crores for repayments due to the international monetary fund. Therefore the total foreign exchange requirement will be Rs. 12430 crores. This total will have to be met out of the net receipts from external assistance plus export earnings.

As per policy objectives of the plan, in order to reduce the foreign aid to half of its present value, the aggregate external assistance and the net amount of debt servicing, have been taken as Rs. 1850 crores. The balance of foreign exchange requirement i. e. Rs. 8300 crores will have to come out of export earnings. This will require export earning to go up from present 1360 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 1900 crores in 73-74, or a growth at a compound rate of about 7% per annum.

In order to achieve the above targets we have to make vigorous efforts. The achievements of 1970-71 have proved that if we are sincere and do not fail to make proper efforts for boosting the exports, much better results can be achieved. So far our internal policies have been more responsible for stagnant exports to various centres of the world market. In the words of Dr. Man Mohan Singh.* "In the mid fifties, while export industries like jute and cotton textiles were denied foreign exchange for their programme of much needed modernisation, a much too liberal approach was followed in India in allocating foreign exchange to many non essential industries in the name of import substitution."

Present Situation

Now since, India and other developing countries would be denied the benefits of generalised system of preferences introduced by Japan and EEC, they will have to pay

10% levy of import surcharge on exports to USA, and India would lose preferential entry privileges in US market from Jan 1972 ; the task of increasing exports have become more difficult. If there is a trade war between USA, EEC, JAPAN or UK not only India but all the developing countries would be heading for trouble.

Scope

In the discussed circumstances in order to expand India's exports appreciably, we will have to expand exports of processed agricultural, chemical and engineering products. The exports of hides, skins and ores will have to be reduced and replaced by the processed final products. Since labour is cheap in India and unemployment is growing fast, the export of labour intensive engineering goods can be easily encouraged. In order to face the situation, present shortage of steel will have to be cured. No firm which is engaged in production for export of these goods should suffer on account of shortage of steel. With the present trend and market conditions even an export target of Rs. 5000 millions can be practically achieved. There is sufficient capacity, technical competence and vitality in this industry, only export promotion measures need fair implementation. During the last 15 years, engineering goods have shown commendable performances. In the year 1970-71 exports worth Rs. 1150 millions of these goods was made. India at present is producing engineering goods worth Rs. 25000 millions and thus less than 5% only is being exported so far, which leaves tremendous capacity, to be diverted for export.

Apart from above commodity decisions, export marketing, which includes technical knowledge of overseas markets, identifications of market, information system, market intelligence, publicity, selling and distribution arrangements also need immediate attention.

* Indias' Export Trends Oxford 1964—P. 34.

If proper marketing decisions are taken in time, we can easily hit our targets. Some policy decisions like bilateral trade agreements can also play an important role in boosting the exports. On the basis of experience of both developed and developing countries of the world, it has been found that bilateral trade with socialist countries is quite advantageous.

The 1970's pose a new challenge to our development and therefore a carefully thoughtout foreign trade plan, in the context of overall planning would only eliminate, the dangerous uncertainties created by periodic accentuation of foreign exchange shortages which have intermittently handicapped the operation of our five year plans. To expand our exports it is of paramount importance for us to draw up a detailed export target plan for specific commodities. The steps required to be taken by the government and the industry are to be listed out for achieving the targets. In

order to push up exports of capital goods, there is a need to extend to importers, deferred payment terms. Since JAPAN and USA are offering these terms of deferred payment, India can not face these giant competitors, without offering this financial incentive. On the marketing side the appointment of commission agents or indenting agents in the developing nations of the world is a sine qua non. Delegations which have visited countries in West Asia have pointed out that enough scope exists there for our civil engineering consultancy services.

Therefore, having at our command surplus, traditional manufactured and engineering goods, consultancy services and skilled man power, we can easily enter the world market with confidence, and create a bright commercial image in the world. If we want to get rid of aid, the only solution is better and wide spread foreign trade.

Prof. P. C. MAHALANOBIS

K. C.

Sreemati Indira Gandhi wrote a condolence letter to Mrs. Mahalanobis after the death of the famous Statistician in which she said, "The Professor was one of our Topmost Scientists but he was also a fine man who rendered great service to our country by his work here and abroad. My father regarded him as a friend and advisor." Professor Mahalanobis certainly gave economic Planning in India a clear and definite shape. While others were urged on by their emotions and feelings Professor Mahalanobis measured their

objectives with precision and accuracy and provided the blue prints which could be used as guides by those who had to do the actual work of construction. He was a remarkable man who could discuss abstruse economic problems or give them their complex mathematical dimensions with the same degree of clarity and ease of expression as he could bring to play in analysing Poetry or the tenets of religions. Rabindranath Tagore discovered Prasanta Chandra's talents when he was not yet out of his teens and called him to Santiniketan to join certain intellectual gatherings normally

attended by Philosophers and thinkers of mature age. Prasanta was thus a member of the Tattvabodhini Sabha in 1911. In the same year he had gone to Agra on a sight seeing tour and had crossed swords of argument with some experienced college professors there who remembered young Mahalanobis for years afterwards as a young man of rare merit. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis went to England in 1913 and came back to India in 1915 for a short holiday after obtaining the B.A. degree of the Cambridge University by passing the Part 1 Mathematical and Part 2 Natural Science Tripos within a very short period. His short holiday was extended indefinitely to a very long period as he did not go back to Cambridge but took on a job in the Indian Educational Service and started Teaching Physics in the Presidency College of Calcutta.

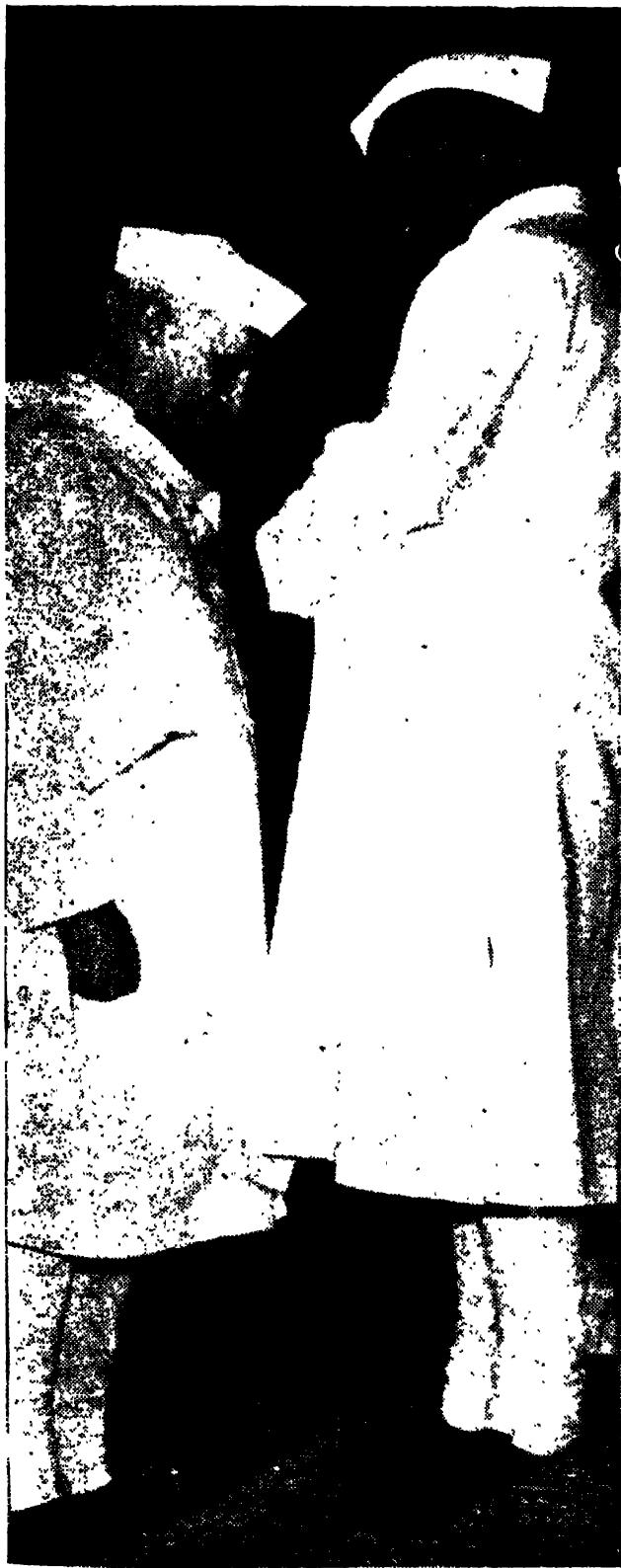
Prasanta Chandra had already been attracted to the study of statistics during his studentship at King's College, Cambridge. His tutor Mr. W. H. Macaulay had given him copies of *Biometrika* in which Prof. Karl Pearson had published the Biometric Tables edited by him. On his return to India Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis began to do quite a lot of statistical work mainly of social and physical anthropological interest. His connection with various scholars deepened at this time and there were increasing demands on him for carrying out enquiries of various kinds with a view to give precise form to scientific data which were available but could not be used.

The First World War was still raging and India was fully involved in it due to the Turkish overlordship in Mesopotamia. There was heavy recruitment everywhere in India and new regiments were being formed for quick training and despatch to various fronts. A cavalry regiment was formed in 1917 named

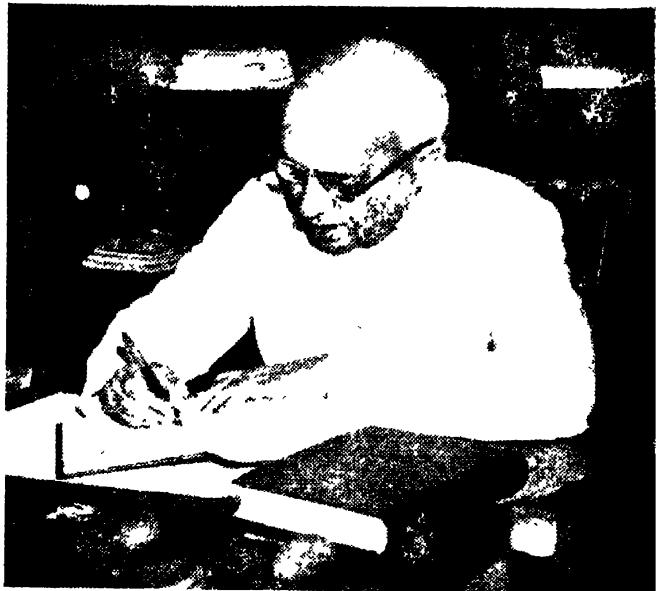
the Bengal Light Horse and it was first attached for training purposes to the 27th Lancers and later on to the 35th Scind Horse. A large number of educated upper class Bengalis joined this regiment, among whom was Prasanta Chandra. He took rigorous training in riding, musketry and movements in formation. The regiment did not go into action as the war ended by the time the first squadrons were ready for the purpose.

Mahalanobis was a close friend of Sukumar Ray, Kalidas Nag, Ajit Kumar Chakravarty, Amal Home and other young intellectuals who were all great admirers of Rabindranath Tagore. They formed a society in which discussions were held mainly about literary subjects ; but the idea of a cultural unity of the nations of the world was also sponsored. This was in keeping with Tagore's Visva-Bharati ideal and all the young men were drawn into that organisation. Prasanta Chandra was very close to Tagore and went to Rome in 1926 with a view to be with the Poet when he visited Italy. The party went to Switzerland, Austria, France, Germany, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and England. They met many famous persons during this tour among whom were Einstein, Freud and some Nobel Laureates in literature. Prasanta Chandra stayed on in London for about one year and worked in Karl Pearson's institution which was attached to the University College of London. That was for Statistical work.

Prasanta Chandra remained in service for the next twenty years or so. When he retired in 1948 he was Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, but he had attained eminence as a Statistician long before he became a full time worker of the Indian Statistical Institute. In 1945 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society for his original work in the field of Statistics. He was also appointed a



The "Jewel of India" : being awarded the
Bharat Ratna by late President Rajendra Prasad



Signing the Second Five Year Plan



At the Annual Convocation of Visva Bharati
in Santiniketan



The last journey—on way to Santighat

member of the Statistical Commission of the United Nations. He had to go abroad very frequently to carry out his duties in connection with these honorary appointments. But his Statistical work had already been quite considerable since he worked with Dr. Annandale in 1920 and with Sir Gilbert Walker thereafter. Sir Gilbert made use of Mahalanobis for the scientific and Statistical analysis of a great deal of meteorological data. Papers of great scientific value were published by Mahalanobis as a result of these enquiries. His papers on river floods and on the Hooghly-Howrah slushing and irrigation scheme were considered to be of great usefulness to those who planned river water control for various purposes. The Indian Statistical Institute was founded in 1931 and the Journal of Statistics was started in 1933. It was called "Sankhya". The Statistical Publishing Society was formed in 1935 and it set up the Eka Press which became a well equipped printing establishment for the publication of mathematical and other scientific literature.

In 1937 began the work of agricultural crops and Jute was taken up for enquiry in the beginning. This was done for the whole of Bengal in 1941 and was extended to Bihar in 1943. Sample surveys were later made for collecting socio-economic data and for planning work in other spheres too. Prasanta Chandra tried his best to convince government about the urgent necessity for introducing nation wide sample surveys in order to bring accuracy and precision in economic development and managed stimulation of growth. In 1950 he succeeded in convincing government about this and the National Sample Survey was begun on a large scale. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru requested Prof. Mahalanobis to help the Planning

Commission to find out proper ways and means of increasing the nation's gross product at a faster rate and thereby help in reducing unemployment as early as possible. The plan frame for the second five year plan was finished by the Commission after giving full consideration to the draft plan frame submitted by the Indian Statistical Institute.

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis was awarded the Weldon Medal and Prize of the Oxford University in 1944. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1945. He obtained many other decorations, awards and honours some of which are given below.

Correspondent Councillor, Consejo Superior, Institute of Statistical Research, Madrid (1953); Honorary Fellow, Royal Statistical Society of London (1954); Honorary President, International Statistical Institute (1957); Foreign Member, USSR Academy of Sciences (1958); Honorary Fellow, King's College, Cambridge (1958); Honorary D. Sc., Sofia University (1961); Fellow, American Statistical Association (1961); Fellow, World Academy of Art and Science (1963), Etc., Etc.

Dr. C. R. Rao, F. R. S., Director, Indian Statistical Institute, said in his article about the life and work of Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*), that Prasanta Chandra "was an intellectual of the highest calibre, a stalwart among scientists, the beaconlight of Indian Statistics, the founder and the guiding star of the Indian Statistical Institute, the architect of the earlier economic plans and an inspiring teacher.....An active research worker till his death he was source of inspiration to the entire scientific community and his death is a great tragedy and an irreparable loss to world."

Current Affairs

Unite for Production

Shri Bagaram Tulpule, formerly a Trade Union leader and now General Manager of the Public Sector Durgagur Steel Factory, said at a meeting of the Workers' Education Centre of Asansol that employers and employees should shun the Tug-of-war attitude and unite to achieve higher production. Shri Tulpule said mistrust and misunderstanding between employers and employees were at the root of industrial troubles which led to loss of production. These could be solved by friendly discussions. There is nothing new in what Mr. Tulpule said. We have known for long years that employer employee relations could be made healthier by friendly discussions and a spirit of unity. But how that can be made possible with hundreds of preachers going about telling workers about exploitation, class war and all the rest of it at all hours of the day, is something that Mr. Tulpule has not told us anything about. We do not know whether in government owned and managed factories there is exploitation of the workers. If there is, for whose benefit is it carried on? If there is no exploitation of the workers in the public sector, then why is there this Tug-of-War referred to by Mr. Tulpule?

Government's Policy Bad for Economic Progress

There have been many critical reviews of the Government's restrictive acts against the

Private Sector economic institutions. The Maharashtra Letter published in *Swarajya* is particularly informative and interesting in this connection. We are reproducing this letter :—

Bombay, July 17 : "When a private sector undertaking is not run well, the Government can take it over, but when a Government sector undertaking makes losses, who takes it over?", asked Mr Madhu Mehta, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, commenting on the take-over of the management of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., by an ordinance by the Government of India.

This question becomes relevant considering the reasons given by the Government for this action, whatever be the real motives underlying this move. The take-over of the management of IISCO, it is stated, is to increase production and secure proper management of this private sector steel company. This, as Mr. Mehta has pointed out, should be viewed in the context of the huge losses suffered by the Government's own steel undertakings at Bhilai, Durgapur and Bokaro.

It is pointed out that the problem faced by the IISCO was not one of fall in the standard of efficiency of management but the labour unrest prevailing in the area. The Government's own steel plant at Durgapur is beset with the same difficulty. In fact, the utilisation of capacity in the Durgapur steel plant is even lower than what it is in the IISCO. Even now, the IISCO is running at a capacity

of 61.7 per cent as against only 43.8 per cent which Durgapur has been able to achieve.

Of late, some of the ultrasocialist Ministers of the Government have been exhibiting over-anxiety to take over private units on one ground or other. This is particularly so since the problem of paying proper compensation is easily tackled following the 25th amendment of the Constitution which has taken this matter out of judicial review. The compensation announced in the case of the general insurance companies has been calculated at such a low rate that the investing public, and most important institutions like the L. I. C. and the Unit Trust, which have substantial investments in these shares, are visibly aggrieved.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has pointed out that this take-over trend will not help either better running of the units concerned, or increased industrial production, or even in furthering the socio-economic objectives of the Government. The need of the hour it has emphasised is increased production through appropriate policies particularly those relating to improving discipline all round. "If Government take-over of management were the only answer", it has observed, "the Durgapur steel plant should have been doing much better than is the case".

The General Secretary of the Swatantra Party and other political and industrial spokesmen, have drawn attention to the Government continuing to misuse its Ordinance-making powers even in respect of matters that could easily await action through democratic discussion and debate in Parliament. Mr Madhu Mehta has observed. "The Government's persistence in short-circuiting legislative processes and ruling the country by ordinance is indicative of the increasingly authoritarian trend of the party in power. It is hoped that members of Parliament will take strong objec-

tion to the manner in which the Government is resorting repeatedly to what is patently back-door nationalisation, on the one hand, and ignoring Parliament's rights and prerogatives, on the other."

The Government's restrictive policies in the industrial field, by which expansion of large companies in general and of any company, large or small, forming part of a so-called 'larger industrial house', in particular, have already created a perceptible slowdown in the rate of industrial growth. This has happened "at the very time when a much higher rate was both necessary and possible," Mr. J. R. D. Tata pointed out in his Chairman's statement to the shareholders of Tata Oil Mills Ltd. (TOMCO). "We can only hope," he observed, "that, in course of time, the Government will realise that, allowing those among the larger elements of the private sector with a known record of competence, integrity and social consciousness, to participate in the further industrial development of the country, is not incompatible with their objective of rapid growth with social justice."

In the context of IISCO take-over on grounds of falling output and alleged managerial deficiencies, an official policy frame which seeks to throttle some of the best managed and highly growth-oriented units in the private sector defies rational explanation. Over the last four years, for example, sales in TOMCO's have increased from Rs. 29.54 crores to Rs. 60.74 crores ; wages from Rs. 385 lakhs to Rs. 434 lakhs ; exports from Rs. 152 lakhs to Rs. 300 lakhs and taxes from Rs. 57 lakhs to Rs. 151 lakhs. In Mr. Tata's words : "The total taxes contributed by the company last year to the Central and the State Governments in the form of corporation tax, sales tax and excise and other duties approximated to Rs. 9.7 crores, repre-

senting 16 per cent of the turnover. What is more striking is the fact that for every rupee of net profit earned by the company for its shareholders, it contributed nearly Rs. 8 to the Government by way of taxes. This dramatically illustrates the dominant role played by industry, directly or indirectly, in providing Government with the funds with which to pay for the costs of development and social services in a socialistic society." "That is why", he emphasised, "many modern countries which have provided their people with the highest standards of living and the most complete welfare services in the world, have resolutely turned their back on outdated Marxist theories and shibboleths still blindly accepted by so many in our country who think that the prosperity and welfare of the people can only come from the destruction of all private ownership and enterprise and its replacement by Government ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

It is also clear that the investment activities of the Unit Trust of India will be affected if the Government goes ahead with the take-over of private sector companies. Concern about this trend was expressed at a recent press conference by the Unit Trust's Executive Trustee, Mr.S. D. Deshmukh. The impression has gained momentum that the Unit Trust has become a superfluous institution in the public sector. In its 8 years of existence it has been able to mobilise only some Rs 100 crores, that too not from the 'small men', and that it has had to receive official patronage and subsidies in various forms to support its existence.

Mainly about Raja Rammohun Roy

The Bengali journal Sanibarer Chithi has published a special number for the bicentenary celebrations of Raja Rammohun Roy. There are many informative articles on the Raja in this number one of which is written by Shri Achynt Goswami. He has referred to the anti-Rammohun Roy writings of Dr. Rornesh Chadra Mazumdar. Shri Goswami says he was no great scholar and was no expert at research work. He could not therefore refute Dr. Mazumdar's statements by citing his own researches. But his common sense tells him that the Raja was not a representative of a forgotten age of the history of Bengal. No one has dug out his great

deeds from the tomb of oblivion. There is a clearly defined current of progress from his days to the present time and it demarcates the modern age as distinguished from the middle ages. We find references to Raja Rammohun Roy in various published writings of important persons during the whole of this period since Raja Rammohun Roy came before the public in the seventeen hundred eighties till to-day. We cannot accept as true any theories which contradict the facts which have been believed in by generations of men over such a long stretch of time. Those who wrote eulogistically about him were all men of unchallenged merit. That all of them harboured opinions which were mistaken can not be believed. I therefore express my great reverence for Raja Rammohun Roy inspite of all that Dr.Mazumdar has said.

The following statements were published in The Indian Messenger :

Rammohun Roy, in modern times was the starter of this liberal movement in religion. If we adopt, in his spirit, the attitude of discriminating criticism towards our ancient faith and get our thoughts to capture action, we will be serving our country as well as our faith.

—S. Radhakrishnan.

Rammohun Roy dedicated his life to the advancement of all efforts for the welfare not only of India but of all other countries..... The true way to render homage to his memory is to revive his indomitable spirit and carry the highest ideals into actual accomplishments.

—Sir J. C. Bose.

Raja Rammohun Roy dared greatly and suffered greatly in his life ; and his courage and his suffering have crowned him with that immortality of faith which remains a challenge and an inspiration for young hearts all over the world.

—Humayun Kabir

Hundred years ago or more when Rammohun was a youngman, he felt the challenge of the past, felt the humiliation of the present and he felt the responsibilities of the future and that was why he created a new life for India.

—Sarojini Naidu.

I am glad that so fine a man is still freshly remembered.

—John Masefield.

U THANT—A MAN OF PEACE

(A TRIBUTE)

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

U Thant has stepped down from the post of Secretary General of the United Nations, after ten years of dedicated service to mankind.

He spent 12 to 14 hours daily fulfilling his obligations of his office. Some consider it an impossible job, but even his critics admit that he performed his duties admirably. He is respected for his political and moral integrity, and courage to face vital issues. As a Buddhist he symbolizes the Buddha's concept of compassion (*Karuna*) and loving kindness (*Maitreya*).

A month before he retired from the United Nations a great event took place which deeply fascinated him. This was the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the U. N. He warmly welcomed this historic step, which was long overdue, as China represents one-fourth of mankind. Without her participation many problems that beset the United Nations and greater part of Asia—e. g. Korea, Indo-China and Bangla Desh—could not be settled. During his tenure in office and before, as Burma's Ambassador to the U. N., he assiduously worked to get the Peking regime admitted to the World Organization.

As Secretary General he has earned a reputation for outspokenness. It has occasionally been looked on as tactlessness, but observers who have followed him closely believe his remarks are calculated to jolt his listeners when he thinks they need to be shaken into reason.

When he was told in Canada during the last United States Presidential campaign that Barry Goldwater was said to have suggested the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam, he remarked that anybody who suggested their use anywhere must be out of his mind.

Mr. Thant is blunt but never impolite. In contrast to Mr. Hammarskjold, who was often brusque and even rude with newsmen or with subordinates, he is always courteous and soft-spoken. His Principal aides try to divert him from accidental meetings with reporters because the aides fear he is too kind about answering unexpected questions.

The reporters believe that in most cases the questions are not really unexpected and that Mr. Thant has his answer ready.

When the United Nations was founded it had 51 members. All were industrialized and potentially rich nations. When U Thant took office there were less than 100 members and when he left office the total U. N. membership had risen to 130—a majority of them young, underdeveloped and poor.

Now the super powers no longer command immovable blocks. Besides, the issues have become global in nature. The cold war issues between the super powers are gone and replaced by matters of common interest to all mankind, such as economically advanced and backward nations' (rich and poor) population explosion, pollution of air, rivers and seas, international drug traffic, universal education, technical aid, etc.

U Thant is very satisfied with the growth and achievements of the U. N. during his ten years of tenure as Secretary General. He takes particular pride in the fact that 15 specialized agencies have become the chief dispenser of multilateral, unilateral and unselfish technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations. Often some speak of the failures of the United Nations, they fail to speak out for the noble and unselfish efforts of these organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO, W. H. O., W. F. and A. O., etc.

He had been increasingly frustrated by what he has trenchantly described as "the tremendous responsibility—without the authority—of the Secretary General". The functioning of the United Nations is hampered because of its charter defects and also because of power rivalry of the two super powers, who often flout the will of mankind and ignore the United Nations existence whenever their selfish interests serve them best.

The failure of members, particularly of the major powers, to resolve the organization's growing financial crisis and to strengthen its vital peace-keeping machinery has been particularly disappointing to him—a disappointment made deeper by the growing coolness of the United States Government to the world body as it became increasingly involved in unilateral initiatives in South-east Asia and elsewhere. These same problems will haunt his successor.

The governments of U. S. S. R. and France owe the world body \$153 million, as they refuse to recognize its peace-keeping duties and obligations. Therefore if the U. N. is in financial distress the reasons are not hard to seek—nationalism und selfishness.

U Thant recognizes further that the way of establishing peace on earth is not through force and compulsion, but through making man's heart the fountain of compassion, not of hate.

He, like the Buddha, recognizes the folly of trying to settle the differences among men through violence, because violence always begets hate and hate makes both those hated and hating unhappy. Justice to mankind cannot be brought about under the influence of resentment, anger, ill-will and hateful retaliation. In the ten years in office he has demonstrated his ability to deal coolly and quietly with crises. While in office he often reminded fellow men that—

"Waves of change in Asia have been stirred by nationalism and not by communism. American or any other Power should not become the Policemen of Asia, where more than half mankind lives. The Great Powers should support legitimate aspirations of the Asian people rather than support *status quo* and reactionaries."

U Thant recognizes the need for peace in the Middle East. A home for Jews should be assured, but should this be at the expense of the Arabs? What U Thant has in mind is not narrow Jewish or Arab nationalim.

Perhaps it is these facts of life that were brought to the attention of the Quaker Congress in New Jersey, when it was stated by U Thant that the sovereignty of the individual is greater than the sovereignty of a State. The audience was reminded that there cannot be peace in the Middle East without providing adequate compensation to the Arabs ousted from their ancestral lands by the creation of a Jewish state.

Middle East tension is not a private affair between Arab and Israeli. It is a danger to the whole world, and of legitimate concern to the whole world. And this world has both the right and the duty to protect itself through the UN against this tension getting out of hand.

U Thant feels that narrow nationalism is one of the prime obstacles to world peace and

he chastises the members of the United Nations for jealously guarding their sovereign rights to the detriment of the common good of the international community. "It is not the Charter of the United Nations that has failed the international community he said once. "It is International community that has failed to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter."

The United Nations has no sovereign status over selfish national States. To some extent it has become a debating society and is sometimes manipulated unjustly for the selfish ends of some powerful States. This is a dangerous situation when man is living in the shadow of the all-destructive Hydrogen Bomb.

U Thant states that world leaders, to have an honoured place in human history, must appear as men of peace and not as mere victors in war. This fact has been amply proved before, when the Buddhist Emperor Asoka gave up warfare after victory and was the only monarch in history to do so. H. G. Wells writes of him in his *Outlines of History*.

"Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and Royal highnesses and the like, the name of Ashoka shines, and shines almost alone—a star. From Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. Here living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

The Buddha said 2512 years ago that :

No man is noble by birth

No man is ignoble by birth

Man is only noble by his own action

Man is only ignoble by his own action.

Therefore, the racial conflict in South Africa, where apartheid is practised, is a

threat to world peace. It denies to the native black African the basic human rights. He is relegated to an inferior place due to the pigment of his skin, and in consequence fraternity, freedom and human dignity are denied to him. U Thant is deeply concerned, as the United Nations has always demanded equal justice to all humanity.

U Thant stated to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee :

"In particular, it is a source of grave and general concern that the colonial problems affecting the southern part of South Africa have increased as much in difficulty as in gravity ; they do indeed present the most serious challenge to the collective will of the United Nations to ensure the elimination of the vestiges of colonial rule. For this is a situation where millions of dependent people are denied the most fundamental human rights ; their desire to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination is being stifled through the use of repressive measures by the authorities concerned, who would seem to be acting in collaboration with one another and with the acquiescence and assistance of certain powers. It is my view and confident hope that the Special Committee can, by following up the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolution, by reviewing the situation regarding these problems, and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and the competent United Nations bodies, make a constructive contribution to the application of effective solutions "

On 1 September, 1970, the Secretary General visited Ethiopia at the invitation of Emperor Haile Selassie and the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In Addis Ababa, U Thant addressed the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. After his speech the Assembly

"Having heard the address delivered by H. E. U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, at its formal opening sitting—

DECIDES to vote a special motion of thanks and gratitude to H. E. U Thant for his estimable efforts, his perfect understanding of the problems of the African continent and of the anxieties of its peoples and leaders, and for his outstanding contribution to the fulfilment of the similar aims of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, in the cause of African freedom and progress as well as international peace and security."

The growing economic gap between the industrialised and developing nations has been the deep concern of U Thant and the United Nations. As prices of manufactured goods become dearer, and the prices of primary agricultural commodities fall, rich countries consequently become richer and poor lands become poorer. U Thant has at all UN economic conferences emphatically demanded a world-wide synchronised economy. The poor nations demand redress primarily in three economic fields :

- (1) Trade relations with rich lands,
- (2) Prices for primary goods,
- (3) Economic aid without strings attached.

When there is poverty in one area of the world and opulence in the other there is tension. The United Nations persistent inability to keep the peace is the central issue for the last ten years under U Thant. It was created to keep peace and successes of its subsidiary organizations will be dwarfed by this failure. Mankind has to give the United Nations a mandate to establish peace-keeping machinery. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping, which has been studying the subject for five years, came before

the General Assembly this year with a report of no progress. Both the Middle East and Indo-China need some kind of United Nations peace force. Mankind has to hope that an international peace force will be established by the United Nations General Assembly in the near future.

Under U Thant for ten years mankind has, with the use of the world body, pressed hard for ways to make it more effective and to broaden its scope for good. With all its drawbacks it has provided an international forum for world leaders to gather to exchange views privately and publicly.

U Thant was born on January 22, 1909, at Pantanaw, Burma, where his father owned a rice mill. He was educated at Rangoon University and became one of a large number of students in the Burmese nationalist movement. When the Japanese occupied the country during World War II they put the young nationalists into power, only to find that they remained nationalists.

After the war the British supported them in power and gave Burma full independence, in 1948. Mr. Thant became the principal adviser to his former college friend, U Nu, the first Prime Minister. He became Burma's United Nations representative in 1957. When Mr. Hammarskjold died in a plane crash, it soon became apparent that Mr. Thant was the only single candidate acceptable to all the great powers.

He is a believer in "quiet diplomacy" in preference to public debate, and in personal contacts over a wide field.

In between long hours he worked in his 38th floor office, he was to direct a huge international civil service and tried not to offend the diverse 130 member states. While in office, and as a Buddhist, he devoted some time daily to meditation, but now he will

have more time for meditation and Buddhist social and cultural activities, as well as swimming which he likes very much.

As U Thant left the U. N. he stated :

"The United Nations in the annals of mankind is the most inclusive international body. Notwithstanding the multitude of unsolved problems the World Organization is surely overcoming its obstacles to serve mankind better."

What divides mankind? Greed, hatred, racism, inherited prejudices and so on. The United Nations is a forum to overcome these maladies of fellow men and mankind as a whole.

The United Nations today is more mature than at its birth. An international body like this is an imperative need and crucially

desirable. Let it grow into a larger, nobler and activist organization in this atomic, supersonic and interplanetary age, to serve and preserve the heritage of mankind.

Albert Einstein, with the foresight characteristic of a genius, had this to say at the dawn of the Nuclear Age. "*The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking.*" We shall require a substantial manner of thinking if mankind is to survive, says Professor Charles Osgood of England.

U Thant, as the Secretary General of the United Nations always worked, and will continue to work, for peace, social and economic justice to all mankind and strived hard to change the thinking of mankind. But as a Buddhist he was fully aware of the difficulties that confronted him.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

News From Bulgaria publishes the following account of the ninetieth birth anniversary celebrations in India of the great Bulgarian leader Georgi Dimitrov.

The meeting held at the spacious Mavlankar Auditorium in Delhi under the auspices of the National Celebration Committee on 17th June was indeed the landmark of the celebrations in India. The meeting was inaugurated by the President Mr. V. V. Giri, and was presided over by Dr. S. D. Sharma, President of Indian National Congress. Others who addressed the meeting included Mr. Shashi Bhushan, M.P., Mr. S. G. Sardesai, M.P. and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India. Mr. M. M. Farooqi, Mr. Radha Raman, Chief Executive Councillor of Delhi Metropolitan Council and Mr. Petko Georgiev, Charge d' Affaires a.i. of the Bulgarian Embassy.

In his inaugural address President Giri described Dimitrov as "an outstanding figure of the international workers' movement", and his life "a saga of courage and dedication." The president said that Dimitrov was "a dauntless champion of the working class and all his life he spent defending the vital interests of the common people." He briefly narrated the trial and tribulations Dimitrov went through and the relentless battle he fought against fascism and for the liberation of Bulgaria. Describing the Richstag Fire Trial in which the Nazis had falsely implicated Dimitrov, the President said that "we all remember vividly what a deep impression

Dimitrov created in our minds at that time by his indomitable courage and defiance. The President referred to the progress made by Bulgaria since it freed itself from the fascist yoke and added that the ideal which the Bulgarian people are fulfilling "find an echo in our own situation and therefore our appreciation for their progress is still the more greater." Noting the progress made by the Bulgarian agriculture, he made a suggestion that in India the idea of joint farming instead of allotting the surplus land individually to the landless could be tried. President Giri concluded by saying that "in the quest for a better life for our people the memory of the life and work of great men like Dimitrov will always be an inspiration."

In a message, read out at the meeting the Minister for External Affairs Sardar Swaran Singh underlined the role Georgi Dimitrov played both for the people of Bulgaria as well as for international socialism and added that the reorganisation and reconstruction of Bulgaria was done by Dimitrov on the basis of "a peasant-worker alliance". He mentioned that Georgi Dimitrov was a great pragmatist. He learned not from a university but from life and striving and struggle. The Minister for External Affairs further added : "I salute the memory of Georgi Dimitrov, patriot, leader, political philosopher statesman and father of the new Bulgarian state."

President of the Indian National Congress Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma stressed that the life of Georgi Dimitrov had many lessons for the Indian people. "We in India want to learn from Dimitrov's life and work," he said,

"because we find so many things of great value in them." His interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and its application especially to the developing countries, his uncompromising fight against both left adventurism and right reformism have great meaning for us, he added. Dr. Sharma said that Georgi Dimitrov has "led a path for all of us" to follow and he shows up as "a beacon light for the toiling masses who are fighting to end exploitation."

Mr. S. G. Sardesai, leader of the Communist Party of India, traced in his speech the life and work of Georgi Dimitrov who was a historic figure in the international socialist and working class movement. He said that it was not enough to pay homage to his memory but what was necessary was to follow the path charted by him. His call for unity and a united front of the whole people for the defeat of fascism has objective lesson for all of us, Mr. Sardesai added. For the working people, Mr. Sardesai continued, Dimitrov's life and work have a special message in the struggle for socialism.

Mr. M. Farooqui described Dimitrov as a leader of the international working class movement who after Lenin has advanced the cause of socialism and has left a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all those fighting for socialism. Mr. Farooqui said that modern Bulgaria embodies in itself the fittest tribute to Georgi Dimitrov where on the basis of scientific socialism, a new society has been built. He added that "following the teachings of Dimitrov, if we too are able to develop our country, that will be our best tribute to his memory."

Mr. Radha Raman, Chief Executive Councillor of Delhi Metropolitan Council, said that Georgi Dimitrov was a consistent fighter throughout his life and serves as a bright example for all progressive people fighting for freedom and socialism.

Mr. Petko Georgiev, Charge d'Affairs of the Embassy, in his address stressed that Georgi Dimitrov was a great internationalist and at the same time a flaming patriot. For 22 years Georgi Dimitrov lived in exile and fulfilled most brilliantly his international duties but not for a moment he lost links with his people, and guided the struggle of the Bulgarian people against monarcho-fascist dictatorship. It was under the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov, Mr. Georgiev added, that a Fatherland Front, uniting all sections of progressive people was formed in Bulgaria, that led the struggle against the fascist regime to the final victory of socialist revolution in the country. As Head of Government, said Mr. Georgiev, Georgi Dimitrov displayed remarkable statesmanship, foresight and close knowledges of people's life, interests and aspirations. "We the Bulgarian people are proud today", added Mr. Georgiev, "for having fulfilled the best of our great leader that 'in 15-20 years Bulgaria must achieve what other nations, under different conditions, have achieved in a century'. Concluding Mr. Georgiev said "I am sure that our common history of struggle against foreign domination and our common aspiration for building a socialist society, the land of Georgi Dimitrov and the great land of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru will come more close and be bound by unbreakable friendship and cooperation."

Calcutta observed the Ninetieth birth anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov at a largely attended meeting held at Jwahar Shishu Bhavan on 18th June. The meeting was organised jointly by Indo-Bulgarian Friendship Association, Indo-GDR Friendship Association, Indo-Czechoslovakia Friendship Association and Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, and was presided over by Mr. Jugal Srimal, President of the Indo-Bulgarian Friendship Association. The Chief Guest at the meeting was

Mr. Arun Moitra, President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the speakers included **Mrs. Gita Mukherjee**, M.L.A., representatives of trade and consular missions of USSR, GDR and Czechoslovakia. **Mr. Petko Georgiev**, Charge d'Affaires also addressed the meeting. Another meeting observing the anniversary was held in Howrah.

Fitting tributes were paid to the memory of Georgi Dimitrov in a number of meetings held in various places of Rajasthan. A well attended meeting was organised by the State Celebration Committee in Jaipur on 18th June. It was presided over by Dr. Nirmal Singh of Rajasthan University. Among the speakers were Mr. K. Vishwanathan of All India Trade Union Congress, Mr. Surendra Vyas, Congress MLA and Mr. Vesselin Vassilev, Cultural Secretary of the Embassy.

Four meetings have been held in Andhra Pradesh to mark the ninetieth birth anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov. The meeting organised by the Marxist Education Society in Hyderabad on 1st July was addressed by Mr. P. Narasa Reddy, Minister of Irrigation of Andhra Pradesh. Other speakers included Mr. Raj Bahadur Gaur and Mr. Mohit Sen. Mr. Petko Georgiev, Charge d'Affaires, also addressed the meeting. Other meetings marking the anniversary were held in Guntur and Vijayawada.

According to the National Celebration Committee several more meetings are scheduled to be held in various parts of the country in the course of this month. (July '72)

The Welsh Uphold Their Rights

New Statesman published the following account of the action taken by Welsh Nationa-

lists to force the radio broadcasters to observe the national interests of Wales :

Magistrates in the small and predominantly Welsh-speaking town of Bala in Merioneth, found themselves a couple of weeks ago in the kind of dilemma that is increasingly leading them, and others like them, into conflict with the law they have sworn to uphold. Before them were five members of the militant Welsh Language Society charged with failing to pay their television licence fees.

But these were not silly hot-blooded youngsters, who had blatantly decided to cock a snook at the law. The five defendants were ageing pillars of respectability in the small and tightly knit local community. They included the nonconformist minister and the headmaster of the village school. Chairman of the Bench was Merioneth country councillor, Tom Jones — estate agent, pennillion-singing conductor, and deacon in the nonconformist minister's chapel.

The case was heard in Welsh, and the men, who all admitted the offence, said they had refused to pay their licence money on the grounds that the present broadcasting system in Wales, with its too few Welsh programmes, is having a disastrous effect on the language and culture, and ultimately the very identity of Welsh speaking people. They were given absolute discharges — the third time in recent months that Welsh language campaigners have been given absolute discharges, for similar offences, both by lay magistrates and by a stipendiary magistrate. One of the Bala magistrates told the *Western Mail* :

We admired the defendants' point of view. We felt at this stage we had no alternative but to release them. They were very sincere, very quiet, and there were no demonstrations. They had a sincere desire to work for their country. We were very impressed by them.

The Indian broadcasting is planned for the propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas. Also in vulgarising vocal music. But no one protests against that. It shows how obedient to the government the Indian people are.

Violence in the USA

Analysing "the roots of violence" in the USA, *Span* publishes the following in an article by Isa Kapp.

There are, to be sure manifestations of violence in the United States that are primarily American -- that is, outgrowths of American history and circumstance -- rather than cosmic. Guns, for example, are more easily obtained in the United States than in many other countries, and thus far the public has been eager to promote legislation that will furnish effective gun control. Some of the public resistance stems from a traditional belief, supported by the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, in the right of private citizens to bear arms as a form of insurance against tyrannical government.

But a part of the emotional reluctance to give up guns goes back to the period of frontier expansion mentioned earlier, when rifles were essential to get food and protect oneself from horse-thieves and other outlaws. Today, Americans living in semi-rural areas are still attached to their guns, and except in a few cities, such as New York, guns may be freely bought and sold without registration. But, as part of the current introspection about the phenomenon of violence, popular sentiment for regulation of gun ownership is increasing.

Conflict between Negroes and whites is the aspect of domestic violence that has touched the American conscience most deeply. Although Americans have put more effort into improving the condition of the Negro during

the past 15 years than ever before, the same period has, paradoxically, brought the races into renewed and explosive contact. During that period, three civil rights workers and a leader, Medgar Evers, were murdered--though in a characteristic Southern reversal, Medgar's brother, Charles Evers, was elected mayor of Fayettee, Mississippi. Extremists -- black and white -- have precipitated clashes with inflamed rhetoric. And random, spontaneous riots flared up in urban Negro neighbourhoods after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968.

It no longer surprises Americans that such eruptions followed the unprecedented advances in civil rights during the 1950s and 1960s: the Supreme Court decision of 1954 (outlawing segregation in public schools); the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (barring discrimination in public accommodations and enforcing fair employment practices); the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (insuring and encouraging the right of Negroes in the South to vote). The emotional residue of slavery and the long period of "second-class citizenship" has not yet been dissipated, and one psychologist has suggested that the psychic security the Negro has gained from his legal progress, enables him finally to discharge his long subdued rage; and that such manifestations should be viewed as a necessary stage in his hard trek back to social health. A Negro psychologist, Kenneth Clark, emphasizes in contrast the many ills still to be corrected: Though protected by law, the Negro (particularly Negro youth) is in fact still discriminated against in employment, still suffers from inferior housing, poor schools, and white condescension. But Clark, too, says that whites must be willing to accept the Negro's hostility even as they work with increased resolution for his complete acceptance into society.

But even the violence inherent in the resolution of racial inequities is not the

problem of America alone. In his complex novels about the disintegration of the old South, with its feudal structure and its traditional beliefs, William Faulkner has described the anguish and mischief which change — necessary change — brings on. If his novels arouse intense emotion, it is because the conflicts with which he is absorbed are ultimately located not only in his fictional Yoknapatawpha County, or the South, or even America, but everywhere in the modern world.

Whether America's problems of violence are universal or rooted in its history, a crucial step forward has been taken in confronting them openly. Exactly because the violent impulse lurks in the *hidden* levels of the mind and of society, it loses its malevolent power when it is exposed to analysis and understanding. The mere formulation of a new attitude towards it is already a stage in the process of its elimination. Just as in the not-too-distant past Americans rejected the barbarous treatment of criminals or the practice of child labour, they have today approached the point of rejecting violence as a means of correcting injustice or dealing with legitimate dissent. Americans now address themselves to finding less damaging alternatives, and to that end, have opened up their social institutions to more rapid, peaceful change. The French-born biologist René Dubos says he has never seen a society as self-questioning, as eager to comprehend its difficulties and improve itself as contemporary America. But the United States is essentially a country of contradictions, and its solutions, like its problems, must emerge from diversity and the clash of ideas.

President Nixon in the USSR

We reproduce the following from a press release from the USIS.

Mrs. Nixon and I feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to visit the Soviet

Union, to get to know the people of the Soviet Union, friendly and hospitable, courageous and strong. Most Americans will never have a chance to visit the Soviet Union and most Soviet citizens will never have a chance to visit America. Most of you know our country only through what you read in your newspapers and what you hear and see on radio and television and motion pictures. This is only a part of the real America.

I would like to take this opportunity to try to convey to you something of what America is really like, not in terms of its scenic beauties, its great cities, its factories, its farms, or its highways, but in terms of its people.

In many ways, the people of our two countries are very much alike. Like the Soviet Union, ours is a large and diverse nation. Our people, like yours, are hard-working. Like you, we Americans have a strong spirit of competition, but we also have a great love of music and poetry, of sports, and of humor. Above all, we, like you, are an open, natural, and friendly people. We love our country. We love our children. And we want for you and for your children the same peace and abundance that we want for ourselves and for our children.

We Americans are idealists. We believe deeply in our system of government. We cherish our personal liberty. We would fight to defend it, if necessary, as we have done before. But we also believe deeply in the right of each nation to choose its own system. Therefore, however much we like our own system for ourselves, we have no desire to impose it on anyone else.

As we conclude this week of talks, there are certain fundamental premises of the American point of view which I believe deserve emphasis. In conducting these talks, it has not been our aim to divide up the world into spheres of influence, to establish a con-

dominium, or in any way to conspire together against the interests of any other nation. Rather we have sought to construct a better framework of understanding between our two nations, to make progress in our bilateral relationships, to find ways of ensuring that future frictions between us would never embroil our two nations, and therefore, the world, in war.

While ours are both great and powerful nations, the world is no longer dominated by two superpowers. The world is a better and safer place because its power and resources are more widely distributed.

Beyond this, since World War II, more than 70 new nations have come into being. We cannot have true peace unless they, and all nations, can feel that they share it.

America seeks better relations, not only with the Soviet Union, but with all nations. The only sound basis for a peaceful and progressive international order is sovereign equality and mutual respect. We believe in the right of each nation to chart its own course, to choose its own system, to go its own way, without interference from other nations.

As we look to the longer term, peace depends also on continued progress in the developing nations. Together with other advanced industrial countries, the United States and the Soviet Union share a twofold responsibility in this regard.

On the one hand, to practise restraint in

those activities, such as the supply of arms, that might endanger the peace of developing nations. And second, to assist them in their orderly economic and social development, without political interference.

Some of you may have heard an old story told in Russia of a traveler who was walking to another village. He knew the way, but not the distance. Finally he came upon a woodsman chopping wood by the side of the road and he asked the woodsman, "How long will it take to reach the village?"

The woodsman replied, "I don't know."

The traveler was angry, because he was sure the woodsman was from the village and therefore knew how far it was. And so he started off down the road again. After he had gone a few steps, the woodsman called out, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes."

The traveler turned and demanded, "Why didn't you tell me that in the first place?"

The woodsman replied, "Because then I didn't know the length of your stride."

In our talks this week with the leaders of the Soviet Union, both sides have had a chance to measure the length of our strides towards peace and security. I believe that those strides have been substantial and that now we have well begun the long journey which will lead us to a new age in the relations between our two countries. It is important to both of our peoples that we continue those strides.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, volume Forty Seven, published by The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Royal Qto. Pp. 478 : XXVIII, paper cover, one plate, Rs. 9.00. The period covered by this volume is June 18 to September 11, 1931. It gives details about the obstacles that came in the way of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931 and the causes that induced Gandhiji to announce a cancellation of his plan to attend the Round Table conference in London. What took place at the last moment to enable him to come to a settlement and to sail for England just in time to attend the conference are described in the matter contained in this volume.

The intelligent citizens' handbook of **Indian Government and Politics** by M. Abel, Published by The Christian Literature Society and associates, Post Box 501 Madras 3. This is their third book in the Serve India series. The Demy Oct. Pp. 70 paper cover booklet contains much informative matter which would "help the common man" to know and understand the nature and form of govermental institutions. Also the principles that are the fundamentally accepted bases of the system government. The price of this booklet is Rs. 2.00.

Deposits with Non-Banking Companies and Monetary Policy by Mohandas Saravane, research assistant in the Reserve Bank of India. Published by Thacker and Co., Bombay-1. Ryl. Qto Pp. 88 : VIII, paper board cover, illust. jacket, Price Rs. 15.00. It is well known that many limited companies in India borrow money from the public in the shape of deposits earning a somewhat higher rate of interest than the banks offer for fixed deposits. These loans create a further liability for the companies and are clearly a noticeable branch of the

financial structure of the Indian economy. According to the figures incorporated in this book by the author the total borrowings of Non-Government Non-Financial Public Limited Companies were as follows :

Period	Total Borrowings (lakhs of rupees)	From Banks
1951-1955	7405	2646
1956-1960	32047	18117
1961-1966	53821	35629
From Financial corporations	Debentures	Others
.....	mortgages	
865	2458	673
1905	9601	588
	5046	3046
		1628
		2876
		8195

Banks are therefore the biggest lenders to borrowing companies. But about 200.0 lakhs of rupees still come as loans from other sources. It is therefore a very important fact of our national financial organisation, worthy of notice, and an analysis and evaluation of it as found in this book is highly informative to all who are interested in the nation's economy.

Towards Sarvodaya Order by K. G. Mashruwala, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad—14. Demy Oct. Pp. 150 : XII, paper board and printed jacket Price Rs. 5.00, Shri Mashruwala was the editor of the **Harijan** during 1948-1952 and the book incorporates his writings on the existing economy of the country and on the Socialist Pattern. He also expounded the Sarvodaya approach to life. Doubtless there is much to be criticised in the present day capitalistic economy and **Sarvodaya** is certainly an idealistic attempt at curing many of the faults. Unless a solution comes the chances of a disastrous upheaval will go on increasing. State capitalism is no answer for public sector industrialisation has not been able to create conditions in which the nation has found healthy growth and happy existence. This book is worth studying.

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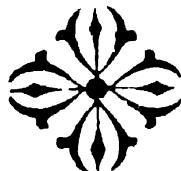
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NOTES

Farakka

Dr. K. L. Rao's reiteration of the alleged two opinions on the subject of water quantum required by the Bhagirathi-Hooghly stream for keeping Calcutta port and metropolis going requires a further statement about those who have recommended that it was necessary to arrange for a large flow of extra water from a source created by a Ganga barrage. Sir Arthur Cotton in 1858 planned a barrage at Rajmahal to divert Ganga water into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly channel. He thought this would prevent silting up of the Hooghly. Other great engineers have since then reaffirmed this view of releasing large quantities of additional Ganges water into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly stream. One may mention the Stevenson Committee of 1919, Sir William Willcocks in 1930, T. M. Oag in 1939, Webster in 1946, Dr. Walter Hansen in 1957 and Dr. G. G. Dronker the Dutch expert thereafter. Dr. Hansen stated that the quantum should be 40-46 thousand cusecs during the lean months-March-May. Dr. Dronker, the Dutch expert

made a detailed study of the subject, assisted by the officers of the Port Commissioners and came to a similar conclusion. Dr. D. V. Joglekar of Poona and A. C. Mitra Chairman Technical Advisory Committee of the Farakka Project also subscribed to the same views. It would therefore appear that there has been a consensus of opinion regarding the need for 40000 cusecs of extra water or more during the dry months. Dr. K. L. Rao's statement relating to another opinion which suggested that 5000-20000 cusecs should be enough is based on theories which lack proper authority and is vitiated by allowing the conclusion to precede the arguments. Having allowed more than 200 irrigation projects to draw off a great deal of Ganga water from the upper stream of the river in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh Dr. K. L. Rao had to justify this action in the face of the Farakka project which had a Feeder Canal for drawing 40000 cusecs of water into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly steam. Dr. Rao had permitted these irrigation arrangements to be made knowing that river water irrigation was

harmful compared to irrigation by use of sub-soil water obtained from tube and ordinary wells. His argument, therefore, that the people of U. P. and Bihar had every right to draw off water from the Ganges cannot be justified for the reason that the waters of the Ganges do not come from sources originating entirely within those two states and also because water utilised that way would harm the cultivation and because ground water utilisation was both possible and more advantageous. The uninstructed politicians of U. P. and Bihar might have approached Dr. Rao for permission to construct irrigation canals; but that did not absolve Dr. Rao from sanctioning schemes that were harmful, unnecessary and contrary to the already established scheme of the highly expensive and very necessary National Project of Farakka. Dr. Rao's handling of the Farakka Project with particular reference to the construction of the Feeder canal has been thoroughly inefficient. Some say he knowingly allowed certain contractors to undertake the work who were incapable of delivering the goods. Whatever that may be Dr. Rao has made it amply clear that he does not believe in the correctness of the Farakka scheme. In such circumstances the project should be left entirely in the hands of the state Government to be finished on central Government account.

Cost of Independence

When a country becomes independent by warlike means there is usually great loss of life, physical suffering and destruction of property before freedom is achieved. In the case of Indian independence, which includes the incidental freedom gained by Pakistan, the loss of life and material assets was limited during the period of struggle. That was so because in the beginning the freedom fighters were organised in small bands who attacked persons connected with the imperialistic

British rulers of India and the reprisals by the British were restricted to punitive measures. Later on when Mahatma Gandhi came into the picture the cult of non-violence prevented open fights with weapons of violence and there were not many acts of war during the last quarter of a century of the "war" of independence. It was only immediately before the separation from the British raj and following the formation of national governments in India and Pakistan that millions suffered death, physical injury and loss of their worldly possessions due to the exodus of Muslims from India and Hindus from Pakistan. No war of independence could have killed and injured so many persons as actually died and were wounded during the months preceding and following August 1947. When Pakistan broke up in 1971 about a million persons were killed in Bangladesh and about another million suffered injury and dishonour. The loss of property too was quite enormous. So that the Mahatma's non-violence only worked during the period that independence was relatively a remote possibility. As it came nearer in point of time violence increased.

After the formation of Pakistan, India had to maintain large forces in order to safeguard her territory from Pakistani intrusion and in twenty five years we spent more than 25 thousand crores, thus impoverishing the country and keeping very necessary developmental work in abeyance. The partition of India was a great calamity in so far as it prevented the work of mass education and interfered with our plans of road making, sanitary and medical projects and the general economic upliftment of the masses. The industrial plans were a part of our national military preparedness and that too increased our national debt very greatly without yielding any proportionate returns in the shape of increased mass welfare, national production, employment or improved standard of living.

Had we remained under the domination of the British for a few years longer and then achieved freedom as an undivided nation, we would perhaps have been much better off than we actually were by accepting Jinnah's two nation theory and a partition of the country as a price to be paid for independence.

To-day we have more than 200 million persons who live below the bare subsistence minimum level. There are others who have a little more but the average income of the average Indian is less than a rupee a day. No one can buy two square meals a day with that money, not to mention house accommodation, clothing, medicine, education or savings. Social security measures are unknown in India, Pakistan or Bangladesh and vast numbers roam the subcontinent unemployed or half-employed. With the Chinese menace ever present on the Himalayas our military expenses remain as disproportionately high as ever and we cannot think of doing anything for the fuller well being of our people in the manner that all civilised nations do.

The Party System and Democracy

All experts of political organisations agree that a democracy to be effective should have political parties. For if no political parties are formed, small coteries succeed in establishing political monopolies which destroy the freedoms and the rights of the people. The single party totalitarian states are good examples of such tyrannical types of government, for their single parties usually are no real national bodies but are very small groups of powerful men who can secure the following of military units, the workers and the students. If there is any voting the candidates who ask for votes are always members of these groups. Other candidates can not ask to be elected for obvious reasons. In the democracies that are of long standing the parties are usually founded on stable traditions and the party

members do not as a rule show any desire to defect or to form new parties based on novel ideologies. The number of parties in democracies of old standing is usually limited and the ideologies are also simple and based on matters of general interest which all people easily understand. New democracies develop ideologies like weeds in an unattended garden and people who attach themselves to these parties have no strong faith nor any durable loyalties which can hold them together and make the parties useful and integrated limbs of the body politic. In the new democracies there are tendencies for securing the help of already existing groups, bands and gangs which are quite often addicted to anti-social activities. They are also connected with trade unions or other types of social organisations. The criminal groups make use of the political pull which the parties can give them and quite often political parties obtain funds from these lawless groups who can be associated with smugglers, black market dealers, looters of goods in transit and so on and so forth. In India the Black Market stands as an insurmountable wall of obstruction to all normal economic activities and industrial progress. Goods smuggled into the country, stolen articles, commodities put into the market without paying excise duties and all other illicit and secret transactions have connection with black market deals. Millions of people earn money in these black deals and political party men quite often play a significant role in these transactions. There was a time when gold smuggling was the kingpin of the black market mechanism. Very important persons were involved in it in those days and highly placed politicians sometime tried to cover up these reprehensible connections between master criminals and political leaders. Much of India's black wealth came into existence in those days.

The idea therefore that government will successfully control all lawless transactions is more optimistic than could be upheld logically after considering all aspects of the matter. Smuggling is not only associated with politicians but there are diplomats, religious leaders and ordinary drug sellers who take part in such deals in large numbers. Gold, Silver and foreign currency still attract talented criminals to display their expert knowledge of unlawful economic activities. The government still allow large numbers of foreigners to roam India who are, for all that anyone knows about them, connected with the drug and foreign currency trade. They may be also connected with international espionage. There are thousands of Indians who collaborate with these people and many of them have contacts and pull. If one goes along the Grand Trunk Road one will see numerous small temples which are ostensibly for the worship of Siva or Hanumana. Many of the priests of these temples are drug addicts and so are their devoted disciples. How far these people assist in the international drug trade and participate in other unlawful transactions can not be ascertained without going deeper into the matter. There are similar temples in the cities of India too, mostly constructed by force on other people's lands. These are perhaps linked up with the general run of all other temples too.

Idi Amin

A. C. N. Nambiar writing in Hindusthan Standard about the "real motives of Idi Amin" behind his expulsion of Asians from Uganda, gives a short account of his career. Idi Amin, we are told began life as a common soldier. He was serving under the British in the Burma campaign during the second world war. He was an NCO and fought against the Japanese and the INA organised by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He formed friend-

ships with some Indians who were pro-British. Having gone back to Africa he continued to be on the side of the British and took an active part in the British attacks on the Mau Mau. The British rewarded him for his loyal support by raising him to the rank of an officer. Subsequently when Uganda attained freedom the British backed Amin for sometime until he chose to seek other friends for financial aid. Amin's military training helped him to become a colonel soon and after that the Deputy-Commander in Chief of the Ugandan forces. Obote held that post before Idi Amin and the latter did his best to see that Obote did not return to power. That was because Idi Amin had mishandled the funds that were raised for the Congolese struggle for independence and he feared Obote would cause him to be tried for corruption. He succeeded in his conspiracy against Obote and was helped in this by the fact that Obote had supporters only among two tribal groups and the rest of the tribes were not followers of Obote. This short account shows up Idi Amin's character clearly and we find that he is an experienced man in the field of diverting public attention into channels that he selects. His action against the Asians is based on his desire to make the people of Uganda think more about the Asians and not so much of the secret designs of General Idi Amin.

Nationalisation for Better Management

When industries are taken over by government totally or conditionally on the ground that private managers were not managing them properly, the unannounced principle guiding such action was that state management was better than private management. But such assumption would not be accepted by students of economics. Facts and figures would be cited and it might be proved that state management had not been such a success in many cases. In the United States, for

instance, where private management predominates, industries are extremely well managed and the USA have become the richest country in the world. Japan, West Germany, Switzerland, Australia, Canada and many other countries have private management in the majority of their industries. These are the richest countries of the world and not by exploitation of workers either ; for the wage rates of workers are the highest in these countries. Where state management holds sway over private management, the countries concerned are neither so rich ; nor have they a very enjoyable standard of living for their workers, peasants and soldiers. They have, of course, the pleasure of living in a socialistic atmosphere, even if they do not get as good food, housing, clothing, medical aid, education and entertainments as are enjoyed by the people of the non-socialistic lands. There are some countries where state management of industries has yielded very poor results. Strangely enough, these are the countries which have tried to remain socialistic even at a sacrifice ! The spirit of martyrdom works even in the economic field, at least while the fashion lasts.

50000 Asians Seeking New Homes

Uganda is expelling about 50000 Asiatics most of whom hold British passports. When this was first announced by Idi Amin the President of Uganda, pessimists in Britain began to have night mares about a great Asian horde descending on the shores of Britain. But soon the world realised that these Asians were good workers and they would be an asset to whatever country they chose to go to. Canada announced her willingness to take 10000 of these persons. Then there were Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and the West Indies. These countries could take in another 15000 persons. Among foreign countries, that is countries outside the British common-

wealth West Germany unofficially suggested accepting 10000 or more persons out of the 50000. All these figures total up to more than 30000 persons. Some of these people would return to their mother countries and their number could easily be 5000 or more. So that the fear of Britain being swamped by waves of immigrants was far fetched. In fact, if the industrially advanced countries took in some of these job seekers Britain might not have to do anything at all. And all facts point that way, as far as we can judge. The world is over crowded no doubt, but mostly with drones. Those who are willing to work can find welcome in many places. And we have already said that the Asians from Uganda are very good workers.

When Political Parties Leave off Politics

Political Parties should stick to politics and devote their time and energy to the teaching of political principles to their members as well as in doing political propaganda work and political reforms effected through constitutional means. Most advanced democratic countries organise and run their political parties in a manner which leaves no doubts as to their political nature. They do not, as a rule, engage in assassinations, robberies, smuggling and similar unethical non-political activities. This cannot be said of the political parties of new born democracies, where party men and party leaders quite often get involved in anti- social practices indirectly as well as in an obviously direct manner. Political party men and their supporters can no doubt take part in business enterprises and contribute to party funds ; but they should not be permitted to get mixed up with criminal or semi-criminal organisations with a view to collect money for their party needs. It should also be forbidden to party workers to act as contacts for business purposes or to go to persons in power to secure permits, licences or contracts for their

patrons. Close association and unlawful agreements and understandings with Trade unions or organisations which have no political *raisons d'etres* should also be ruled out. In short, political maturity of a democracy depends on the clear cut policy followed by the political parties of the country. If the parties grant any priorities in their declared or undeclared programs to Football, Drug traffic or illicit trade of other kinds; or if they indulge in secret or open warfare with rival political groups; the politics of the country suffer for the reason that the politicians cease to be politicians in the accepted sense of the term.

The question is can there be enactment of laws for the control and guidance of political parties without violation of the political rights of the people? Many experts are of the opinion that such laws should be enacted and enforced so that political consciousness of the people is strengthened and political groups are kept free from activities which are definitely not their declared objectives nor are within their right. But as enactment of laws, depend on the wishes and desires of political party men, no enactment of laws controlling and limiting their activities can be expected to be sponsored by the parties unless leadership of the parties assume improved shape and outlook. The people, of course, have begun to realise that political parties are quite often run for the advantage of party men only and the interests of the people are not usually in the forefront of their field of most sought after objectives. Political parties make promises at the time of elections which they never try to implement afterwards. The political parties have cliques and coteries which look after their own special objectives as opposed to what would be of benefit to the masses. The greatest good of the greatest number is dis-

placed by the greatest advantage of the privileged few. The parties therefore should be subjected to control in the same manner as are companies or corporations organised for business purposes.

Bombay Strikes

The Bombay strikes beginning from August 7 involved eight thousand engineering workers of BEST supported by all other workers who resorted to work-to-rule. A few days after this about 90000 Municipal workers went on indefinite strike, followed by forty thousand employees of Maharashtra State Transport who struck work on August 12. In the language of Hans Raj Gulati "The Maharashtra Government has started celebrating the Silver Jubilee of our independence with a spirit of arrogance and with the determination to use all its might for crushing the undernourished and exploited working class. It has thrown overboard all the high sounding principles which are being preached by the ministers through the formal ceremonies being held in celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Independence." (Janata Aug. 27 1972.), Shri Madhu Limaye wrote in the same journal that the strikes engaged in by the Municipal, BEST and State Transport workers were the "biggest working class action" since 1963 when the workers of Bombay resorted to strike in order to obtain more money which they badly needed in order to balance their increased cost of living with the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee after the 1962 war with China. In the present case the workers have been trying to induce government to give them more money in view of the noticeable rise in prices of essential consumption goods. The government, instead of tackling the problem with realism and logic tried repression as a method of settlement. Arrests under Essential Services Maintenance Act proved futile. No "threats or blandishments" could break the unity of the workers.

On August 21, inspite of all efforts only 27 buses out of 1300 were on the road. The number of men who came to work were 134 out of 12500. The collection was Rs 1100 instead of the normal Rs 4200,000. On August 22 number of buses on the road came down to 14, the number of men reporting for duty were 112 and the collection was Rs. 87. On August 23 the government realised the uselessness of repression and other methods of strike breaking. The government settled the strike on the basis of the formula fixed on August 19 and was thus guilty of prolonging the strike for four days more than was necessary, not to speak of terrorising workers and using force against persons who were within their rights in their use of strike as a weapon of collective bargaining. Shri Madhu Limaye castigated many V. I. P.s of Delhi in no ambiguous language. According to him "This unique working class action also exposed the anti-working class role of the Central Government and the Prime Minister...As to the Gokhales, Dharias, Mohan Kumar Mangalams and other bogus leftists, they kept quiet. The BPCC radicals turned strike breakers".

Poverty becoming more Intensive

Poverty is another name for suffering want. When men can not get what they essentially need for their existence in the way of food, clothing, housing, medicine etc. they are called poverty stricken or "garib." Garibi hatao means remove poverty, that is make social conditions such as would enable all people to get enough food, sufficient clothing, adequate housing, necessary medical aid and all these other things that make life worth living. But if prices go up all things cost more money and the same incomes do not enable one to buy the same quanta of goods and services as before ; that is their wants remain relatively unfulfilled and their garibi or poverty is intensified. People who have made a study of the

changes in the purchasing power of money say that prices went up by more than 75% during 1956 and 1966. During the next six year prices increased by another 54%. There has been price rise of more than 8% during the last 12 months. These facts show up the range of increased intensity that poverty has gained during the sixteen years 1956-1972. Our people have no reserves of income as compared to expenses that they have to incur in order to remain alive. In the circumstances even a small percentage increase in the price of essential articles of consumption may create hardship which would be considered dangerous. A similar increase in a country where the wage earners get much higher wages, would not cause any great harm to the people concerned. They will not have to deny themselves of anything that they urgently needed for the reason that their incomes were large enough to cover such increases of prices. Enquiry into the causes of rising prices show that our government's inflationary policy was one of the main reasons for rises in the price level. The quantity of money in circulation now is about 400 per cent higher than what it was in 1956.

Avoidable Noise

Hardly anybody makes any conscious effort to reduce noise in India. Pedestrians shouting confidences to one another, revellers singing out of tune at street corners, motor vehicles specially fixed to make the maximum noise, fake or genuine devotees yelling to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals to proclaim the divinity of this or that avatar or incarnation, processionists loudly pronouncing their objectives in well worded slogans, crowds standing in front of office buildings demanding bonus or the dismissal of their betes noires in chorus and so on and so forth, not counting pie dogs that keep on barking throughout the night, workmen who begin their hammering

in the early hours of the dawn, ladies disagreeing with other members of the fair sex, hawkers hawking, taxis blowing on their offensive horns and the customary din made by rumbling tram cars, road rollers and exuberant school children. We had occasion to go to a bank recently. Here the workers and the clients were discussing matters financial so lustily that one thought one was in the stock exchange on a busy day. One had to speak loudly in order to be heard, as everybody else was talking, in a high pitch.

The creation of all this noise is mainly unnecessary and quite easily avoidable. Only nobody makes the least effort to lessen the uproar. One can easily make laws prohibiting vehicles from using loud horns and having open exhausts. Laws can be made too making it illegal for processionists or bargainers to shout slogans. Kirtan parties can be allowed to sing inside their rooms during officially fixed hours which will safeguard the health of the neighbours. Hawkers can be gagged too and school children taught to be considerate of other people's right to live in a peaceful atmosphere. Policemen should advice pedestrians to converse in a less ear splitting tone. But the main thing is a question of developing a civilised outlook. People must learn to appreciate the value of a peaceful way of life. They must not think that noise has a divinity of its own.

Health of West Bengal Ministry

Latterly people have begun to talk of cracks in the solidarity of the Siddhartha Roy Ministry of West Bengal. Mutually antagonistic groups are reported to be forming within the Ruling Congress Party of the state. The present ministry which succeeded the government under President's rule was formed in Delhi with the help of the All India Congress Committee; and the reported cracks too, people say, have their origin in the central organisation. Mr. Roy, unlike Dr. Roy who was a natural born leader of men, can

not, it seems, command a staunch and unwavering following. It would appear that some people who are apparently Siddhartha Roy's supporters are also engaged in activities about which Mr. Roy is not fully informed. This sort of thing, of course happens, and one can not conclude that the ministry will fall because of these activities of a few persons at various levels. But these are dangerous symptoms which should be carefully examined by Mr. Roy and he should take such action as would maintain the unity and solidarity of the ministry. Mr. Roy has good knowledge of the forces which are active in the field of anti-Congress(R) activities. He also knows who among his colleagues are likely to be friendly with these elements. He should therefore see to it that these probable defectors from the Ruling Congress camp are not given charge of important work in his cabinet. He should also try to strengthen his following by constructive work of real benefit to the people.

Bhasani Wants a United Bengal

Generally speaking Moulana Bhasani of Bangladesh is a follower of the Chinese Communists. During the massacre of the Bengalis in Bangladesh the Chinese not only supplied arms to the West Pakistanis but also sent some military experts to assist them in their work of murder, rape and arson. These Chinese experts actively helped the Pakistani murderers. Moulana Bhasani's call therefore to have a United Bengal is nothing but an attempt at creating a breach in the body of India and also for bringing disunity between India and Bangladesh. His words have a strong flavour of Chinese inspiration and should be treated as such. Bhasani is the leader of hooligans, Razakars, Al Badars and Muslim Leaguers in Bangladesh and he wants to destroy the Mujibur Rehman Government of that country in order to force Bangladesh to rejoin Pakistan. He is an enemy of India, of Bangladesh and of freedom and democracy.

THE APOSTLE OF THE EAST IN ENGLAND

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

When Rammohun Roy sailed for England from Calcutta on the 15th of November, 1833 in the *Albion* accompanied by his foster-son, Rajaram Roy and two Hindu servants, Ram Ratan Mukherjee and Ramhari Das, he was more than an emissary of the titular Emperor of Delhi, Akbar the Second,—he was an apostle of the East to the ‘Far West’, an emissary of his countrymen, specially the peasants and the women-folk to the land of freedom. It was for a socio-cultural contact with England that Rammohun wanted to cross the *kalapani*—a culpable offence to the orthodox Hindus of those days and even as far back as 1817 he wrote to his friend, Digby expressing his desire for such a visit. As there was a violation of the contract on the part of the East India Company the Delhi Emperor wanted to elevate Rammohun’s position by endowing him with the title of ‘Raja’. But when Raja Rammohun sought recognition of the appellation from the Governor-General in writing, he received a letter of refusal from the Government on 15th of January, 1830: “Government can neither recognise your appointment as Envoy on the part of the King of Delhi to the Court of Great Britain, nor acquiesce in His Majesty’s grant of a title to you, on the occasion of that appointment.”

What the East India Company grudged him, the British Government gracefully endorsed. He was India’s “Raja” to the British public and their Government. However, the Governor-General of India gave Raja Rammohun letters of introduction as

noted in Mr. J. Young’s letter to Jeremy Bentham introducing the Hindu Reformer to the great thinker of the West: “It is no small compliment to such as a man that even a Governor-General like the present,...who knows that Rammohun Roy greatly disapproves of many of the acts of the Government, should have shown him so much respect as to furnish him with introductions to friends of rank and political influence in England.” David Hare also wrote to his brothers in Bedford Square to help Rammohun in every respect.

However, the uncrowned King of India did not need any introduction. The herald of Indian Renaissance, the Crusader against Suttee Rites and the Propagator of English Education in India was already known to the people of England. His tract called “The Precepts of Jesus” published in London in 1823 and his translations of the Vedas made him famous. His views on and exposition of Christianity made him appear as a convert and many in England believed him as such. (Miss Mary Carpenter, the famous biographer of the Raja in England has tried in the book entitled, “The Last Days in England of the Raja Rammohun Roy” edited by her, to prove him a Unitarian Christian.) So when he landed at Liverpool on the 18th April, 1831, he was received with enviable honour and enthusiasm. Among the many dignitaries who honoured him on his arrival was William Rathbone who suggested lodging at his residence which Rammohun politely declined and stayed at Radley’s Hotel. William Roscoe,

the celebrated historian of the Medici, who was already impressed by Rammohun's Christian writings was highly pleased to meet the Raja, even in his paralytic state. The interview was arranged by Mr. Roscoe's three sons who came to Rammohun conveying their father's "affectionate greetings."

After a short stay at Liverpool he started for London via Manchester as he was anxious to be present in the third reading of the Reform Bill then on the floor of the House of Commons. On the strength of a letter of recommendation from Mr. Roscoe to Lord Brougham with whom Rammohun forged great intimacy because of his progressive outlook on education and slavery, arrangements were made for a seat for the Raja in the House but he could not be present when the Bill was passed because he was a bit too late to arrive through driving to the wrong hotel. The people of England were convulsed with anxiety over the safe passage of the Bill and when it was passed in spite of strong opposition from the aristocrats Rammohun shared their joy. In a letter to William Rathbone he wrote, "Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world." Because the success of the Bill meant a reformed Parliament, freedom of the slaves, and education of the people.

His stay in London was packed with a conglomeration of activities. Apart from meeting great personalities like Sir Henry Stratchey, Sir Charles Forbes and Jeremy Bentham (who came down to the hotel where the Raja was residing on arrival in London), he attended Unitarian Chapels whenever he found an opportunity. At one such congregation he discussed the "difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian

Christianity." A biographer of Rammohun alludes to his attending Mr. Grundy's Unitarian Chapel at Liverpool where, after the sermon, he addressed the congregation and attained wide acclamation.

Though, in his own words, his visit to Europe was occasioned by his desire to obtain "a more thorough insight to its manners, customs, religion and political institutions," he accorded top priority to his presence in the meeting of the Privy Council on 11th July, 1832, which rejected an appeal to the King in Council by the orthodox Brahmins for the continuation of the Suttee rites. The East India Company's Charter renewed in 1813 was also to come up for consideration and Rammohun's only hope in this regard was to safeguard the rights and privileges of his countrymen. He gave evidence before the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons on Indian affairs through "communications" to the Board of Control, which were incorporated in the Select Committee's Reports of 1831, 1832 and 1833. The sundry weighty observations of Rammohun on the Revenue and Judicial systems of India, such as codification of laws and separation of powers of the judges and magistrates, and his plea for quickening of the legal proceedings and stationing of suddar amins at suitable places to reduce distances between courts, and amelioration of the condition of the ryots, among other things, "paved the way for the foundation of the liberal school of politics in India and the gradual development of self-governing institutions in response to public demands." The East India Company was transformed from a mercantile organisation to a political one.

The King felicitated him on the occasion of the Coronation and of the opening of the London Bridge. He was also honoured by the East India Company with a dinner.

But his stay in London was memorable to numerous people who came into contact with this affable and sociable son of Bengal. As Mrs. Davison, wife of Rev. D. Davison under whose care Rammohun placed his foster-son, writes, "For surely never was there a man of so much modesty and humility. I used to feel quite ashamed of the reverential manner in which he behaved to me."

It was during his lodging with the family of David Hare that he came into contact with Dr. Lant Carpenter who wrote an interesting memoir of him. Dr. Carpenter had a ward in Miss Castle, the only daughter of Mr. Michael Castle, a highly reputed Bristol merchant, whose death, followed by his wife's, left his daughter to Dr. Carpenter's charge. At this country house at Stapleton Grove lived Miss Castle and her aunt Miss Kiddell who

considered it honourable to receive the Raja and were highly glad when early in September 1833 Rammohun came there, accompanied by Miss Hare, daughter of David Hare to seek solitude after the crowded life of London. According to Miss Mary Carpenter, on 11th September a large party was invited to meet the Raja at Stapleton Grove. On two successive Sundays the Raja worshipped at Lewin's Mead Chapel. But on 18th he was suddenly taken ill with high fever. Delirium followed and this rung down the curtain on the glorious life of the Indian savant on the 27th. On the 18th October he was buried in a secluded spot whence on 29th of May, 1843 his last remains were taken to Arno's Vale and cremated there. Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore erected a tomb on his grave the following year. The Vale is now a sacred haunt of all lovers of freedom.

SUPERSESSION OF MUNICIPAL BODIES IN INDIA

PRATAP SINGH

Municipal bodies are subject to legislative, judicial and administrative control. The legislature and the courts, however, come into the picture occasionally, the former when any law has to be enacted or changed and the latter when any action of the government or the municipal authority is challenged in a court of law on legal grounds. It is the executive government only that has to deal with the municipal authorities continuously in their day-to-day administration. There is no branch of municipal administration which does not come within the range of administra-

tive control. The Municipal Acts are crowded with over-riding powers of the State Government in respect of various branches of municipal administration. The Municipal Accounts Codes and the Rules have been so designed as to leave little initiative with the municipal authorities. The elected representatives of the people are unable to bring into full play local interest and initiative because of the mass of controls, checks and counter-checks which hedge municipal administrative activity. The government control and the absence of any agency to provide timely

guidance and assistance has meant in practice that the municipal bodies are frequently hauled up for punishment whenever they make mistakes. Apart from the routine work, the activities of the Local Government Department are generally confined to entertaining complaints, considering the removal of elected members and residents and the supersession of municipalities.

Of all the powers the State Government exercises over the municipal councils, the power to supersede could properly be described as "a sledge hammer type of power."¹ On supersession of a council the municipal Councillors including the President and the Vice-President have to vacate their seats and their functions are performed by an administrator appointed by the State Government. Supersession of a municipal council means the supersession of the people's rights of self-governance since a municipal council is as much a representative body of its area as the State Legislature is of the State as a whole.

In India supersession of municipal councils is very frequently resorted to by the State Governments.² The view that if a municipal council abuses its powers or is considered incompetent to perform its functions, it should be superseded is mistaken. "Mankind has not yet and cannot ever contrive a fool-proof legislature or, for that matter, any human organisation. If that were so, the judiciary would not have declared so many state and even parliamentary acts ultra-vires of the constitution. The decisions of the High Courts are sometimes rescinded by the Supreme Court. Many actions of the bureaucrats who, as a class, tend to regard themselves as the acme of wisdom and uprightness, happen to invite the disapproval of the judiciary."³ A municipal council duly elected by the freely expressed

choice of the people should not be superseded on vague charges of incompetence or charges of abuse of powers.

The municipal councils are in fact in most cases superseded on political grounds. Those municipal councils where the interests of the party in power are safe, escape regulatory action even if they are in a worse state of administration as compared to some others which get superseded. Supersession of municipal councils on political grounds is amply proved by the fact that judicial decisions in most of the cases have gone against the State Governments. For instance, the orders of Haryana Government superseding the Municipal Councils of Fatehabad, Karnal, Kaithal, etc. were quashed by the High Court. In the case of Kalka Municipal Council, Haryana Government had superseded the council on flimsy grounds. But the council filed a writ petition in the High Court. While the Court was hearing the case, the Government withdrew its order of supersession since it apprehended adverse remarks from the High Court on its action. This clearly shows that the council had been superseded for political reasons and not for administrative incapacity.

The municipal councils are quite often kept under supersession for inordinately long periods. There are some municipal councils in some States which were superseded as far back as 1966. Since then the State Governments have not taken any steps to hold elections and to restore the democratic working of these councils. Elections to the superseded councils are postponed to suit the political convenience of the party in power. For instance, elections to the Hisar Municipal in Haryana which have been due since a long time are not being held, the opposition group being more powerful there than the party in power, i. e. Congress. This

is not a very healthy way of dealing with the democratic institutions.

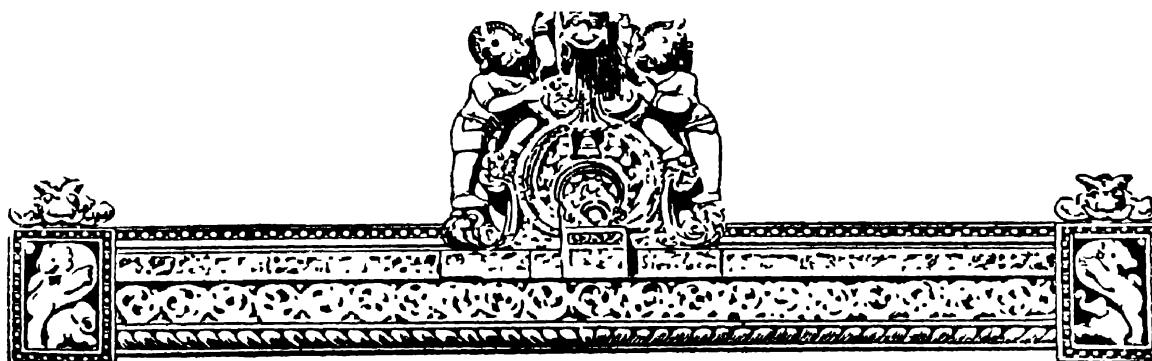
Supersession of municipal councils is no satisfactory remedy for the maladies from which they suffer. The appointment of an administrator to carry on the functions of the council may be viewed as a drastic and timely treatment of an ailment but no such remedy should become a part of normal routine in dealing with the municipal bodies. The incompetence of the municipal councils to perform their functions is largely due to the faulty structure which provides the administrative frame-work for the working of municipal bodies. This structure contains many inherent defects, such as the absence of strong and independent executive, undue interference by the elected members in executive matters, inefficient and unqualified municipal personnel, inadequate resources, losses due to improper assessment and collection of taxes and wasteful expenditure. Unless these defects are removed through structural changes it cannot be expected of a municipal council to perform its duties efficiently and effectively.

Dissolution : The Government should do away with the power of supersession of municipal bodies and provide for their dissolution in the event of substantiated complaints of gross mal-administration. Dissolution is a less drastic step than supersession. Dissolution means the cutting short of the life of

the guilty council and ordering fresh elections. It is thus a sort of appeal to the electorate to return better representatives than the previous ones. This will have "a more salutary effect on the elected representatives in the council who would have to undergo the expense and strain of another election as well as face the dissatisfied local citizens."¹

But even the power of dissolution should be held in reserve and used rarely as a last resort after all means of advice and persuasion have been exhausted. Dissolution of municipal councils should take place only with the approval of the State Legislature. The statute which creates municipal councils and gives them all their powers is enacted by the people's representatives in the State Legislature. Logically, therefore, it is that body alone which should decide whether a municipal council should be dissolved or not.

1. V. Venkata Rao : *A Hundred Years of Local Self-Government in Assam*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 520.
2. In Haryana about one-third of the total number of municipal committees are at present under supersession.
3. Shriram Maheshwari : *Local Government in India*, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 318-319.
4. Report of the Seminar on Municipal Government in India, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1965, p. 21.



THE TOWN PORT BLAIR AND ITS CELLULAR JAIL

SUDHENDU CHANDA

Introduction :

The town of Port Blair is a completely hilly place. Standing on the top of the cellular jail, one will find more than a dozen islands in the neighbourhood at a distance of about three to five miles from one another. The town looks very beautiful from a distance—densely covered with groves of coconuts coming down to the water's edge, varied here and there with other trees and habitation. In many parts there are innumerable rocks and coral reef running at some distance from the shore, whilst the surf breaks at a further distance, which can be seen. The surrounding waters are studded in many directions with numerous small islets, many of them exceedingly pretty and picturesque in appearance, rising as they do like beautiful oases in the wild waste of the ocean that lashes their rocky shores. All of them are clothed with the richest tropical vegetation.

The layout of the town is in an isthmus surrounded on all sides by the Bay of Andaman and the gently undulating character of the land with a mosaic of beautiful wooden houses, winding roads through ups and downs and the wonderful interplay of land and sea and also the cosmopolitan nature of the town with different types of people and their cultural activities grace this town with unique charms.

Port Blair, the Headquarters of Andaman and Nicobar islands Administration and also the hub of the economic activities of the whole of the Andaman and Nicobar groups of Islands, had not been given the definition of

an urban centre till 1950. It is only in 1951 Census that Port Blair has been treated as an urban centre and in all the previous Census, Port Blair was considered as the name of a geographical region which had a number of villages (Nos. 9) and the administrative headquarter was more correctly in the settlement of Aberdeen within Port Blair. According to 1961 Census, this urban area has a population of 14,075, out of which 8,946 are males and 5,129 females, respectively with a density 46.30 per Sq. mile. The size of the town is 3.04 Sq. miles and it is in the South Andaman Tashil. According to its population, Port Blair classifies as a class IV town. It consists of nine villages namely, Chatham, Haddo, Buniababad, Phoenix Bay, Junglighat, South Point, Shadipur, Aberdeen and Aberdeen Bazar. Port Blair is the only developed town with good roads and the town has macadamized roads for nearly 100 Km. with 23 State Transport Buses. A ferry service operates twice daily between Port Blair, Chatham and the neighbouring islands and once in a week between the other distant islands.

Historical Account :

The situation of Port Blair is in the South-eastern part of South Andaman and is 780 miles from Calcutta, 740 miles from Madras, 390 miles from Rangoon and 120 miles from Car Nicobar. The selection of the spot which is relatively distant as compared to the other parts of the islands from the main land of India was made in 1788 and was named as

Port Cornwallis, after the name of one of the three Investigators who came over to these islands to investigate into the possibilities of the establishment of a penal colony. Such a selection was partly due to the physical conditions as it provided a very good harbour for the facilities of building up a port and also for being situated in the east coast which had saved this area from the direct impact of the South-West monsoon.

Owing to the activities of Malay pirates and the desire to found a penal colony, Lord Cornwallis sent Lt. Colebrook and Lt. Blair to survey the islands in 1788 and to write a report as to their suitability for colonization. The wrecks and visits of various vessels to the islands involved their crews in affrays with the Andamanese which ended in a general massacre. To prevent this and to establish a penal colony, necessitated by the Mutiny, Government reported that a comprehensive report to be submitted on the islands by a special committee headed by Lord Cornwallis. In 1789, the first settlement was established on Chatham island at Port Cornwallis, now called Port Blair, consisting of a free colony. In 1792, the settlement was transferred to North-east harbour, now called Port Cornwallis, which owing to its vastly superior harbour was excellent for the fleet. This, however, proved to be very unhealthy and a high mortality rate caused the settlement at Port Cornwallis to be abolished. The idea of making the settlement a penal colony was first entertained when it moved to the northern harbour. The settlement was cleared but no mention of it was made for several years. In 1857, Port Blair was selected as the best site for the establishment of a penal settlement.

The town Port Blair was first settled by the people from outside and afterwards a dispersal in population was urged which necessarily created a number of agricultural

villages. Hence, the villages in South Andaman are all located in and around Port Blair with adequate facilities of communication.

Formerly the Ross island in the east of Port Blair, off the Cellular Jail, was the Administrative Headquarter of the Government and the seat of the Chief Commissioner. The location of the seat of the Chief Commissioner in such an island off the mainbody was obviously due to security purpose. But since the reoccupation in 1945, the island has been abandoned completely because of the following factors :--

- (1) Since the reoccupation, the Andamans changed into a free colony and as such the question of security was removed and the position of the headquarter in such an island off the mainbody created difficulties in communications and in consequence in administration.
- (2) Crack developed over the island due to the earthquakes and a physical sinking of it was also noticed. It was suggested by the Geologists that no further development plan of the island should be made and the existing houses in the island will also be destroyed in the near future.

This Ross Island has now been transformed into the Navy Headquarter. One can find many interesting things in that island, such as, the Bungalow of the then Chief Commissioner, swimming pool, a beautiful flowers garden, a fruits garden, a small zoo, etc. On the whole, the island looks very beautiful in contrast to its surrounding scenery. One can visit that tiny island on obtaining permission from the Chief Commissioner. A ferry service operates once in a week between Port Blair and Ross.

Chatham :

It is an oval shaped island situated on the North-western corner of Aberdeen Bazar and

the only interesting thing to see is the Chatham Saw Mills, set up by the Britishers in 1926 and is one of the largest saw mills in Asia. These saw mills occupy more than half of the island and are the only source of electricity supply. The wooden jetty of the island was constructed in 1926. This small island is connected with Haddo by an wooden bridge, built in 1892. Here also lies the famous Wimco match factory.

Haddo :

It is a very thinly populated residential zone and almost all the houses are Government owned. Houses are located along both the sides of the main road in a linear pattern and it seems that the development definitely followed a systematic plan. A few labour barracks as well as a tourist home and a guest house are found in Haddo. There are two water tanks namely, the Jhawar Sorovar with storage capacity 1.5 mg. and another small reservoir having capacity 1.5 mg. which due to their limited capacity are capable of serving only a small area and also for a short period. Water in these tanks get exhausted in the dry season and the entire burden of supplying the town falls on Dilthaman Tank, situated in Junglighat. The Diwan Singh Gurudwar and the Krishnaswami Temple, both are situated on the Haddo road.

Junglight :

Is a well organised village in which all offices are located. Post Office and the Aberdeen Police Station also stand by the side of main road. Junglighat jetty is found on the southern part of the village. South of this village lies the village Nayagaon and Lambaline. Port Blair air port is situated in Lambaline. This air port was first constructed by the British and than by the Japanese during the World War II and after independence it was again reconstructed by our Government.

This air port is not a good one as it lies in a so called valley.

Phoenix Bay :

In the middle of Port Blair lies the village Phoenix Bay. It is situated in the South-Western corner of the Aberdeen Bazar. A guest house is situated on the west corner of the village. In the south of the village, is a big residential zone of the so called 'Local Borns' and the Burmans. A Roman Catholic Church was established in this village in 1944.

South Point :

In the south-east corner of Port Blair lies the biggest coconut plantations which are developed by the convicts. The centre of wireless and telegraph as well as Civil Wireless station—all are situated in this South Point.

Delianapur :

It is an unimportant village and lies in the south of Haddo. But it is a residential zone of employees only.

Aberdeen :

The main economic hub of the town is in Aberdeen which is lying at the central position of the town. The arrays of big shops, hotels and restaurants, the only cinema hall, Mountbatten Talkie, Andaman Club, Bengalee Club—the Atul Smriti Samity, the Karala Sangam, some religious centres like—Radha Govinda Temple, Ramkrishna Mandir, Musafir Khana, Jamina Mosque etc. are all radiated from the clock-tower at the junction of three main roads. What is seen in this area—is clean pucca roads, with adequate electrification and on its both sides are quite big shops, picturesque double storeyed wooden houses and a good market. The cosmopolitan character is evidenced in such a small town in her different types of people and their characteristic manifestation, the local borns

having big business shops, the Burmans with their small shops of sea-shells and other things, the Madrasi with big hotels and the Bengalee with a very few small shops. In the fringe of this business centre has developed a residential zone with the thickest density of population. Almost all double storeyed wooden houses are owned by the Local Borns, while the smaller ones belonged to the Mapillas and the Burmans. Just in front of Andaman Club and on the eastern corner of the Aberdeen lies the Marine Park and the Gymkhana ground.

Altantic Point :

In the North-east corner of the town lies the world famous Cellular Jail—the abode of thousands of political prisoners who fought for the freedom of India and many of them were hanged and there were many thousands criminals. It is the biggest three storeyed building in the Andaman Island, having seven wings with 970 rooms radiating out from a central pivot. Till 1942, 11300 prisoners were admitted to this Jail. The history of the past days of the prisoners are still lingering in the mind of the people and augment the horror regarding the jail as well as the island.

The word 'Cellular' had its origin in the model of construction of the jail, which was constructed during the British Regime, after the Mutiny i. e. 1892-1896.

There are no associate barracks in this jail, the whole construction being of the Cellular type. The jail consists of seven wings each containing a separate cell for each prisoner, with a common verandah running in front of the cells. The construction of this jail is after a peculiar fashion and there is no similar type of jail building in any part of the Indian Union. Originally, it was essentially meant to shelter convicts sentenced to transportation for life and other long-term political prisoners.

The jail has a tower in the centre, which is known as the 'Central Tower', and from this tower, seven wings diverge to different directions. Each wing has three storeys, including the ground floor and each storey contains an equal number of cells, say about 40 cells in each. This one wing contains about 120 cells and the whole jail had at one time 970 cells excluding the hospital accommodation.

Formerly, the convicts from the mainland, transferred for custody in this jail, were retained in the jail for a period of three months only, this being treated as probationary. After expiry of this period, they were sent to outlying areas and kept in camps supervised by the jail staff. They were allowed to import their families from mainland at Government expense and they were granted free access and entry in the villages and were given work to do, which was to their own liking and aptitude. New arrivals from the mainland as well as the local prisoners were kept in the Cellular Jail proper. The outside campus were under the supervision of Jailors and Deputy Jailors, whereas in the cellular jail, the Chief Executive was the Chief Jailor, and the senior Head Warder was known as the Chief Head Warder.

In 1942, when these islands were invaded by the Japanese the building was bombed and damaged in several places. During their occupation (1942-45) the Japanese demolished two wings, Nos. 3 and 4 and used the bricks to build themselves slit trenches in various parts of the islands. Nature also contributed its share, when a severe earthquake on the 26th June, 1941, shook the buildings and also caused damage, in the central tower, one Headwarder on duty lost his life.

After reoccupation, the buildings were examined by the engineers and were declared unsafe. The Administration finally decided

that another District Jail should be built and this one abandoned, but so far, the new jail has not come into being, and this one is still being utilised.

For the present, only Wing No. 1 is being used as jail, and all prisoners, who are in the main local inhabitants, are being kept in this wing. Since the time that transportation for life has been changed to imprisonment for life, no prisoner from the mainland of India has been sent to these islands. The prisoners are allowed indoor and outdoor games. They are being initiated into the habit of reciting prayers in a community way at the time of locking-up, and unlocking. They are also being taught the Hindi language, under the able guidance of one of the convicts who has more or less mastered the language. Mottoes beneficial to the prisoners are painted on the walls of Wing No. 1, where most of the prisoners reside.

At times, documentary films are shown to the prisoners and recently they have been provided with a radio receiver, with extension speaker, to provide entertainment to them during their recreation and leisure hours.

As the number of prisoners is very limited, and is constantly varying, only a very few can be made available for work in the jail factory. However, the cane and coir industries have been introduced, the prisoners now make cane chairs, baskets etc. and coir rope, coir doormats. These are being

supplied to Government departments on indent and to the public on order. In addition to the above, woodwork and iron work are also being taught.

The Cellular Jail is a painful memory. One can recall the days when our freedom fighters passed their painful days in the midst of such loneliness of this jail's cells. Besides, the dug outs on the way to Corbyn's Cove beach remained one of this phase in this island's history.

There is hardly any word or colour which can give a full description of the true beauty of the town of Port Blair. When the ship is still at a considerable distance from Port Blair, the passenger's attention is drawn to the high pinnacle of Radha Govinda Temple and the flapping National Flag hoisted on the top of the tower of the Cellular Jail. The green islands in a blue sea with such background seems to beckon 'Welcome' to the passengers.

The Cellular Jail and the Radha Govinda Temple offer two contradictory feelings to a visitor. The Cellular Jail bears the memory full of tears and sigh of persons who were imprisoned for life. Many of them could not go back to their motherland and breathed their last in the remote corner in the cell of the jail. So, the Cellular Jail fills the visitor's mind in general with repulsive feeling, whereas the sight of the Temple fills it with spiritual feelings and gives the visitors a feeling akin to being at home.

HOW TO RESTORE THE LOST SENSE OF VALUES

S. K. ADHIKARI

In the current turmoil of the world the young generation of the country is at the cross-roads. It cannot correctly choose the path to be followed. While most of the progressive nations of the East and the West are achieving a lot in the spheres of science, technology, literature, fine arts etc. India is lagging far behind. In spite of her independent status lasting over a quarter of a century, the promises and pious wishes of the leaders of the country have not borne the desired fruit. Frustration has played havoc and the young generation is seized with the evils of doubt, lack of self-confidence and utter hopelessness. Young men and women have lost faith in their own ability and have no moral courage worth the name. They have practically de-valued all that have been the proud possession of this great country for ages.

The fact remains that India has been the abode of peace and happiness from time immemorial. The Materialistic West has always looked at the spiritualistic East (India in particular) for soothing her aching heart and restless soul. Eminent Orientalists like Prof. Max Muller have considered it to be their sacred duty to divert the attention of the peace-hungry Westerners to the wise East. India too in her own humble way has rendered yeoman service by teaching and guiding the restless souls and actually helping them to find solace, mental quiet or salvation of the soul.

India may have lagged behind in the field of modern science and technology. The reason is not far to seek. Never before has India laid much importance to material advancement, physical comfort and earthly enjoyments. She has run, not after the shadow but after the substance. Her motto has always been abstinence. 'True happiness lies in sacrifice and never in aggrandisement.' This age-old teaching has entered into the marrow of the Indian body-politic. However contemptuously the people of the West may decry Indian culture, Indians as a race have so long turned a deaf ear to all adverse criticism. The Indians have believed in the cult of devotion to truth, love and affection for mankind and duty to humanity. 'Service before self' has been her only ideal or mission. She has all through the ages stood by the down-trodden. The cult of Non-violence which has been put up to the Indian people by the father of the nation as the panacea for all ills is as old as Indian civilization itself. Prof. Max Muller's immortal lecture on "what India can teach us (Europeans)" bears testimony to India's being most richly endowed with all wealth and power and beauty that Nature can bestow.

Unfortunately India is currently not what she should have been. The century and a half old western education has indirectly affected our normal tendencies. One cannot copy greatness. We too have learnt to copy

the defects of the Western people. Some eminent thinkers of the country who have drunk deep of western thought have used many words of caution, but to no effect. The so-called educated people have rather turned foreigners in their own home-land. Many too have totally forgotten that they are descended from a great and noble stock and that they are the inheritors of an ancient and much-respected civilization and culture. There is nothing wrong in keeping the windows of our mind open. There is nothing regrettable in accepting or welcoming what is truly useful and good and what is based on science or religion. The excess of both conservatism and liberalism is bad. This gives rise to problems that cannot be satisfactorily solved.

The sub-continent with her teeming millions and thousand and one perplexing problems has been placed in an awkward position. The Government in power, however stable it might be, finds its immensely difficult to cope with the situation. The question of indiscipline and unrest among the younger section has been the cause of headache of men at the helm. Some men of light and leading of the country after studying the problem with the care and attention it deserves have concluded that conservatism, lack of energy and enthusiasm to attend to the day to day problems of the youth, the practice of adherence to old, worn-out and practically useless syllabi and system of examination etc. stand in the way of fulfilling their aspirations, and naturally these have resulted in creating a chaotic atmosphere at every step of our life.

Indian civilization and culture are based on the firm foundation of religion and spiritualism. From birth to death whatever we do has got some religious sanctions. Indian culture and broad out-look are synonymous terms. Indians as a race have breathed in religion, lived in religion, died in religion.

Fanaticism, narrowness, ill-will, coercion etc. have no room in Indian civilization and culture. But the tragedy is that the present generation has said good-bye to all the national virtues and has put in its energy to imitate or import all that is foreign to the genius of the country.

If we want to restore our position—(and we should leave no stone unturned to do it)—our first step should be to turn our attention to the fundamental principles of Indian civilization and culture and the broad-based ideas on religion. The great problem of "How to live" will be solved if we can induce the young generation to cultivate love for humanity and to practise 'service before self'.

Ours is a secular state. The constitution of the country clearly states that no religion or cult is to be imposed on anybody ; every citizen is entitled to religious freedom. But religious freedom does not mean absence of religion in toto. What is essential is that the rising generation must be inspired to study and appreciate the broad principles of all religions prevailing in the country. The student community should be so guided that they may keep faith in the adage : 'work is worship'. Constructive work based on a more or less flawless planning is the natural demand ; and in the spirit of service alone lies the hope of this vast country.

It is painful, no doubt, to think in the vein : "what a fall was (is) there, my countrymen !" While in woe and despair we cry to eminent leaders dead or gone : 'Leaders, you should be living at this hour !' We wish that after the prevailing turmoil, at the end of this interlude, the youth who can make or mar, who will be the torch-bearers to the nation as a whole, may get at the truth, the ever-lasting faith, sense of values, joy, peace, happiness etc. Until and unless they can believe that there is joy in the sun-shine of true knowledge, in

humanitarian activities and, above all, in showing respect and reverence to elders and superiors, in obedience to laws and discipline, in love and spirit of service, the glory that was Ind can never be had back. The entire nation will be relegated to the stage of savagery or even worse than that of angry brutes.

The restoration of the lost sense of values demands a fine system of education. The current system cannot be changed over-night. But a lot can be done in over-hauling the syllabi. Love for religion or ethical principles can be developed by and by through the lessons imparted in schools and colleges. The study of the biographies and auto-biographies of great men of all walks of life must be included in the syllabus. The secret of developing the undeveloped and under-developed countries must be brought home

to the student community. The practical aspect of education should receive top priority. The training should be so imparted that slowly but steadily the young generation may sift the good from all complexities and may work out its own salvation. Patience and constant vigilance, alertness and sympathetic attitude will go a long way in reaching the goal. The key figures in such restoration are the members of the teaching community. Backed by the saner section of society, they are expected to work wonders. Will not the saner section come forward and render direct and indirect support towards the return of normalcy in this great country of ours? Will not all men of patriotic spirit rise to the occasion and see that reason and the will of peace-loving people prevail? Sympathy and sane guidance are the desired end.



A HYMN TO SRI AUROBINDO, POET OF SABITRI (ON THE OCCASION OF HIS BIRTH-CENTENARY)

DILIP KUMAR ROY

O thou, illumined by His Light beyond the ken of the reasoning mind,
Who camst to us to elucidate what none before thee had defined,
Who attainedst to summit-vision scaling viewless heights, we bow to thee
In fervent acclaim of thy aspiration for Eternity'

Thou sangst : "To the anthem of the stars despondent earth's night shall awake
And the days become a pilgrim march when we for the All our all will stake".

Thou sangst : "The One on high has made this tenement of flesh His own
And cast His image in the human measure our weeping and wailing to disown ;
We are sons of God and must grow to His stature splendid and divine,
Chanting : 'O blessed Lord, in life and death we will for ever be thine'."

Thou sangst : "To the anthem of the stars despondent earth's night shall awake
And the days become a pilgrim march when we for the All our all will stake".

Thou sangst, lone Minstrel : "All that is breathes with His breath, sees with His sight,
We are born in love to hark to His flute, surrendering in love to His Light.
Who hunts for Him His captive grows, nor cries or sorrows evermore :
To those on whom He lays His yoke shall open His golden temple-door".

Thou sangst : "To the anthem of the stars despondent earth's night shall awake
And the days become a pilgrim march when we for the All our all will stake".

"Not in the miracle seats of science will man ever find Salvation's key,
Only His Grace can lead the soul back home to His Vast everlastingly.
Nor is our earthly life a heartless froth and whim of chance, death-bound ;
Earth is the cradle of the gods, the heroic spirits' battleground."

Thou sangst : "To the anthem of the stars despondent earth's night shall awake
And the days become a pilgrim march when we for the All our all will stake".

"An unmet bliss evolves through virtue and sin, joy and catastrophe,
A gleaming paradise calls from harmony to heavenly harmony,
An elysian Force shall flow through tissue and cell till all our thoughts shall be
A rapturous sunglow urging us all to reclaim our lost divinity".

Thou sangst : "To the anthem of the stars despondent earth's night shall awake
And the days become a pilgrim march when we for the All our all will stake".

(To be sung in the tune of "Banga amar" of Dwijendralal)

THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND THE TRIBAL VIEW POINTS

N. D. CHAUDHARY

"We should not over administer these (tribal) areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions." This is one of the five principles, enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru, which have become the fundamentals of an approach to tribal welfare.

Despite the Government's adherence to the above principle, administrative echelon had to be created to administer the socio-economic development programmes for the tribals. In course of time as the administration started functioning, conflicts between the administrative and tribal view points had come to the forefront.

The administration takes into consideration all the scheduled tribes as one homogeneous group for the purpose of their protection and development. Studies have shown that the tribes are at different stages of development and so also their problems differ greatly. Because of uniform treatment of the tribes for all the purposes, the administration missed the bush for the jungle.

The tribe, by and large, live in the small habitations. The habitations are dispersed over a wide area. Sometimes a number of them comprise a village. The village thus covers a large area. The administration takes the village as a unit for work. The so-called administrative unit often cuts-across the socio-cultural boundaries of the tribal groups. The tribals have loyalties to their social institutions. Social groups in tribal society are based on consanguinity. The administration expects

them to get adjusted in the new network of relationships. Eventually the loyalties of the tribals are divided between the two.

The Government of India have carved out, "Tribal Development Blocks" for an intensive development, in the pockets where tribals are concentrated. They receive special help in the form of cash or kind as the case may be. The purpose is to inculcate among them an urge for development. The tribals who happen to live outside these pockets are not entitled to such benefits. It is beyond the comprehension of these tribals as to why the Government is giving them step-motherly treatment. It can be ascertained that the administrative convenience was given priority over the prevailing tribal set up. And the efforts of tribal development appears to be only symbolic.

The tribals used to live in the forest areas. These areas were inaccessible and hence remained isolated from civilization. They were the masters of the forests. Their economy was entirely dependant on the forests. It supplied them with food and shelter. No one prevented them from doing so, for the administration had no means to exploit the forests.

Now the situation has changed. Deforestation and increasing transport and communication facilities had exposed the area to the outside world. The forest department forbids the tribals to make use of the forests in their own way. It restricts them to a limited use, that too with prior permission in the interest of the nation. But this is against the habit of

the tribals, who enjoyed free hand exclusively in all such matters. Eventually conflicting situation between the two emerge.

The customary laws and practices in tribal society are learnt by the tribals while they get socialised. But they are not aware of the social legislation acts, rules and regulations of Government. Thus they are caught in the horns of a dilemma. For example, cases of abduction, running away with the wife of another person, divorce, theft, minor disputes, quarrels etc. were taken to the Panchayat for hearing and decision. The decisions were binding on them. Social justice in the tribal society was at hand and accorded on-the-spot. This practice is suddenly replaced by the new order. What is considered as criminal in the new order may be just customary among the tribals. The world vision of the tribals is very limited so that they are ignorant of what is right in the eyes of others. However, they cannot be guided by their conscience for fear of breaking the law.

The tribals are fond of liquor. They accord an important place to liquor in their socio-cultural and religious life. It is served, as a practice, on festive occasions such as birth, and marriage. It is one of the offerings they make

while propitiating their deities. They prepare it out of Mahua flowers themselves. They do not have to spend any thing for it. The Mahuas grow in abundance in their fields and jungles. They relish fresh Mahuas too. The dried Mahuas are stored and used for distillation. But distillation is an illicit act and use of it is prohibited in the dry areas. The tribals have by now, understood the implications of this traditional practice. But some of them have not yet learnt to do away with it. The conflict between the excise department and the tribals over this issue sometime culminates in harassment. Besides that tribals are fined or put behind the bars for their innocent acts.

The tribal society is therefore at the cross roads. We know very well that traditions die hard. Their orientation to new way of life has not yet been completed. Their ignorance should be removed by educating them. The administration should not be so rigid to exploit their helplessness. Whenever conflicting situations arise because of the tribals customary laws and practices, the administration should study the situation first and make the tribals understand it or else it will become an imposition on them.



DISSOLUTION OF LOK SABHA USE AND ABUSE

BHASKAR CHANDRA DAS

The power of the President to summon, prorogue or dissolve Lok Sabha may be exercised by the Prime Minister, in actual practice, either with or without deliberation by the Cabinet. A suggestion was made in the Constituent Assembly that to guard against arbitrary advice by the Prime Minister for the dissolution of Lok Sabha, it might be enacted that, in case, the Prime Minister desired the dissolution of the House earlier than the completion of the normal term of five years as provided in the Constitution, he should record the reasons thereof in writing. The suggestion was not accepted by the Chairman of the Drafting Committee Dr. B. R. Ambedkar when he said ;

"In the same way, as the King in the United Kingdom does, the President of the Indian Union will test the feelings of the House whether the House agrees that the affairs should be carried on with some other leader without dissolution. If he finds that the feeling was that there was no other alternative except dissolution, he would as a Constitutional President undoubtedly accept the advice of the Prime Minister to dissolve the House. Therefore, it seems to me that the insistence upon having a document in writing stating the reasons why the Prime Minister wanted a dissolution of the House seems to be useless and not worth the paper on which it is written. There are other ways for the President to test the feeling of the House and to find out whether the Prime Minister was asking for dissolution of the

House for bonafide reasons or for purely party purposes. I think, we could trust the President to make a correct decision between the party leaders and the House as a whole".¹

The British Prime Minister enjoys the privilege of asking the Queen to dissolve Parliament at whatever time he regards it as electorally favourable to his party. In 1970, Queen Elizabeth II dissolved the House of Commons on the advice of her Prime Minister Harold Wilson, and fresh elections were held which voted the Conservatives to power. In so far as this is a Political advantage, it is the only one conferred by the British electoral system. All the emphasis in British Constitutional law and practice is practically laid upon securing absolute fairness² between the candidates at an election and securing a genuine expression of the will of the people. Similar right for the Prime Minister might be invoked in India. Dissolution of the popular Chamber before the expiry of its life-tenure is quite common under all parliamentary systems of government. It may be argued as improper for the President to stand in the way of an appeal to the final and supreme authority in a democracy, the electorate, which is a legitimate part of the democratic process under which the Government obtains a mandate or seeks its renewal from time to time. The parties must go to their constituents at intervals to get fresh fuel to run their vehicle of politics.

The Prime Minister can seek a special mandate or choose the most favourable time

in the party interest for mid-term election in order to improve his majority in Parliament to provide an effective and stable Government. Such conventions were equally applicable to India at least after nearly four years of eventful existence of the Fourth Lok Sabha. The weapon of dissolution may be said to be, the power of party leadership to withdraw from rebellious M. P's the party label at the next election. Dissolution may not be an effective intra-party disciplinary weapon.³ It may act as "a deterrent to parliamentary revolt", often saving the Government from defeat by the fear it instils in the back-benchers.⁴ Sir Ivor Jennings feels that it is the "big stickintended never to be used" whose "mere existence" is a "psychological influence" inducing "a private member to remain loyal to the Government".⁵

The President like the British Monarch, may exercise two prerogatives, (1) appointment of the Prime Minister and (2) the dissolution of Lok Sabha. While no advice to the President is possible, it is less so in the case of dissolution. For more than a century, no British monarch has had any occasion to exercise his or her discretion to reject the Prime Minister's advice for dissolution. It is but natural to expect that refusal of dissolution must be backed by a reasonable possibility of formation of an alternative government. This is an onerous responsibility for the Head of the State to take upon himself, since there is a risk of the office becoming involved in party politics, especially if the alternative Government is not stable and a dissolution becomes inevitable. In 1926, the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Byng, after refusing dissolution to Mr. Mackenzie King had to his dismay granted it to his successor Mr. Meigham, Leader of the opposition only a few days later. Thus, it is a risk for the Head of the State. The justifiable constitutional position seems to be that while a Prime Minister with a

clear majority cannot be refused dissolution, it is more likely to be denied to a Prime Minister with a minority in the House, if there is a possibility of alternative Government. In the States, the Governor's refusal to dissolve the Assembly on the advice of a defeated Chief Minister can be justified by discretionary powers. There is also scope for imposition of President's Rule and to keep the Assembly in animated suspension, if an alternative Government could not be formed, after the Governor's refusal of dissolution of the Assembly.⁶ Such accepted practices obtaining in the States cannot equally apply to the Centre. If the President miscalculates the mood of the country while acting at the dictates of his conscience, and if subsequent events prove his decision to have been inexpedient, it damages his neutral position and risks the prestige of the high office. In December, 1970 though Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government was not defeated in the House, the President seems to have been satisfied about the impossibility of an effective alternative Government till 1972, if he was to refuse dissolution to Mrs. Gandhi whose party was in a minority in the House (228 out of 523) and maintained itself in power through ad hoc alliances with the D. M. K. and the C. P. I.

President V. V. Giri dissolved the fourth Lok Sabha on December 27, 1970 and ordered a mid-term poll as soon as possible. This was on the recommendation of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who had called on the President after an emergency meeting of the Cabinet convened by her in the evening. The Opposition was not consulted and was not given a chance to test its strength. The Cabinet met after the Congress Parliamentary Board had a session in the morning to consider the major question of simultaneous elections being held for West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Orissa Legislative Assemblies together with a

mid-term poll for Lok Sabha. The President had accepted the Prime Minister's recommendation after careful consideration. A Rastrapati Bhavan communique revealed that Mrs. Gandhi had first broached the subject to the President on Christmas Eve on her way to the Congress(R) Working Committee meeting, which gave her a mandate to go in for a mid-term poll. The Prime Minister told the President that her only consideration in seeking the dissolution was to enable the Government to implement effectively "the socialist and secular programmes and politics". Half an hour after the Presidential Proclamation; Mrs. Gandhi made a broadcast to the nation to justify her step in recommending Parliament's dissolution on the expected ground that she needed a fresh mandate to be able to implement the Government's policies and programmes⁸. The broadcast was something in the nature of an election manifesto projecting the issues the Congress (R) will employ in the mid-term General Election. Mrs. Gandhi spoke about the Government's unsuccessful efforts to abolish privy purses and alleged that her attempts to accelerate the pace of social and economic reforms had been obstructed by "vested interests" and "reactionary forces". She was taking time by the forelock to recommend "an unusual step to cut through difficulties in order to solve the pressing problems with which the country is beset".

A major issue to be considered is the possible effect of separating elections to Lok Sabha from those of the State Assemblies in the prevailing fluid political situation. Such separation had already occurred to some extent earlier because of mid-term elections in some States, but this cannot be attributed to be an adequate ground for making it a permanent feature of our General Elections. The frequency of elections alternately to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies (besides the by-elections and mid-term State elections) might

lead to a decline in the electorate's interest in the electoral process or may accentuate the tendency to fight State elections on purely local issues and personalities to the exclusion of matters of national interest. The purpose of delinking parliamentary elections from those of the State Assemblies appeared to be the strategy to improve the strength of the Congress(R) and to build up the image of the Prime Minister.

Dissolution puts an end to the longevity of Lok Sabha. Parliament cannot reassemble again until after a General Election. The end of the life of Lok Sabha either by an Order made by the President under Art. 85(2)(b) or on the expiration of the period of five years from the date appointed for its first meeting is termed as "Dissolution of the House of the People". Bills pending in Lok Sabha and pending in Rajya Sabha on the date of dissolution lapse.⁹ All business pending before Lok Sabha or any of its Committees lapse on dissolution.¹⁰ In a nutshell, Dissolution marks the end of Lok Sabha and is followed by the constitution of a new House. But according to Art. 94, the Speaker shall not vacate his office until immediately before the first meeting of Lok Sabha after dissolution.¹¹

The Constitution is silent about the continuance of the Council of Ministers in office. Following the British practice, Mrs. Gandhi's Government was allowed to continue in office even after the dissolution of Lok Sabha on December 27 1970. This was alleged to be a violation of the constitutional mandate contained in Art. 75(3) of the constitution. It was alleged that the President cannot be said to be the agent of the Council of Ministers and he is not bound by their aid and advice. Under Art.(1) the President is the real repository of executive power of the Union which he may exercise in accordance with the

provisions of the constitution of India through officers subordinate to him. British conventions of the unwritten constitution may not be relevant in all respects in the interpretation of the Indian Constitution. Under Art. 75(3), the Council of Ministers is not supposed to outlast the House of the People. The legality of the continuation of the Council of Ministers in India after December 27, 1970 had been challenged in the Supreme Court of India as an appeal against the Madras High Court judgement. A similar appeal against the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. M. Karunanidhi's continuance in office after the dissolution of State Assembly is also the co-joinder to the above appeal. The Supreme Court, has ruled that such continuance is legal and constitutional.¹²

In England, the effect of a dissolution of Parliament and even a prorogation on pending Bills is that they lapse altogether. Art. 107 of the Constitution of India relaxes this rule and saves Bills pending either at the time of dissolution or prorogation. If the passing of a Bill by Lok Sabha is washed out as a result of dissolution or prorogation, the foundation of the proceedings in Rajya Sabha disappears and therefore those proceedings cannot survive. That is why the Constitution provides that a Bill passed by either House or both Houses and pending for the President's assent at the time of either prorogation or dissolution does not lapse by virtue of anything contained in the Constitution.¹³ It does not disable the receiving House from passing the Bill after the lapse of six months, provided the Bill has not lapsed by reason of dissolution or the President has not already notified his intention to convene a joint sitting.¹⁴

The President like other heads of parliamentary forms of government may dissolve Lok Sabha,¹⁵ but Rajya Sabha is not subject to dissolution being the permanent federal

Chamber.¹⁶ He may dissolve Lok Sabha, probably when he is convinced of the impossibility of an alternative Government. In a Parliamentary democracy, dissolution of the popular chamber on the advice of the Prime Minister may be justifiable. But George V refused dissolution to Asquith in 1915. It would, therefore be subversive to contend that the King was always bound to grant a dissolution when asked for by the Prime Minister. In a multi-party system as in India, this power may be exercised in the discretion of the President when the President and Prime Minister belong to different parties and there is clash and conflict between the two. It may also be used to prevent a Parliament from imposing a policy unacceptable to the Government. In such a case, the President is likely to exercise the power on the advice of the Prime Minister. The decision on early mid-term poll in order to improve his party's strength may result in the dissolution of Lok Sabha.¹⁷ This may be termed as a device intended to save democracy in the country. Dissolution of Lok Sabha for holding a mid-term poll in the Parliamentary Constituencies does not automatically bring about dissolution of State Assemblies for holding simultaneous election in the States. Absence of majority of the Congress (R) in Lok Sabha led to a demand by the opposition parties for formation of a National Government at the Centre. National Government has been a War-time necessity and may be formed in times of similar crises or political dangers.

Following was the party position in the dissolved Lok Sabha on December 27, 1970 :

Congress(R)	...	228
Congress(O)	...	65
Swatantra	...	35
Jana Sangh	...	33
DMK	...	24
CPI(M)	...	19

SSP	...	17
PSP	...	15
BKD	...	10
Independents	...	25
Unattached	...	24
Vacancies	...	3

Total (excluding Speaker) 522

After the mid-term General Elections, 1971
the party position came to be as follows :

Total seats	518
Results declared	515
Congress(R)	350
CPI(M)	25
CPI	23
DMK	23
Jana Sangh	22
Congress(O)	16
Telengana Praja Samity	10
Swatantra	
Muslim League	4
SSP	3
RSP	3
PSP	2
Independents & others	26
Total —	515

Three seats in the 518-member House remained to be filled. These were from Ladakh in Jammu & Kashmir and Mandi in Himachal Pradesh (where polling did not take place, being snow-bound at this time of the year) and from Nagpur in Maharashtra (where polling was adjourned due to the death of a candidate).

The Congress(R) had a smashing victory at the polls and came to have an unexpected increase in its strength from 228 to 350. The two-thirds majority secured by the Congress (R) has given an advantage to the Prime Minister. The "Indira Wave" continues unabated. Practically every State run by political parties other than the Ruling Congress has been rocked to their foundations by the mid-term elections for the fifth Lok

Sabha. Mrs. Gandhi emerged as the unchallenged leader of the country and Prime Minister. The pendulum is still swinging. Thus, dissolution of Lok Sabha transformed India's multiparty democracy into a single party dictatorship.

* The author is grateful to Dr. S. C. Dash, President, Indian Political Science Association & Professor & Head of the Post-Graduate Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar for his help and guidance in the preparation of this paper.

1. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, pp. 106-7.
2. Butler, D. E., 1953, The Electoral System in Britain 1918-1951, pp. 5, Oxford.
3. Wisemen, H. V., 1966, Parliament and the Executive : An Analysis with Readings, Pp. 80-3, London.
4. Morrison, Herbert, 1966, Government and Parliament : A Survey from the Inside, pp. 107-110, Oxford.
5. Jennings, W. I., 1957, Parliament, pp. 7 and 136, Cambridge.
6. In November, 1967, the Chief Minister of Punjab apprehending defeat in the Assembly advised Governor, Dr. D. C. Pavate to dissolve the Assembly. But the Governor instead invited Lachman Singh Gill of the Congress-backed Janta Party to form the Government. The Governor claimed that he was not bound by the advice of the out-going Chief Minister to dissolve the Legislative Assembly.
7. The following is the text of the communiqué from Rastrapati Bhavan on the dissolution of the fourth Lok Sabha.

"The Prime Minister met the President on December 24 and conveyed to him the proposal to dissolve the Lok

Sabha. She said that the sole consideration for making this request was the Government's desire to seek a fresh mandate from the people to enable the Government to effectively implement the socialist and secular programme and policies.

"Subsequently, on the same day, some Opposition leaders also met the President.

"The Prime Minister again called on the President in the evening and conveyed to him the Cabinet decision to recommend to the President the dissolution of the Lok Sabha.

"After careful consideration of the matter, the President has accepted the recommendation".

The President signed the order at 9 P. M. on December 27, 1970.

The following is the text of Mrs. Indira Gandhi broadcast :

"There comes a time to the life of a nation when the Government of the day has to take an unusual step to cut through difficulties in order to solve the pressing problems with which the country is beset.

"The present is such a time. Therefore, on the advice of the Council of Ministers, the President has dissolved the Lok Sabha before its full term. In a parliamentary democracy, this is not unusual, but in India it has happened for the first time.

"Why did we do this, when it is conceded on all sides that our Government could have continued in power for another 14 months. It is because we are concerned not merely with remaining in power but with using that power to ensure a better life to the vast majority of our people and to satisfy their aspirations for a just

social order. In the present situation, we feel we cannot go ahead with our proclaimed programme and keep our pledges to our people.

"In the years since independence, the nation has many achievements to its credit—vast and complex industrial enterprises : agrarian reforms, including the abolition of the zamindari system, mass education including substantial expansion of university and technical education : major social reforms and advance in many other spheres particularly in science and technology.

"But despite this progress, many problems still await solution. Millions live in backwardness and poverty in town and countryside. Justice—social, economic and political—which is the basis of our Constitution, is yet a goal to be sought for and attained. Our people are rightly impatient in their ardent desire for a speedier and more resolute advance towards this goal.

"Our recent political initiatives reflect this urge. The decision to nationalize the banks, the setting up the Monopolies Commission and the attempt to abolish privy purses were welcomed by large masses of people throughout the country.

"These attempts to accelerate the pace of social and economic reform have naturally roused the opposition of vested interests. Reactionary forces have not hesitated to obstruct in every possible way the proper implementation of these urgent and vitally necessary measures.

"The present political situation has set in motion a process of rethinking on major political issues within every political party.

"With the division in the Congress we lost our party majority although throughout we have retained the confidence of Parliament. The amendments to the Constitution designed to pave the way to abolish privy purses and princely privileges were lost by a fraction of a vote, in the Rajya Sabha. The Presidential Order derecognizing the princes has been struck down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Economic difficulties and the growing impatience of the people are being exploited by political elements. Violent activities are being organized by extremists. Reactionary groups are arousing communal passions and trying to divide our people. This has often led to a breakdown of law and order and the dislocation of normal life, causing suffering to our people. The challenges posed by the present critical situation can be met only by the proper and effective implementation of our secular socialist policies and programmes through democratic processes.

"Time will not wait for us. The millions who demand food, shelter and jobs are pressing for action.

"Power in a democracy resides with the people. That is why we have decided to go to our people and to seek a fresh mandate from them. We hope that the elections will be completed in time for the new Lok Sabha to assemble in March 1971, well before the end of the current financial year.

"The old year is ending. I wish you—each one of you—a happy new year, a year of renewed hope and common endeavour to realize the great goals which we have set for ourselves. Jai Hind".

Art. 107(5).

10. Several significant measures that the outgoing Lok Sabha was seized with have lapsed with its dissolution and these could be revived in a new House at the expense of much effort and perseverance that went into bringing up the measures to a certain stage towards consummation.

Such a measure is the PSP leader, Mr. Nath Pai's non-official Bill which has been on the anvil for quite some time. Following the Supreme Court judgment in the Golaknath Case the Bill wanted to restore to Parliament the authority to amend any part of the Constitution including the part dealing with the Fundamental Rights.

"There was considerable controversy in the ruling party on the issue of the Bill and it was discussed several times at party level and in the House. It was referred to a joint select committee. After the privy purses case, there was a suggestion that the Government should adopt the Bill and have it passed. But with the dissolution of Lok Sabha, the Bill lapsed.

So is the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Bill on which the House had exhaustive debate more than once. It had gone to a joint select committee too. The main contentions clauses in the Bill were whether a person of the scheduled tribes after being converted to Christianity will continue to enjoy the facilities extended to the scheduled tribes and secondly, whether a few more castes should be added to the list of the scheduled castes. Because a decision could not be reached in the ruling party's conclaves on these issues, passing of the Bill was postponed.

A far more controversial political problem that must be introduced anew in a future Lok Sabha is the one relating

to the Mysore-Maharastra-Kerala border dispute. After much consideration and forethought the subject was broached in the outgoing Lok Sabha in the shape of placing on the table of the House the Mahajan Commission report.

This very act of placing of the report on the table of the House by the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. K. C. Pant had created almost an uncontrollable uproar in the House on the last day of its winter session, making the Speaker to adjourn it. Even then it gave Maharastra an illusory satisfaction. The entire process has to be gone through de novo, should the Government of the day desire that the Mahajan Commission report be considered by Parliament.

Besides, four important legislative measures were referred by the outgoing House to joint select committees which would all lapse as a result of the dissolution of the House.

The most important among them is the Central Excise Bill. The joint select committee was deliberating on it for nearly two years now. It has toured almost the entire country and met industrialists, Traders and their organizations and various chambers of commerce and industry in course of these two years.

Similarly affected will be the Central Sales Tax Bill, the Customs Tariff Bill, and the Election Laws Bill which aims at simplifying election laws. But the forthcoming election will not be able to benefit from the deliberations on the last named Bill.

11. Art. 94, Second Proviso.
12. U. N. R. Rao Vs. Indira Gandhi, AIR, 1971 S. C. 1002 (V. 58 c. 202). The Supreme Court viewed that the Council of Ministers does not cease to hold office even after dissolution of the House of the People.
13. Art. 107(2). It may be interpreted that

a Bill is deemed to have been passed by the Houses of Parliament if it has been passed by both the Houses either with or without amendments as are agreed to by both Houses.

14. During the first Lok Sabha, two Bills, viz., The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill, 1953 and the Railway Stores (Unlawful Possession) Bill, 1954, passed by Rajya Sabha on September 1, 1963 and August 31, 1954, respectively and laid on the table of Lok Sabha on September 3, 1953 and September 2, 1954 respectively were passed by Lok Sabha after an expiry of six months from the dates of receipt of the Bills in Lok Sabha, on August 25, 1956 and December 1, 1955 respectively.

In the case of Purushottaman V. State of Kerala (AIR, 1962, S. C. 694(700), the Supreme Court held that a Bill passed by a Legislative Assembly pending assent of the President does not lapse on dissolution. If such a Bill is returned for reconsideration, the successor House can reconsider it and if it is passed by the successor House (with or without amendment), it will be deemed to have been passed again.

15. Art. 85(2)(b). The Order of the President takes the following form :

O r d e r

In exercise of the powers conferred upon me by sub-clause (b) of Clause (2) of Article 85 of the Constitution I hereby dissolve the Lok Sabha.

The.....19..... President

16. Art. 83 (1).
17. The Lok Sabha Secretariat issued a terse communiqué saying : "The Lok Sabha has been dissolved by the President on Sunday, December 27, 1970.

The Chief Election Commissioner then asked the political parties for a suitable time for a mid-term election before announcing the dates.

REMOVAL OF POVERTY, DISPARITIES AND INJUSTICE

K. C.

If in a society there is no poverty, that is, if all persons in that society get enough food, sufficient clothing, residential accommodation, furniture, bedding etc., necessary medical attention and treatment, education, employment opportunities and social security ; then that society should be considered to be very well organised from the economic view point. One has then to see whether the principle of equality is well maintained in that society. By equality is not meant the forcible conversion of all differences in natural qualities and abilities to a uniform pattern and the compulsory adoption by all persons of the same ways of existence. Some men have great talent in the field of art, literature, science, engineering or law and society needs the services of such extraordinarily qualified persons in certain limited fields of work. These persons being in great demand can obtain high salaries, fees and special privileges ; for without such advantage these men cannot develop their abilities nor render proper service to society in full measure. They need studios, laboratories, libraries, assistants of their own choice, freedom to live and work or to move about as they like and their large earnings are spent mostly after the fulfilment of these needs. There are others who are less talented but have abilities much above the general average and they also can command economic advantages commensurate with their special merits. That is how even in communist societies differences in earnings have come to exist which are often of dimensions expressed by the ratio of 1 : 80. Not all men can be great inventors, scientists, composers, generals, cosmonauts, linguists, surgeons or expounders of law. So in a society which is egalitarian in principle there will always be scope for the employment of special

talents on special terms and conditions. The story of the demon in Greek mythology who stretched the limbs of his guests or cut them down to fit his beds, can be cited as an example of overdoing things in the field of establishing equality. The communistic principle of giving and taking between society and its members by application of the rule "To all according to need and from all according to ability" was discarded by Stalin for the reason that individual needs always exceeded individual ability to produce goods and services in a blatantly noticeable manner. That is, the Russian Communists found that equality was demanded at the receiving end by all persons but that equality was not there when it came to rendering service or producing goods for the benefit of society at large. The principle was therefore changed to "To all according to the value of their work" and differences in earnings came into existence in the economy of the egalitarian state. The other aspects of equality began to receive more attention and people received equal opportunities of education, training, employment etc. and they began to be protected by social security provisions in their laws in a greater measure than ever before. Nobody was made to feel small by reason of the limited nature of his earnings and there were no differences between men on account of some being landlords, employers or wielders of autocratic powers and others being tenants, labourers or mere very ordinary persons who only carry out the orders of those who give commands. In India disparities are found to exist in many spheres other than the economic. There are people of high and low caste, spiritual overlords and the utterly despised untouchables. Then there are representatives of majorities, the

protégés of political leaders and all kinds of persons who can throw their weight about for one reason or another. Parliamentarians, members of Assemblies, municipal councillors, village headmen (of panchayets), temple priests, officers commanding police stations, men who can give employment and so on and so forth. Ordinary persons have to kow tow to these superior beings and they are established everywhere in great numbers. If government wishes to remove poverty without arranging to produce enough wealth to go round in a community of 550 million needy persons, government can also arrange to remove disparities without going to the root of all inequalities. But will that really help to remove poverty and disparities? Government must realise that there are no short cuts in economic or social reform. Nationalisation of a few economic institutions or the fixing of ceilings in urban property owning or rural land holding cannot remove poverty nor do away with glaring disparities in the social system. If we go on to remove injustices we again come up against great obstacles which cannot be easily removed. Exploitation, oppression and denial of human rights can be found in so many forms and shapes that one feels quite helpless when one thinks of establishing justice in all spheres of life. The employers, the buyers, the landlords, the land revenue collectors, the officials who aid and assist the peasants; all mix some injustice with the good that they do to the ordinary man. If one gets some money from court or from any governmental department, one has to wade through breast deep injustice. If one seeks justice by moving the authorities one again has to surmount great barriers of injustice.

Those who complain about the injustice they have to face quite often try to seek a remedy in counter-injustice of a kind which is much more intolerable than what they have

initially experienced. The injustice that students complain about are sought by them to be rectified by adoption of immoral practices in examination halls, by beating up invigilators and by insulting their teachers and the senior university officials. The workers who complain about oppression by their employers indulge in hooliganism and riotous behaviour as a means of achieving a just settlement of their disputes. Third degree methods used by the police and oppressive tactics adopted by all who are in a position to do so, creates an atmosphere of lawless ways of enforcing the law which cannot be called highly civilised. There are dens of sin of all kinds where the people are taught to gamble, to learn to smoke Ganja and to take to drugs. There are also recruitment centres for people who wish to live by crime and would be pickpockets, wagon breakers and similar aspirants join the gangs which keep up the economy of the under world. Many Ganja smoking centres are set up as Siva temples and these centres do very good business. Immoral acts, crime and drug taking combine to make the youthful members of society sink to a very low level. That such conditions are allowed to prevail unchecked in society is a great injustice to those who are entitled to grow up in an environment of a much cleaner and healthier type. Compared to this degrading environmental set up which corrupts the character of the susceptible youngmen and women, the presence of other social injustices appear to be insignificant. Where five to ten million people live by begging and ten times that number by sponging on friends and relations, the social injustice of low wages, insufficient employment opportunities, lack of education etc., etc., appear to be mere symptoms of a widespread social disease of terrifying dimensions. This disease is born of a highly exaggerated consciousness of rights and a total lack of any corresponding sense of

obligations that all men in power in the various spheres of life suffer from in this country. Any country which taxes its people in the manner that India does should feel morally bound to provide universal free education, proper medical arrangements, good roads, full irrigation arrangements, fuller enforcement of law and order etc., etc. Those who are the country's priests, private entrepreneurs, buyers and sellers of goods of various kinds and leaders in the fields of politics, trade unionism or in charge of radio broadcasting, newspaper publication, film production or the supply of consumer goods all show a lack of a proper sense of responsibility, an enlightened understanding of their obligations to the public. All these persons, whose acts of omission or commission profoundly affect the life of the nation, appear to think that they are all free to do what they like without reference to the possible immediate or remote consequences of their actions. Everything that affects and conditions the mental, moral or spiritual development of the people of the country and all that guides them into or away from healthy economic and social ways of behaviour, has to be considered as potent factors in the sphere of national progress and advancement. If for reasons of personal gain or for the realisation of the objectives that parties, coteries or groups of persons try to achieve ; persons are permitted to communicate to the masses or provide them with goods and services in a manner or of a kind that destroys the nation's growth potentials to any noticeable extent ; the government of the country should take immediate action to control such acts of persons or groups of persons with a strong hand. But, if instead of exercising such control, governments lend a helping hand to the destroyers of the people's morale, then there could be little hope of real progress in the country.

In short this matter of national progress is

not quite as simple as governments would like it to be. It is particularly so, when every little act of government has far flung repercussions of an immediate or long period type. Every word, every act and all expressions of policy or future plans emanating from governments have a potent meaning for the people which powerfully effects their attitude as well as their conduct in relation to the nation.

Removal of poverty, disparities and injustice, therefore, appear to be just different aspects of the same problem of economic imbalance and degenerate social conditions. The basic thing in the economic field is lack of production as far as a vast mass of persons are concerned. Due to intensive prevalence of poverty the people consume only a few essential commodities. If all people are engaged in productive work there may be huge stocks of goods which will have no off take. There should, therefore, be a detailed study of the lines that increased consumption will be likely to follow so that increased production can be diverted into channels which will feed individual needs in a progressive manner. The people will buy what they will produce with the money they will earn through that production. Other lines of production should be export oriented as far as possible. As for the social conditions which have a close bearing on the economic problems, these cannot be easily modified to make the community progressive and modern without educating the masses in a proper manner. Independence has in many cases strengthened the decadent outlook of a certain type of persons. The freedoms and human rights have not been fully established. The amendments to the constitution too have not followed a healthy and progressive outlook in all cases. It is not impossible that the people's representatives would adopt a retrograde policy at times.

WORKERS IN PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

G. VENKATSWAMY

The problem of smooth industrial relations in the public sector assumes special importance today since most of the industrial enterprises in this sector are suffering loss. These units are mainly engaged in basic industries with heavy capital investment and have a very vital role to play in the economy. The problem of workers is basically the same in the public as well as the private sector in certain ways. Firstly, the workers consider themselves as a specific class of producer interest, concerned mainly with the enhancement of their wages and other benefits including working conditions. Secondly, the strike continues to be a weapon in the hands of labour in case of dissatisfaction. Thirdly, the reaction of labour to measures of rationalisation, improvement in productivity and retrenchment remains almost the same in both the sectors.

Today, these public sector undertakings are facing enormous problems in the field of industrial relations owing to a number of reasons. Since the last few years a lot of criticism has been levelled against this sector, the main reasons being (a) growing unrest and (b) poor productivity.

Though all labour problems arise out of economic reasons, there are non-economic factors which influence the workers some times more in the public sector undertakings. Therefore, an attempt has been made, in this paper, to analyse the factors which influence the workers within and outside of the public

undertakings more than in the private undertakings, and thereby affect their outlook.

Internal Factors

Even though patriotism and personal dedication are adequate incentives for individuals in public service, experience shows that public or private undertakings face the same workers problems due to certain inherent characteristics in society, such as over population, illiteracy, economic backwardness and so on. These characteristics will certainly have bad psychological impact on the worker's attitude and lead to internal struggle arising out of economic interests and dissatisfaction with existing standards of living. And so, whatever may be the attitude of the management, the workers in public sector undertakings consider themselves to be merely producing aids. Such feeling materially affects their attitude towards the management.

Firstly, the workers in public sector undertakings feel that they could achieve their demands only through agitation and pressure tactics. With the result, that even petty quarrels arising out of a simple act of transfer of an employee may lead to a strike. In these circumstances one can imagine what may emerge out of a major issue. Such cases sometimes lead to 'bandh' or turn violent causing damage to public property. Secondly, the workers in public undertakings resent the

steps towards rationalisation, for fear of retrenchment and removal of chances of promotion. Workers also oppose the idea of mechanisation and automation even though such changes mean development and are beneficial to society. Lastly, they care more for self-interest than for their social responsibility. As such, even Works Committees, Joint Management Councils and Staff Councils are misused by the elected representatives of workers to ventilate group or individual grievances.

Workers in public undertakings have an artificial security and status without losing their identity as a separate class. This feeling incites them against the management. As the higher officials do not have a free hand in dealing with various issues, the workers with their collective strength feel free to act in the manner they like. Not only that, the workers try to take advantage of their political strength for settling their economic grievances. As rightly pointed out by prof. V. V. Ramanadhan, "The political status of workers rises, partly because, being voters, they have to be reckoned with as an effective force, and partly because political parties may gladly take sides on their questions." (V. V. Ramanadhan, ed: Pricing, Labour and efficiency in Public Sector, Hyderabad, 1962, P. 56.)

There are wide gaps between the incomes of various classes of employees, specially between higher-level officials and lower-level workers. The presence of such inequalities of incomes shakes the confidence of workers.

The working conditions in the public sector undertakings are in general said to be better than those in private sector undertakings but the gap between the working conditions of the higher-level officials and workers is so wide that the latter feel neglected. For instance, furnished bungalows,

air-conditioned office chambers, conveyance allowances, clubs and many other privileges are enjoyed by the higher officials. This inequality of status is so significant that the workers feel that they are too small to climb the ladder even though, they feel that they are as good as their masters.

There is belief in the community that recruitment to jobs in public sector undertakings is made after giving fair and equal chance to every job seeker though presence of favouritism and nepotism cannot be totally ruled out. Political pressures, regional bias, language bias, racial bias and family relationships do play their own roles in the selection and promotion of a sizable section of the working force, thereby depriving many deserving ones from their legitimate share. Sometimes, favour is shown in petty matters, such as transfers, sanction of leave and allotment of residential quarters. This naturally affects the minds of the workers in public undertakings.

In some public sector undertakings, as pointed out by Prof : Gajendragadkar, even elementary requirements, like the framing of standing orders that govern the relationship between labour and management, are not being fulfilled. Also some of the schemes of retirement benefits, as they ought to be under the law, are not being complied with by certain undertakings. (P.B. Gajendragadkar, The Hindustan Times, November 30, 1966).

External Factors

Trade union workers working with national interests at heart are however justified. But when the workers of a single enterprise are represented by more than one union and if all unions act in the interest of only their own members, the workers will be divided. For instance, in one department of FACT (Fertilizer's and Chemicals of Travancore) there are as many as 14 unions, half of them

recognised. Five is a very common denominator. There is probably no doubt that one is stronger than the rest. (The Hindu, January, 9, 1972, page 6.) This has been true in many of the enterprises. As a result of this, interunion rivalry develops and each union tries to dominate over the others through maximum representation on the joint consultative committees. In this power race the trade union leaders may not realise the damage that is caused to the morale of the workers. Even some times, the main issues of general interest are set aside because of interunion rivalry.

Political affiliation of trade unions also worsens the situation. With different political ideologies the union leaders use their workers as tools for achieving their political ends. Every political party when it is in power tries to bring under its influence as many workers as possible through trade unions of their persuasion. With this object in view the power, prestige and influence of the party or parties in office are fully made use of. One finds as a result industrial unrest and labour troubles in which pressure groups are fishing all the time. This has been happening, at one time or the other, in most of the public enterprises. With the result that the workers are found to be primarily interested in their personal gain rather than in national economic growth.

Political immaturity of politicians is another factor which demoralises the attitude of the workers in the public enterprises. Public enterprises are sometimes considered as rightful arenas or political gambling. Politicians try to capture the political power of workers and try to win them by raising false hopes. All the election speeches of the opposition parties in the industrial areas, are directed at levelling charges against the ruling party and indicting the management of the

enterprises as stooges and what not. Sometimes the social disturbances within the premises of the enterprises are given political colour in order to make the situation politically-oriented. On the other hand, ruling parties level counter allegation against the opposition, about misleading the workers. They always try to justify all they have done in the past and come forward with new schemes of added benefits to the workers which are likely to be implemented in the future ; and on that basis appeal for voting them back to power.

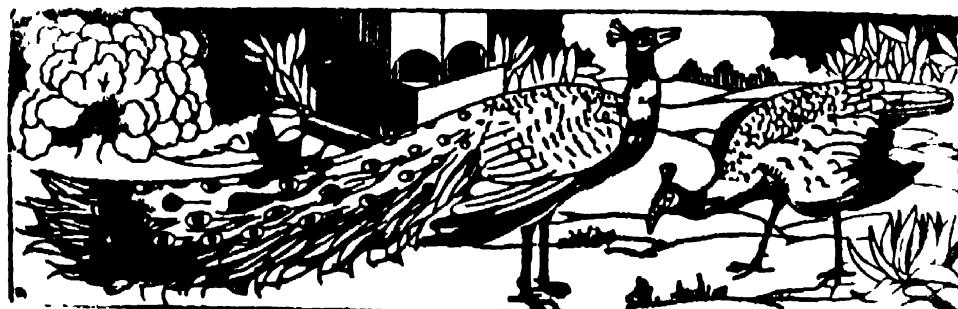
Another important charge levelled against the working of public enterprises is their deliberate use by the Government for giving employment. This attitude is a hindrance to the achievement of efficiency. A Government to keep up its own image employs as many as possible in its undertakings, and in the process over-staffs them. This adversely affects the enterprise itself. It has a two-fold long term effect on the workers. Firstly, their average productivity comes down. Secondly, in their own interest they develop a resistance to any move to increase their productivity as a part of their bargain for extra remuneration or otherwise. This system is prevailing mostly in loose politically activated public undertakings.

Another natural instinct of every Government is to show public undertakings as 'model employers' to the outside world. In its anxiety the Government, sometimes, generously approves of any move to improve the wages, working conditions, welfare measures and the like, in order to give a rosy picture of its undertakings as compared to similar private ones. Simultaneously, the same Government, elsewhere, may not accept all recommendations of various Commissions appointed by itself. It may accept some recommendations and even when they are

accepted they may not be fully implemented. This shows that Government follows double standards with regard to its undertakings. It tries to be generous in the cases where the interests of the workers in its undertakings clashes with those of the workers in private ones. Where the interests do not clash, it reserves the right to deny even the small concessions. This differential approach incites trade unions to lead the workers into agitations, as a result of which some of the demands may have to be conceded. Partly, such delaying tactics on the part of government can be said to be the desire to build up its image among the workers. But, on the contrary, it proves to be harmful, since the opposition political parties which have strong hold on the trade unions may take credit for the success and win workers' appreciation.

Thus, to overcome all these difficulties it is essential that the public undertakings

should be staffed by selfless men of outstanding ability and devoted to the nation's interests. The combination of selfless managements and selfless workers would bring industrial democracy. But selfless workers cannot be found under the prevailing conditions in the country. And so, there will be no escape from such a situation, unless various influences, which adversely affect the attitude of the workers as well as that of the managements, are positively checked. If they go unchecked the conception of 'model employer' would induce government to yield to labour demands whether they are reasonable or not ; promotions would be expected to be by seniority, not by merit ; discipline not to be strictly enforced ; surplus staff not to be retrenched, not even deployed for some other work, if there is no work for which they were actually employed ; and so on.



THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF 1972

(Some features and faults)

N. S. GEHLOT

We have a parliamentary form of constitution in which every citizen exercises his right to vote by adult suffrage in electing his representatives for ruling the country. This was the fifth general election in the country where the sixteen states and the two Union Territories completed their polls.

Partycracy is an essential feature of the parliamentary system. Since the Indian Constitution was worked in India, one party dominance has been the feature of our party system. In the fourth general election of 1967, the all powerful single party-system broke up into a multi-party system. Hence, non-congress governments were formed in many of the States but they did not last long owing to factionalism and defections both in the Congress and non-Congress parties.¹ With the result the non-congress Ministries were dismissed in Punjab, Haryana, West Bengal and U. P. and these States were brought under the Presidential rule and, later, the mid term polls were held.²

Meanwhile, various events, such as the death of the late President Dr. Zakir Hussain, the election of President V. V. Giri and the

Congress split³, affected greatly the Indian political scene. The instability both at the centre and in the States became a feature of our democracy. Consequently, the P.M. of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi dissolved the Lok Sabha in December, 1970. This dissolution and the subsequent elections gave her a landslide victory at the Centre in March, 1971.

The pollings in the Sixteen States out of the total of twenty-one, and two Union Territories were held just after the liberation of Bangla Desh and the defeat of the Pakistani forces in the Indo-Pak war. Politically, the ruling party at the Centre obtained this period as "God sent opportunity" for its victory in Indian States and put other Opposition parties into disarray.⁴ That is the main cause that thirty three candidates of the Congress Party were elected, unopposed.⁵

In this polling where 2727 Seats⁶ were for the Legislative Assemblies, including two Union Territories and 19,29,95,674 voters were entitled to exercise their right to vote, the strength of the candidates of each party, fielded in the Assembly-polls and the seats obtained by each party were as follows :—

TABLE NO. A

Name of Parties	No. of Candidates fielded	No. of Seats Won.	Seats in the old House
1. Congress(N)	2524	1926	1382
2. Jan Sangh	1232	105	176
3. Congress(O)	872	88	207
4. S. P.	653	58	117
5. C. P. I. (M)	462	34	128
6. C. P. I.	325	112	76
7. Swatantra	308	16	54
8. Independent	4955	249	232
9. States level parties	667	134	155

Source : (1) Hindustan (Hindi), March 3, 1972, P. 12.

(2) The Times of India, March 10, 1972, P. 6.

Let us now discuss some of the important features of the Polling of 1972 which were not in the Indian scene since the General Elections of 1952. For the first time not a single political party contested all the assembly seats in half of the 16 States. It has generally been recorded that the Congress Party contested all the seats but this time it entered into electoral adjustments with the C. P. I. and some State-level parties like the APHLC in Meghalaya and the Akali Dal in the Punjab headed by Mr. Gurnam Singh.⁷ The Congress Party worked out its seat adjustments with the C. P. I., P. S. P., Akali Dal and APHLC in eight States out of sixteen viz. Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, West Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and the two new States of Meghalaya and Tripura.

In the same way the Bharatiya Jan Sangh also fielded 1232 candidates next to the Congress for the Assembly polls and entered into electoral adjustments with other political parties in eleven states. But this time the political polarisation which was the key feature of the mid Lok Sabha Polls, was feeble. The Jan Sangh entered into alliances with Swantantra, Akali Dal and the CPI(M) against the Congress-C. P. I. alliance in Rajasthan and the Punjab.⁸ Moreover, the Congress(N)-DMK alliance which was formed in the mid-term polls of Lok Sabha, came to an end as the result of "firm rejection" by the Congress High Command not to withdraw the Congress candidate from the Ariyan Kuppam Constituency.⁹ Politically speaking, politics of electoral adjustment is not healthy process for a successful operation of a democracy. It is no substitute for a party's natural quest for self identity and power. It is, in fact, a hindrance in the process of ideological polarisation.¹⁰

In this election, the Congress Party(N) faced the opposition not only of the opposi-

tional parties but also of the rebel congressmen who were denied the party tickets for the assembly polls.¹¹ The factors of bossism, personality cult of the State leaders were not feasible in this polling, for the successful patch work of the High Commands with the State-Congress Party and the magnificent leadership of Mrs. Gandhi led her to sweep into an over-whelming majority in all the States. This was for the first time that the State leadership of Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia, Mr. Brahmanand Reddy, Mr. M. M. Chaudhary and S. C. Sukhla was withdrawn and the important state Ministers were dropped from contesting the State-Elections. This plan of Mrs. Gandhi was more significant than the "Kamraj Plan" in 1962. The personality of Mrs. Gandhi was the main source for all the Congress candidates to boost the electorates for their victory in the elections.

Another feature of the State-polling was that the regional political parties lost their influence over State-Politics. The BDK in U. P. and Bihar, the Janta Party and the Bangla Congress and the St. Akali Dal lost their significance.¹² With the result the Janta Party merged with the Jan Sangh in Bihar and the Lok-tantrik Congress, the Bangla Congress and the Kashmir National Conference also decided to merge with the Congress(N)¹³ which narrowed to some extent the local patriotism and caste-permutations.

Still the politics of regionalism, favouritism and casteism were not purely out of the elections. In the process of nominations of the Congress candidates for the assembly Elections, these factors continued to predominate.¹⁴ In Bihar, Maharashtra and Mysore the caste factor was given the representation.¹⁵ The cast sin premise was also a factor in Rajasthan to maintain a balance between the

Jats and the Rajputs. It was so confirmed by Shri Amrit Nahata, the M. P.¹⁶

In this polling the strength of the former rajas and maharajas contesting the Assembly polls was less than in 1967. In Madhya Pradesh only twenty one former rulers were in the fray as against twenty three in 1967. But an interesting feature has been that seventeen out of twentyone were the candidates from the Congress Party and fought elections for "Socialism" while they were in strong opposition in the mid term election of Lok Sabha which brought them to the level of ordinary citizens of India.¹⁷ In Gujarat the former rulers were only ten out of which six were from the Congress Party against twenty five in 1967. On the whole 37 former princes and princesses were in the fray against 66 in 1967. No one was from Maharashtra.

The confusion and multiplicity was another feature of the State-Assembly¹⁸ polls. The "Socialism" was a common factor almost for all the leftist and rightist forces. Even the Jan Sangh Party for the first time adopted the sweeping socialistic resolutions and became "Progressive among socialist parties" just after its Ghaziabad session.¹⁹ There was no clear-cut mark of the ideological personalities of the parties. Every candidate in the fray of 1972 talked of some kind of "Socialism" and maltreated the word which had no understandable and sound meaning. The distinct identity of parties was so blurred that it was easy for the public to join the crowd and support any party.*

Anyhow, the table shows that the Congress Party has been able to sweep into a clear cut majority in almost all the Indian States where the polls were held. The socialist pledges which were completely through the amendments in the constitution, the magnificent leadership of Mrs. Gandhi in the liberation of Bangla Desh and the politics of relieving

the State Chief Ministers from active politics and the replacement of the youth force in national politics were the potent factors behind by the victory of the Congress Party. There are also two other reasons for the victory. First, the opposition parties were divided in most of the States. Secondly, the regional parties were found disintegrated and lost their influence after the mid-term Lok Sabha election. There is no doubt that the victory of the Congress Party has again brought the pattern of one party dominance in the country and the opposition parties have been put into disarray which is again an unhealthy development for our democracy. At the same time this change would bring stability in the State-administration and cordial relations between the Union and States.

A critical assessment of the State polling of 1972 indicates that there are many defects in our election system which need removal from our democratic set-up.

One of the major demerits of the polls was that there was a lack of political ideology behind the political parties. If the history of the Congress prior to the split is studied, it would show that there was absence of ideological orientation and national character in the leaders of the party.²⁰ This fault led to the growth of casteism, regionalism and bossism in Indian politics which are still great obstacles to ideological orientation in Indian politics. The opposition parties are also prey of the same diseases. Mr. Myron Weiner holds that the factors of caste, regional identification, traditional emphasis and general lack of political experience, prevent the people to share in the formation of political opinion in India.²¹

It has been pointed out earlier that the factors of casteism, regionalism and communalism still have their impact on State politics. The main cause of the victory of the Congress

* See Table on next page.

Table-B.
Party-Position in the State-Assemblies After the 1972 Polling.

States & Union Territories	Total States	Congress (R)	Congress (O)	Swarajtaara	Jansangh	CPI	CPI (M)	SP	DMK	Independent	St. Akali Dal	M.G.P.	U.G.P.	Others*	
1. Andhra Pradesh	287	219	—	2	x	7	1	x	x	56	x	x	x	x	2
2. Assam	114	94	x	1	x	3	4	x	x	5	x	x	x	x	6
3. Bihar	318	167	30	2	26	35	—	33	x	12	x	x	x	x	13
4. Gujarat (B)	168	139	16	—	3	1	—	—	x	8	x	x	x	x	4
5. Haryana	81	52	12	x	2	x	x	x	x	11	x	x	x	x	1
6. Himachal Pradesh(B)	68	51	x	x	5	x	1	x	x	7	—	x	x	—	—
7. Jammu & Kashmir	75	57	—	—	3	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Madhya Pradesh	296	220	—	—	48	3	—	7	—	18	—	—	—	—	—
9. Maharashtra	270	223	—	—	5	2	1	3	2	24	2	2	2	2	12
10. Manipur	60	17	1	x	x	5	x	x	x	16	x	x	x	x	18
11. Meghalaya	60	9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	19	x	x	x	x	A
12. Mysore	216	165	24	x	x	3	x	3	1	15	x	x	x	x	6
13. Punjab	104	66	—	—	—	10	1	—	—	3	24	x	x	x	x
14. Rajasthan	184	145	1	11	x	4	—	4	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
15. Tripura	60	41	1	x	x	1	16	x	x	2	—	—	—	—	—
16. West Bengal	280	216	2	—	—	x	35	14	—	5	—	—	—	—	8
17. Goa, Daman & Diu	30	1	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	10
18. Delhi	56	44	2	x	5	3	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	1

Sources : -The Patriot March 16, 17, 18, 1972

* It includes the strength of the regional and local parties.

- p.l.
A. APHLC got 32 seats in the Poll.
B. Three constituencies in Himachal and one in Gujarat have not gone to the Poll. One seat in J & K also.

that the voters exercised their right to vote psychologically and emotionally, and not ideologically. Besides this, the opposition parties did not have any strong ideological bases to counter the Congress Party's prestige. Mr. Robert W. Stern has rightly observed that the opposition in India has been "largely incapable" at the national level because linguism, leftism, opportunism and interaction divide the partymen.²²

Hence both the ruling and opposition parties need to reconstruct their firm and fresh ideological bases on the national level. In this process they have to eliminate the affluence of caste, community and regionalism.

Moreover, for the effective party-system on the basis of ideological polarisation, the political and rationalised behaviour, cultural tranquillity and political peace are equally important in the political scene of India.

This change would further narrow the growing gap between performance and policy of the political parties.

Article 101 of the Indian constitution says that no person shall be a member of both the Houses of Parliament or the State Legislatures simultaneously. But the constitution does not say that a man will not fight his election simultaneously for more than one seat from one constituency. The Election Commission is also silent over the issue. With the result, this freedom has been used as "a gamble" by a person of wealthy status or of political influence.²³ In the State-Elections, Mr. P. C. Sethi, the C. M. of Andhra Pradesh, filed his nomination from two constituencies.²⁴ This practice, however, is not fair for our democracy. The money matter would be a decisive factor in contesting the Elections and a man of money may be elected from more than one constituency and may resign after his victory. In other words the by-elections will have to

be held to fill up these vacancies and the Govt. will have to incur huge expenses and time for no good reasons. In short, in order to stop the wastage of public money and energy of the governmental machinery, a change should be made in the Article 101 of the constitution.

Equally important issue is, should voting be made compulsory in India? The table No. B amply shows that about 35 to 40 percent of voters were non-participants in the State Assembly Elections. This shows their unawareness and illiteracy about the value of Elections. The Election Commission should try to stop this non-cooperation with elections in the country for the successful operation of our democracy because democracy in India is still not deep rooted. If necessary, the voting should be made compulsory in India as it is in Australia and Switzerland, and the non-voters should be penalised by the Law.²⁵ For political awareness, the political parties should play their role among the people.

To sum-up the present election for the State Assemblies has justified that an era of one party dominance once again has prevailed in the country; but the ideological orientation and polarisation are still weak in our politics. It is, therefore, essential that the political parties, especially the opposition parties should reform their ideological identification without any caste and communistic bias.

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BIHAR'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

(Contributed)

There are two factors which largely determine the development of industries and commerce in various regions of India. The first is a complex of many conditions which helps the working of economic establishments and thus brings about the localisation of industries in different areas of a country. The second factor is governmental preference for one area as against another, and such preferences attain greater force where the economy is state managed to a noticeable extent. There are other development determining factors which we do not propose to discuss here.

In a recent article in the Modern Review it was shown how the eastern states of India, with special reference to the state of Bihar, had been deprived of developmental aid and support both by the government and by private investors. There was, perhaps, a suggestion that the circumstances which led to such deprivation were not beyond the control of the Indian public and that this neglect of the particular states of the eastern region was unjustified and required to be remedied. The author thought Bihar suffered badly in her developmental progress as a result of this neglect. During the three years 1967-70 government invested 197.07 crores in India for

setting up industries. Bihar got only two lakhs out of this. The non-government companies drew investments of Rs. 504.28 crores with 3624 companies sharing in it. Bihar had only 57 companies with a capital of 9.27 crores. One can see therefore that governmental preference had not much to do with this neglect of Bihar as the general public also kept out of Bihar in making their investments. The author of the article referred to above points out how Bihar got not many licences for industries. But licences are issued when financially competent people ask for them and Bihar probably did not have many capitalists of the proper type and not many licences were perhaps asked for by the Bihar capitalists.

Among the non-government companies registered in the four regions of India during the years 1967-70, the northern region registered new companies with a total capital of 94.24 crores. The western region total was 237.54 crores, the southern region 115.31 crores and the eastern region only 57.19 crores. The government company registration showed 6.82 crores in the eastern region, 108.30 crores in the northern, 31.45 crores in the southern and 50.50 in the western region. One cannot

say by looking at these figures that the human factor was very active in making selection of regions in any manner other than by making a choice by consideration of circumstances of economic significance. The government's policy of industrialisation was such as spread industries all over India and avoided concentration of capital in particular territories as far as possible. Bihar had been shown great favours in the British period of our history and the mineral belt of Manbhum (now Dhanbad) and Singhbhum was detached from Bengal and added to Bihar as a punitive measure against Bengal which was the centre of anti-British agitation. This gave Bihar control over a tremendous store of mineral wealth without having to go to any investors, private or public, for aid or assistance. Bihar got a large Iron & Steel factory and numerous coal and ore mines in this manner and also many large industries in Ranchi and Ramgar thereafter. Bihar also had certain advantages in developing Cement, Sugar, Paper, Coal Distillation, Wood Distillation, Machineries, Refractories and many other industries, which the people and the government of the state of Bihar could not make full use of. That could not have been due to any fault of persons other than the local people.

If one studies the facts relating to the state of Bihar one gets some idea of the reasons which perhaps stand in the way of the industrial development of that region. Bihar has a population of over 56 millions with only 11 million literates. These literates are mostly ignorant of English. Maharashtra with a population of 50 millions has nearly 20 million literates among whom a fair number are English knowing. West Bengal has a population of 44 millions among whom are 15 million literates. Bihar has 6 Universities (Maharashtra 6 and W. Bengal 7) with only 152 colleges (Maharashtra 262 and W. Bengal

253). Professional colleges number 300 in Bihar, 459 in Maharashtra and 178 in West Bengal. We do not know whether professional training is given in Hindi in Bihar ; but a large number of training centres prove the willingness of the government to try to remedy the productive backwardness of the people of Bihar.

Bihar has always been a centre of Gandhian ideals and Community Development has been accepted as a path of progress by the Bihar people since a long time. In Bihar there are 68000 villages which are organised in 575 Blocks for Community Development. As compared to this Maharashtra has 425 Blocks covering 36000 villages. And West Bengal has 335 Blocks with 39000 villages to look after.

Community Development may help agricultural growth and progress in education, sanitation, medical aid and communications. Education definitely has not made much progress in Bihar, nor have the people of that state acquired better health habits as a result of the village reform activities carried on by those who are in charge. Lakhs of people from Bihar enter W. Bengal as unskilled labour and their way of life is extremely backward. Such of them as are skilled men display no desire to go back to Bihar as they cannot find jobs there nor any comparable wages. Many of them bring their children over to Bengal for English education which they think is necessary for gainful employment. The picture that one gets of Bihar from these working class people is not very good from the point of view of law and order, employment, terms and conditions of service, education and medical aid. It seems that robbery with violence is the profession of many high caste and highly placed persons and the leaders of these gangs are often the members of very well placed families. Employment is

scarce and the wages offered are low. Other terms and conditions of service are unattractive, educational facilities undeveloped and Hindi based, and living conditions primitive in many ways. The main reasons for the industrial backwardness of Bihar are the above and the Bihar leaders have tried to remedy this backwardness without removing or improving the conditions that have brought about the economic disease.

The minorities of Bihar are the people who inhabit the mineral belt which was originally a part of Bengal. The leaders of Bihar have not played fair to the minorities in many ways. They have tried to settle Hindi speaking people from other parts of Bihar in the mineral belt and have also attempted to force Hindi upon the Bengali speaking Biharis and the tribals. The local people have naturally resented these moves and the Hindi speakers being in constant need of educated personnel recruited from other states, have not succeeded in developing their industries easily. The need for capital too has been filled quite often by non-Bihari capitalists. People from Gujarat and Rajasthan abound in Bihar as capitalists. Parsis from Maharashtra dominate the Jamshedpur industries. The people who run the industries of Bihar are mostly technicians and trained men from other states. Even

in the Sugar, Cement and Paper mills in Hindi speaking parts of Bihar the predominance of non-Biharis is quite noticeable. The climate therefore is supercharged with lack of faith, fellowship and cooperation between the state authorities, officials and the members of the managing bodies of the economic establishments of the industrial and commercial variety. Healthy growth cannot be expected in such atmosphere.

The thesis, therefore, that the eastern region of India has been neglected both by private as well as by public organisations for the development of industries is untenable. The real reasons can be found in the political conditions prevailing in Assam, Bihar, Orissa or West Bengal. The political types who dominate these areas are not of the kind which inspires confidence in investors. The central government too do not desire to walk into trouble unless driven to it by force of circumstances. Life moves with heavy steps in these regions and the slower growth of economic institutions is explained by that. As for Bihar, one has to say that the British as well as the Congress have done everything in their power to make it a strong political-economic unit (at the cost of Bengal) but the ruling factions have failed to make fuller use of these undeserved favours.



OUR EDUCATION : SOME PROBLEMS

Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

Youthful rowdyism in general and that of the students in particular is one of the baffling problems of our times. Cold-blooded murders, burglaries, dare-devil train and highway robberies and skyjacking of planes, by youthful offenders in not a few cases, are by no means rare these days. The problem of youthful and juvenile delinquency in India too has assumed serious proportions in recent years. Over and above the crimes listed above excepting sky-jacking of planes the revolt of Indian youth is characterized by vandalism and mass copying in examination halls, intimidation of invigilators, assaults on them and paralysing academic life by strikes on flimsy pretexts, violent demonstrations and the "gheraoing" of university Vice-Chancellors and heads of schools and colleges.

Our centres of learning must be purged of these evils. Social and national interest demands the purge, which alone can restore our schools, colleges and universities to health and normalcy. The problem, a ticklish one that it is, has to be handled firmly, but tactfully, with sympathy, imagination and foresight. The would-be reformer must remember that the evils under reference are but the symptoms of deep-rooted causes in our body politic and in the system of our education, which (the latter) dates back to the thirties of the 19th century in the days of the Hon'ble John Company.

A detailed discussion of what afflict our education is not an easy task. Nor is it perhaps possible in the brief compass of a magazine article. Attempts will, therefore, be made in the following pages to pin-point the more important causes of the malaise.

Half a century of national struggle under

the banner of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1947 characterized at different times by prayer and petition, constitutional agitation and finally, non-violent direct action and sporadic outbursts of violence at times under the leadership of various revolutionary groups culminating in the partition and independence of the country in 1947, the catastrophic armageddon from 1939 to 1945, engulfed the whole world and took a heavy toll of property and human lives, uprooted millions and sundered families, and industrialization the tempo of which has accelerated in India since independence and, last but not least a population explosion has shaken the national life to its very foundations. Sex and crimes films and pornography have aggravated the situation. Old values have been pushed out of the life of an average Indian of today. But they have not been substituted by new values. The consequent vacuum in life makes us restless, unhappy and disgruntled. We do not know for certain what we want. We fret and fume and feel frustrated. We chase at authority and discipline in all shapes and forms. Energies generated and released by decades-long freedom's battle, war and industrialization have not been canalized in constructive and useful channels. The rank and file has been let down by the leadership. The nation has been starved of honest, efficient and dedicated leadership since the exit of the race of giants from the political stage due to old age or death. Their publicity-hunting successors, who are mostly understudies, often care more for their own interests than those of the people. The youth power of the country remains unutilized. It has not been harnessed to purposeful activities.

The recent happenings in Bangladesh on our door-step across the border and our own general election in March (1972) to State Assemblies show what youth under proper guidance and leadership can do. Inspired by a resolute leadership the youth in Bangladesh and India achieved what seemed well-nigh impossible in the beginning—the liberation of the motherland in one and the rehabilitation of the National Congress in the other, so essential for its political and economic stability. The leaders, however, must not rest on their oars. No pains must be spared to create new opportunities and enlarge the existing ones for constructive and purposeful activities of young men and women in India and Bangladesh. They can serve. They are willing too. Opportunities and guidance are what they need. If they are denied these, they are sure to create trouble. The demon of the Arabian fables had to be kept constantly engaged. He would create troubles otherwise.

Guidance and opportunities are not everything. A sound education is essentially necessary. But our system of education and educational institutions cannot impart the education the age demands. The system of education must be overhauled. Thorough, drastic and radical reforms are called for. There have been amateurish attempts now and then to tone up the system. Committees and commissions of experts headed by eminent personalities have produced voluminous reports which have made quite useful recommendations. But they touch only the fringe of the problem and seldom go to the roots thereof. What is worse is that the reports of education committees and commissions have often been left in cold storage or haphazardly implemented. The time and energy of the members, secretaries and chairmen of the committees and commissions and the money of the tax-payers have

gone down the gutters in a colossal waste. The problem remains where it was and becomes more difficult of solution with every year that passes by.

Different ages and different thinkers have had different conceptions of education. Thus, "Mens sana in corpore sano" (sound mind in sound body) was the Roman ideal of education. The Athenian conception too was not very different. To Swami Vivekananda of hallowed memory (1863—1902) education "is the manifestation of the perfection already in man." A knowledge of the "Three R's"—Reading, Writing' and arithmetic—was the end of education according to many 19th-century social thinkers. Others again held that to "know something of everything and everything of something" was the object of education. Education, Toynbee says, "should be a means of constructive change." According to others again, true education should aim at drawing out the latent qualities of the educand, the creation of a balanced personality and the production of good and useful members of the state and society. It should be a process of growth from within, not one of drilling from outside. Above all, education must be related to "the realities of life."

The education imparted in Indian schools, colleges and universities does not serve any of the purposes noted above excepting the third, viz, imparting a knowledge of the three R's. The Indian system of education, a pale carbon copy of that prevailing in Victorian England, was introduced to meet the growing need of cheap white collar workers for Britain's expanding administrative bureaucracy and the commercial establishments of Britain's big business in colonial India. Lord Macaulay, the Law Member of the Government of India at the time of the introduction of English education (1835) and principal protagonist of English education

declared, "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, opinions, morals and intellect." The avowed objective notwithstanding, scores of outstanding men and women—among the finest in the country—who have left their mark on the nation's life, have been turned out by our new model universities. But this group of men and women is only an exception. Our system of education have, by and large, specialized in producing what Tagore calls 'branded bales of standardized commodity.'

Education, to be useful, should be a preparation for life. It should, in other words, serve the purpose of weapons in the battle of life. But those trained in our schools, colleges and universities have to join life's battle with broken armour and outdated weapons, which have long lost their utility. Ours is a liberal education with purely literary contents. It is, therefore, lop-sided and unbalanced. Some progress in industrialisation during the last twenty-five years notwithstanding, India is still a predominantly agricultural country whose teeming millions depend for a living on manual labour in general and on agriculture in particular. The education received by Indian students in their schools, colleges and universities has no relevance to their day to day life and is divorced from its realities. Gandhiji's Nai Talim or Basic Education aims at making our education balanced, practical, useful and work-oriented.

The absence of any provision for moral and religious instruction in our educational institutions is one of the major drawbacks of our system of education. When the new education was introduced in India in the mid-nineteenth century, the alien government of the day naturally wanted to follow the path of least resistance. Eager to steer a

a middle course between overzealous Christian missionaries on the one hand and the religious ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims on the other, they omitted religious instruction from the courses of studies. Many eyebrows will be raised when I say that the decision, however expedient, was not wise. Here is my explanation. Theology, credo, rituals and ceremonials are not religion. It is the sum-total of the qualities, which broaden the heart and ennable and purify the mind. "The Noble Eightfold Path" or "The Middle Path" of the Buddha, which enjoins "Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindedness and Right Contemplation" is the quintessence of religion in a true sense. Independent alike of theology and ritual, it sums up not a religion but Religion itself. The inscriptions of Emperor Asoka Priyadarshi of Magadha (c. 273-32 B. C.) and some of the verses of the Gita belong to the same category. A man, who tries to shape his life according to the teachings of Asoka, the Buddha or the Gita, is a religious man though he does not belong to any church. Was it not said of the English poet Shelley that he was "the most intensely religious man" though he had no religion?

The practice of what the Buddha, Asoka and the Gita, among others, teach must and that alone can restore the balance in the life of our young folk and give right direction to their energies. Religion in this sense must be taught in our schools, colleges and universities.

Among the other defects of our system of education, mention must be made of the curricula, the management of non-governmental educational institutions, the system of examination, indiscriminate admission of students into colleges and universities without taking into consideration their worth and a foreign medium of instruction at higher levels. The

list, we hasten to add is not an exhaustive one. It is only illustrative.

The curriculum is rather heavy for average students. They find no interest in what is taught in the classes and become listless in consequence. What the teacher teaches falls flat on their ears. Student-participation, an essential pre-condition of successful teaching, is out of question under the circumstances.

A foreign medium of instruction adds to the difficulties of even many diligent and intelligent students. Languages are the heels of Achilles for not a few of them. For obvious reasons, subjects taught through a foreign language cannot be grasped half as easily or assimilated as thoroughly as those taught through the mother-tongue. The former has not the direct appeal to the learner's head and heart which the latter has. It (the mother-tongue) easily awakens the learner's interest and learning becomes a joy when the learner is interested in what he is trying to learn. A teacher's work is half done if he can arouse the interest of his students in what he teaches. The subject or subjects taught become real and living. When students do not understand what is taught, they fall back on unintelligent cramming, a legacy of pre-printing press days. Education at all levels must be vernacularized. But the champions must not be impatient. There are difficulties in the way. These, however, must not deter the powers that be.

Students, by and large, do not want to learn. 'Pass' in the examinations is all they care for. Small wonder, the market is glutted with "Helps", "Made Easies", "Secrets of Success", "Sevenday Preparation Series" and the like. Tutorial institutions, which guarantee sure success in examinations, have mushroomed in lanes and by-lanes. All these have a deleterious influence on academic standards and discipline.

Managers of non-government schools and colleges—and of universities as well—pay little or no heed to the academic life of the institutions managed by them. All they care for is revenue. A majority, if not all, of them are guided by the principle (!) of advancement of earning, not of learning, the avowed object with which they have been founded. Interests of students are sacrificed at the altar of economy. West Bengal is among the worst offenders—not the only one, however—in this respect. Non-government schools and colleges are in many cases inadequately staffed. Teachers are overworked. Classes are unwieldy in not a few cases. Sections with 200 and more students—the reviewer knows atleast one in a leading Calcutta college with about 300 on the rolls—are by no means rare. Schools, it must be admitted, are much better in this respect. Vacancies are not filled for months on end. A recent newspaper report said that 150 posts of teachers of different categories were vacant for more than a year in a premier university in the country. Part-time teachers are appointed in large numbers to keep down expenditure. Libraries and laboratories are poorly equipped. Recreational facilities either do not exist or exist only in name. Not many schools and colleges can boast of playgrounds of their own.

Nepotism and favouritism flourish in schools, colleges and universities and vitiate the academic atmosphere. Heads of institutions, often yes-men of the managers, are treated as underlings by the latter and the Education Directorate. The veteran Principal of a well-known Calcutta college once confessed to the present reviewer that a Principal cannot serve as one unless he has the skin of a rhinoceros (the exact words used by him are reproduced). The Heads of institutions in their turn look upon the teaching and the non-teaching staff as underlings. Bickering and

ack-biting are often connived at; if not actually encouraged by the authorities. The atmosphere in many institutions is almost suffocating and stinks in the nostrils. Honest, sincere workers—teachers and others—feel baffled and frustrated. Students feel neglected and helpless. They grow resentful in consequence. Disappointed with the present, they are pessimistic about the future. They are afraid of the bleak future that awaits them after they have left the university, which is in fact the ante-room of the employment market where opportunities are extremely limited.

Youthful despair, resentment, feeling of helplessness and a sense of frustration spawned the perverted doctrine of Naxalism over large areas in the country—West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Punjab, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. The rise of Naxalism is a storm signal. Many of the factors responsible for this are the outcome of our system of education. Drastic and radical changes are urgently called for.

Examinations are a farce. Grace marks, which the late Humayun Kabir, a former Education Minister of the Government of India, called “disgrace marks”, supplementary and compartmental examinations and, last but not the least, mass copying in examination halls have made examinations more farcical in recent years. The present system of examinations must be overhauled, if not scrapped altogether. The system, which seeks to measure a student's worth on the basis of a single written test at the end of one or two years as the case may be, without taking into consideration his day to day performance in the class and which give opportunities to students to do well in examinations without reading the prescribed texts, is defective and unsatisfactory. Students depend instead on selecting “important” questions and learning their answers by rote from worthless cram books which choke the market. Under the

circumstances, our examinations have long lost their utility.

The confusion in our educational sphere is worse confounded by the thoughtless, indiscriminate admission of large numbers of intellectually deficient and ill-equipped students to schools, colleges and universities. This is particularly true of higher level institutions. Such students do not follow what is taught in the classes and find no interest in it, play truant, sleep during lectures and sometimes spoil the class work by mischievous pranks. They do not always show the minimum courtesy to their teachers. Like sickly lambs infecting whole flocks they spoil and infect whole classes and entire institutions.

Students know that what they are taught in the classes will be of no help to them “in the world's broad field of battle” and that a bleak future awaits most of them after they leave schools, colleges and universities. They are, therefore, sceptical of what they are expected to learn, to learn which they have joined educational institutions, grow disrespectful of it almost inevitably and of those who are entrusted with teaching it. New avenues of gainful employment for youth must be opened and old ones widened. Above all, education must be vocation-oriented.

It would be unfair to lay the entire blame on the system of education, managers of education, the curricula, the system of examination, the students and the quite inadequate employment opportunities. Teachers themselves must share the responsibility for the chaos in our educational life. As Quest points out, “Bombay university education is in a mess not only, or even primarily, because not enough resources are available to give it a race-list, it has been corrupted—according to some, corrupted beyond redemption—by publicity-hunting education ministers' worthlers vice-chancellors and teachers whose only reason for being in the profession is that they

were not good enough for any other comparable job. There are a few exceptions no doubt, but they are like drops in the ocean, and even they are being hounded out by the spokesmen of populism in education and politics." (Quest 75, p. 8) Gone are the days when bright young men and women with an idealistic bent of mind, a spirit of service and a sense of dedication were attracted to teaching as a career. Gone are the days of teachers who believe in plain living and high thinking. Teachers by choice are few and far between. Men and women become teachers only when they cannot find more lucrative appointments. Most of them leave as soon as they can secure more profitable jobs. They are a discontented lot and satisfactory work cannot be expected from them. To attract the right type of teachers teaching must be made as remunerative as comparable assignments in government and commercial establishments. Let us not speak of status and respectability, which in our materialistic society depend more on the size of one's pay packet than on the earner's character and scholarship. Brilliant young men and women are, by and large, attracted in consequence to government and commercial services where they become cogs of the wheel and their talents are lost to the country and society. Here is a serious and very real "brain drain" to which attention should have been given long ago. It must be tackled here and now.

No single profession can boast of so many men and women above the average as teaching. But men and women with comparable qualifications in other occupations are much better off. Besides higher pay, many of them have attractive perquisites and retirement benefits. But teachers have none worth the name. The pension and other benefits promised to the teachers of Secondary schools in West Bengal is still a promise and that after two spells of left dominated "progressive" government in the state notwithstanding. Quite naturally, many teachers seek to supplement their meagre salaries by such means as private tuitions, working as part-timers in different schools, colleges and coaching insti-

tutions, by hack work and by writing "Help Books" and text books of some sort.

That a popular national government could not or would not mend matters during the quarter of a century it has been in the saddle is one of its many sins of omission and commission. "History", says Momsen, "has a nemesis for every sin." The god of history never forgives and forgets. Teachers are among the builders of the nation. But discontented workers cannot give their best to the work in hand. Teachers can, therefore, be neglected at the risk of the nation's future.

Infection of educational institutions at all levels with politics and infiltration by political parties into them in recent years have contributed not a little to the alarmingly deteriorating academic standards and chaos in the educational sphere of the country. President Giri's note of warning against teacher-politicians and politician-academicians the other day has not been uttered a day too soon. Teachers have every right to have their own political view and "isms". What is objectionable is the abuse by them of their position to indoctrinate their students and wash their brains. Teacher-politicians and politician-academicians are equally to blame for what is in fact a betrayal of trust. Politically indoctrinated students with an "ism" of one variety or another are responsible for most of the brawls, fisticuffs and noisy demonstrations accompanied by slogan-shouting and furniture-smashing on the campus. Educational life and activities on the campus must be freed from the vicious grip of politics and politicians. Balance and normalcy in the educational sphere must be restored by sweeping off the political miasma.

Far be it from us to suggest that teachers and students should be either indifferent to or ignorant of politics. Let them make a comparative study of political theories and political ideologies with an open mind and form their opinions. Hard and earnest reading and serious thinking are necessary. They must be aware of the developments in the country and the world—political and otherwise. But they must not dabble in politics and become party and political propagandists.

Current Affairs

As Others See Us

New Statesman is a radical British weekly and its views are usually not over critical of what backward nations try to achieve. In point of general reaction to matters Indian writers in the *New Statesman* would normally show no antagonism ; but sometimes they could justly express disapproval. The 25th anniversary of Indian independence has evoked criticism in India too and the Government of India has not made it an occasion for unrestrained jubilation. James Cameron writing in the *New Statesman* finds more things to mourn over during these 25 years of independence than matters for jubilation. A few quotations from his "India Diary" will help the readers to understand his point of view. He says : "India, to be sure, survives as the world's greatest democracy in so far as the word has any meaning at all. The government pursues a constitutional policy of equality and social justice which at its present rate will take about 10 million years to achieve the official Planning Commission agrees that 200 million people still live below the barest subsistence minimum—that is on less than 50 P a week. The defence budget makes enormous claims on the revenue, and the educational system has barely moved since British days : 70 per cent of Indians are still illiterate. The college system is in such a calamitous mess there are even illiterate graduates. In the 25 years of independence unemployment has risen 45 times—to something like 40 million. The vast new Taj

International Hotel rises in Bombay and 100000 sleep on the pavements and another million in the unspeakable slums. After 20 years of central planning the Health Minister admitted this year that these was no means of fixing a date when the 600000 villages would get drinking water. Every time I wonder why I endlessly return to this stupid, dirty, corrupt, ineffectual, diseased, class ridden, futile, despairing place for which there is certainly no answer but revolution for them and escape for me. I can't unhook myself from India. I have been trying for 26 years. I shall probably leave my ashes here among the rest. But before I do so I shall keep on nagging at a society that should have given the world so much, and has given so little".

The writer obviously believes in the greatness of Indian civilisation and culture and deeply feels about the incapacity of Indian leaders to stick to the path of glory. They (the leaders) inevitably stray into undesirable fields of collective effort which does no good to anybody either in India or anywhere else. He continues :

"The Indian bureaucracy, most pervasive on earth, is not wholly without heart, though it keeps most of it for itself. When I arrived in Bombay. the state government suddenly suspended the Prohibition laws. so do the multitude of civil servants engaged in enforcing it join the breadline ? Not so ; The Prohibition Minister Mr. M. B. Probart, told the state Assembly that one and all can now

drink at will on production of a permit. The permit will be available freely to all without any condition whatsoever'. The implications of this are very Indian. You can go to a bar if you have your piece of paper. You can get your piece of paper by saying you want to go to the bar ; but *you must have your piece of paper*. As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be".

Black Athletes are Victims of Olympic Bar

When the International Olympic Association withdrew their invitation to Rhodesia and that country was told that they could not participate in the Olympic games, the athletes who were thus prevented from going to Munich were mainly black complexioned persons among whom was Bernard Dzoma who was also selected for the Mexico Olympics in 1968 but could not join it as Rhodesia's invitation to go to Mexico was cancelled by the IOC. The Munich cancellation therefore affected black people more than white and the politically minded whites of Rhodesia are laughing up their sleeve at this development of an anti-apartheid move. The Rhodesians do not keep the black Africans off the sports fields and in this way they try to keep sports out of politics ; but the Olympic committee think that nations which enforce a colour bar in any sphere of life should be considered to be against the Olympic ideal of brotherhood of all peoples. The USA too have the colour bar in many places but no one has yet suggested that American sportsmen should not be permitted to compete in the Olympics. The African states, like Uganda, are now beginning to have anti-Asian laws which will make them guilty of the same or similar violations of the principles of human equality. Pakistan has been practising anti-non-Muslim rules and regulations for over twenty five years ; but no one has ever suggested that

Pakistan should be ousted from the Olympic arena. In fact most countries now a days have some rules and regulations relating to domicile, work or political rights which make invidious differences on grounds of religion, race, language or place of origin. Many, including communist countries, enforce rules and regulations which make distinctions between man and man on grounds of political belief. Some countries incarcerate persons without trial, which is a denial of a fundamental human right. All these are of importance when one considers the question of human equality and brotherhood from abroad angle of vision.

Science. Vehicle of Progress in Israel

The Jews have suffered oppression, persecution, genocidal attacks and from communal apartheid during the centuries that they have been wandering in all countries and living in ghettos in the ever present terror of pogroms. The barbaric excesses of the anti-semites has been the greatest obstruction to Jewish progress and the intellectual development and civilisation of the Jews the most effective aid to their advancement. As in the inclement setting of other lands, so in their own new home Israel the Jews have been building their national future on science and knowledge. S. C. Datta writing in *Science and Culture* has given a broad and general account of the progress achieved by Israel during its short existence by proper use of science in various fields of life. A few extracts from this article are given below :

Though the Bible describes ancient Israel as 'a land flowing with milk and honey' and 'a land whose stones are iron and out of whose hills thou mayest dig copper', the promises of the Holy Book did not hold out for the pioneers of modern Israel. When Mark Twain visited the region about a century ago, he spoke about 'forbidding isolation'. Sadly, he

pictured erosion—malaria-infested swamps and decomposed terraces. Years of neglect had crumbled the soil to dune and marsh. The first builders realized the dictum that necessity was the mother of invention and saw in the revival of Israel a challenge posed to science. With supreme confidence, they pitched their tents and set about the herculean task of restoration by the application of science. Endless hard work and bold improvisation have helped to create oases of bountiful life in a god-forsaken wilderness. By selfless alchemy, wastelands have been converted into stretches of smiling husbandry. Where once merely sparse desert scrub could thrive, one finds newly-planted trees and square white houses in just-born villages. Thanks to science, bustling cities have sprung up on frowning hill-sides and shifting coastal sands. Water conduits and electricity grid, new forests and housing estates, farms and industries, first-class highways and deep-sea harbours are some of the components of the reconstruction of ancient Israel through science. These accomplishments are the vanguard of what it is hoped would be tomorrow's ultimate offensive against a still arid tract, the Negev, shaped like a triangle, which constitutes almost 70 per cent of the State.

It is needless to say that Israel's Centres of research hold the key to their successes. The hundred million-dollar Weizmann Institute at Rehovot, internationally well known centre for research and high-level training in the natural sciences grew out of the small Daniel Sieff Research Institute established in 1934 by the Sieff, Marks and Sacher families of England under the inspiration of Dr. Chaim Weizmann who was to become the first President of the Institute and the first President of Israel. In the early days, the Institute was devoted to industrial bacteriology as well as pharmaceutical and agricultural chemistry with emphasis

on the development of agricultural products. There has been a steady expansion, despite the difficulty of attracting good scientists to a pioneering land frequently engulfed in strife and suffering from almost complete isolation during World War II. The initial building in the now massive complex was dedicated in 1949, a year after creation of the State, conceived as a gift for Weizmann's 70th birthday. The enlarged Institute now has a total staff of 1,400 with some 300 full-time scientists and 300 students at the Feinburg Graduate School. The Institute's sustained international prestige is reflected in the number of overseas scientists who work and teach here, e.g. 100 in 1968-69, coming from 15 countries, including India. In the current setup, a wide range of activities is followed in 17 units viz., applied mathematics, biochemistry, biodynamics, biological ultrastructure, biophysics, cell biology, chemical physics, chemistry, electronics, experimental biology, genetics, isotope research, nuclear physics, plant genetics, polymer research and science teaching.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem has acquired fame as one of the most elegant of recent universities, with contemporary but diversified architecture. It provides undergraduate, post-graduate and post-doctorate training in science. Staff-members are involved in such projects as laser, rain-making, germination-controlling mechanisms of desert plants and fabrication of organic compounds from the seas for export to the world chemical industry.

The Israel Institute of Technology, popularly known as the Technion and often referred to as the country's M.I.T., is Haifa's prize edifice of learning, dealing neither with anthropology nor archaeology, but with building construction, metallurgy, aeronautics and food technology. In a country importing all steel and timber and having an abundance of

good stone and sand, extensive research has been done on concrete, the chief material employed in Israel's large construction programme. Among the problems studied are concreting at high temperatures with certain degrees of wind velocity and humidity as well as the effect of climate and soil conditions on the corrosion of reinforcement. A great achievement has been the production of a new light alloy for hardening steel. Problems of international importance are being tackled in aeronautics. The intricacies of processing food economically as well as how the food can best be used, preserved and stored are looked into.

In the struggle for progress by the Israelis, no strategy is more popular than that of applying the country's considerable scientific talents to the development of industry. On a wider scale, the Weizmann Institute, Hebrew University and Technion are establishing industrial centres near their campuses. They hope to share or are sharing their technical know-how, rained personal and sophisticated equipment with the new science-oriented firms like Yeda at Rehovot, Ames-Yissum at Jerusalem and Elron Elbit at Haifa. The major concentrations of science-based industry are in three spheres : electronics, instrumentation and pharmaceuticals.

Israel, a country poor in fuel, has devoted a great deal of attention of capturing solar energy and putting it to work. In very sunny climates, the amount of sunlight impinging on 1 sq. m of ground per year is equal to the heat contained in 1/4 ton of oil. The sun's power is absorbed by a selective black surface. This has led to the production of revolutionary solar water heaters which require no electricity, no maintenance, no moving parts and no special skill for assembling on roof-tops. Israeli scientists have invented an unit powered

by solar collectors which harness the rays of the sun in areas rich in sunshine 1 kilowatt unit providing the benefits of generated power for a village of 26 families and irrigating 8 acres of farmland. By adding solar collectors, the quantity of power can be increased. Solar pools, in which layers of salt water trap the sun's heat but do not mix can also generate electricity. At the bottom of the pool, the brine is heated almost to the boiling point of water by the sun. The brine is drawn off, flashed in a vacuum chamber and the vapour used to drive a turbine. However, the condensed vapour is fresh water.

Research into polymers has led to the development of a mechano-chemical engine which functions like an animal muscle. Similar to muscles, fibres contract and expand as they pass alternately through a salt solution and then water. The most immediate interest hinges around the fact that the process tends to desalinate the salt solution and has enormous implications for any arid zone.

Work on the sweetening of brackish water by means of electrodialysis is being conducted at Beersheva's Negev Institute of Arid Zone Research. In this technique, a direct electric current is passed through a series of special membranes separating the salts from the solution. The membranes act in the same fashion as a filter. An unit has been successfully installed in the desert outpost of Tse'elim producing 132,000 gallons of water daily. Using the same process, plans are afoot for a million-gallon-a-day plant at Mashabbe Sadeh, in the heart of the Negev, which is supposed to furnish water at a cost comparable to water pumped from the River Jordan. A conventional oil-fired desalination plant at Eilat is yielding a million gallons each day, along with 6,700 kilowatts of electric power. Desalination and nuclear technology will be coupled in a nuclear-power plant on the Medi-

tarranean Sea scheduled to produce 100 million gallons fresh water every day, together with huge amount of electricity.

In a water desalination plant which uses a flash-freeze method, ice crystals are formed in the sea water. These ice crystals must be separated and washed from the sea water before they can be changed to potable water by melting. In this critical concentration step of freezing, a recently-developed radically new counter-current separator provides a significant scientific breakthrough.

Years of research into sea water desalting have led to the production of the Aquaport, a vapour compression distillation plant at ambient temperatures, which is gradually receiving international recognition. Fully automatic and all-electric, it has made it very attractive for employing at remote locations and for the non-technical tourist industry. It is available in capacities up to 2,000 cu.m per day as a battery and ranging from 10 to 500 cu. m per day in single units. It has succeeded in turning salty sea water into "a soft, low-salinity product, excellent for all fresh water applications, avoiding scale in boilers and hot water systems, and even saving soap in laundry and washing".

A Great Document Guaranteeing Human Rights and Freedoms

Human Freedoms and Rights can be protected and preserved, or they can be destroyed by human action in many ways. There have been individual tyrants and autocrats who have put shackles of slavery on entire communities of human beings ; and there have been groups of persons too, who by their superior might have been able to oppress whole nations. People in power are usually fewer in numbers compared to the masses over whom they impose their will as rulers. Nations have therefore to be very careful about conserving their rights and freedoms,

as those who work in governments to-day as benevolent dispensers of justice and public welfare, can easily deploy their activities to-morrow for the suppression of the lawful wishes and desires of numerous persons who can be picked out for exploitation in the same manner as have been the way of the makers and imposers of apartheid, anti-semetism, casteism, helenism, imperialism, colonialism and other anti-human arrangements made for the perpetration of self-willed excesses of a tyrannical autocrat or groups of persons who dominate the peoples at large for their own self-aggrandisement. Whenever nations achieve freedom they try to establish some form of constitutional government which would guarantee to them their human rights and freedoms for all times to come. Constitutional monarchies or democratic republics can be set up ; but the spirit of tyranny is never totally removed from the human mind and tyrants somehow manage to come into power from time to time which makes it necessary for nations to fight their wars of independence over and over again to reestablish their rights of self government. Italy became free from Austrian imperialism but that did not prevent Mussolini from establishing a totalitarian government in Italy with the king sitting on a throne to take orders from that oppressor of the people. The National Socialists of Germany also imposed the will of one man over a hundred million persons. Even in communist countries, tyrants or tyrannical political parties come into power and human rights and freedoms are negated in a manner which reminds one of the rule of Greek Aristocrats or Roman patricians over the general masses of the powerless underlings.

The Indian constitution was codified after the matter was studied and framed by a large number of highly patriotic experts whose whole hearted faith in the basic moral prin-

plies of freedom and the inalienable fundamental rights of mankind was unchallengeable. Persons like Gopalaswami Ayyangar, A. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B. Shiva Rao, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Frank Anthony, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Pt. Hridaya Nath Kunzru, Hari Singh Gour, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha were the framers of the constitution and they understood the true meaning of the politico-ethical aspirations of human beings better than most politicians who have succeeded them. The attempts of later politicians and bureaucrats to reduce human rights and freedoms in order to

increase their own powers, by utilising the votes of their blind followers, cannot be accepted as progressive measures in point of increasing political rights, in so far as the whole idea behind these moves to make changes in the constitution is one of making governmental powers totalitarian. The weapons that are being forged to cut into the roots of human rights and freedoms will eventually be used for cutting into all individual and collective rights of all persons who will try to disagree with the Party Leaders and their active agents, the Bureaucrats. That will be Fascism par excellence.

FACTS ABOUT FARAKKA

A. C.

Mr. Debal Kumar Gupta has been doing some very useful propaganda work relating to the central ministry's neglect and mismanagement of the Farakka project and we are making use of the material he has collected to enlighten the public about this matter which is so vital for the existence of the Calcutta port and the great metropolis of Calcutta. The Farakka project (West Bengal) has been described in the following manner in "India 1971-72" which is "a reference annual" published by The Research and Reference Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. We are reproducing the official summary of the project as printed in the above publication,

"The problem of silting at the Calcutta port has been engaging the attention of experts for over a century. The only technical solution is to restore the stream flow by the construction of a barrage on the Ganga at Farakka. This envisages the following principal components :

- (i) a barrage across the Ganga at Farakka with a rail-cum-road bridge
- (ii) a cross regulator across the Bhagirathi at Jangipur above the outfall of the canal ; and
- (iii) a feeder canal, 42.6 Km long, taking off upstream of the Bhagirathi, downstream of the Jangipur Barrage.

"There will be locks and lock channels at Farakka at the tail end of the feeder canal and at Jangipur Barrage to provide for navigation through the canal and across the Jangipur Barrage.

"By a judicious operation of these components, it will be possible to prolong the upland supplies into the Hooghly, thus countering the deteriorating effects of the tidal flow.

"While the principal objective of the project is the preservation of Bhagirathi—Hooghly and the port of Calcutta, a number of incidental benefits will also accrue, namely improvement of the city water supply and the drainage of the region and improvements in communications, inland navigation etc. Work on the Farakka barrage and the Jangipur Barrage was expected to be completed during 1971, but the excavation work on the feeder canal is likely to be delayed by two years".

India 1971-72 was printed in December 1971 and published on 2.5.72. It is described in its Preface as an annual which "carries information on diverse aspects of our national life obtained from official and other authoritative sources and presented objectively". All information contained in this publication therefore can be accepted as official and authoritative. No contradictory statements or ministerial actions which go against the officially stated purpose of the Farakka barrage can therefore be accepted as an official and authoritative revision of the project purpose which has been declared by government, after a century long study of the silting at the Calcutta port, as "the only technical solution". Mr. K. L. Rao's suggestions that the Bhagirathi—Hooghly stream flow can be maintained by an extra supply of 20000 cusecs or less of water released through the feeder canal is contrary to all expert opinion and is mala fide in so far as Mr. Rao has shown himself to be interested in the

development of numerous minor and major irrigation schemes which will draw water from the Ganga above Farakka. His outlook is coloured by many objectives other than that of the Farakka project and he should therefore dissociate himself from the handling of this project. The government too should not employ a person to carry out schemes the purposes of which are against his own personal wishes and desires. The Farakka project was drawn up by experts who were better qualified to work out a scheme of that magnitude and complexity than Mr. K. L. Rao and the cursory manner in which Mr. Rao tried to negate the prime objectives of the project, proved further that he was incapable of acting impartially and with an unprejudiced national outlook. The destruction of the Calcutta port and a further deterioration of Calcutta's water supply and drainage would be a national calamity in view of the fact that this great city is a vital part of the economic life of the whole of India and not merely of the state of West Bengal. Mr. Samar Guha leader of the Socialist party group in the Lok Sabha recently called upon the Prime Minister to intervene in this matter so that the project would not be deprived of its usefulness by Mr. K. L. Rao's misconceived ideas.

The Statesman (25.7.72) said : "The West Bengal Government was urged to publish a white paper on Farakka to enlighten public opinion by C.P.I. and Congress members during a debate on the demand for grant for Irrigation in the West Bengal Assembly on Monday.

"Speakers who included a former Chief Minister Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, a former Irrigation Minister, Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee made strong pleas to ensure the supply of 40000 cusecs of water to Farakka during the lean months to safeguard the port of Calcutta.

"They took exception to the recent statement made by Dr. K. L. Rao that the supply

of only 20000 cusecs of water could be provided to Farakka. It was pointed out that the whole purpose in building the Farakka barrage would be frustrated by the attitude of the Union Irrigation Minister.

"Some members feared that as long as Dr. Rao would be at the helm of affairs at the centre there was no hope for West Bengal to receive justice from Delhi.

"The speakers urged the Prime Minister to intervene and said settlement of the Farakka issue would prove the genuineness of Mrs. Gandhi's concern for West Bengal. Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee went a little further and said Farakka would be the test for the centre to show that it was not afflicted with parochialism but moved only on national interest.....

"The most forceful speech of the day was made by Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee who expressed surprise that there could be any doubt about the need for 40000 cusecs of water for Farakka when while the project was built after ascertaining the opinions of experts both from abroad and India. No one, not even Dr. K. L. Rao had any doubt at that time that 4000 cusecs of water was the minimum requirement for Farakka. But now Dr. Rao could not assure more than 20000 cusecs of water and during his last meeting with Mr. Mukherjee even suggested that the flow of water to Farakka might be reduced to 5000 cusecs during the summer months which to Dr. Rao was 'a lot of water'. Mr. Mukherjee alleged that the Union Minister had been 'deceitful' by going back on his word regarding water supply to Farakka.

"Mr. Mukherjee read out excerpts from his three letters written to Dr. Rao during his tenure as West Bengal's Irrigation Minister in 1969 and from a letter written by the former Chief Minister Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee to the Prime Minister on Farakka. He said no reply was received to any of the letters.

"Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee said the flow of water through the Ganga was essential not only for the Calcutta port but also for Haldia which would require a lot of water during its expansion. Besides Mr. Mukherjee said Haldia could never be a substitute for Calcutta port and it was being built only as a subsidiary port".

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in their editorial on 26.7.72 said among other things the following :

"Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee who held the Irrigation portfolio for more than a decade before assuming office as a Chief Minister pointed out (in the debate) that the Calcutta port ; which once occupied the glorious position of being the country's top port, had come down in recent years to the fifth position. It was by no means a local problem, for—as Mr. Mukherjee pointed out—the whole of Eastern India depended upon the Calcutta port and this entire region would be affected severely if it was allowed to decay. Apart from the larger issue of international trade, he said, many people hailing from the neighbouring states earned their living through employment in different departments of the Port and they would lose such facilities if the current process of ignoring the needs was continued.

"The West Bengal Government must make all-out efforts to save the Calcutta Port. Many MLAs urged the Government to publish a white paper on Farakka to enlighten public opinion, but the Government appears to be reluctant to encourage controversy. The Chief Minister is reportedly anxious for a settlement of the Farakka problem 'on the basis of facts and technical reasons'. This is certainly the right course, but Dr. Rao has not so far shown much regard for 'facts and technical reasons' and the Chief Minister's skill as an advocate will be put to a severe test if he seeks to open a closed mind. The people of the state will wait anxiously for his success".

The Hindusthan Standard in their editorial of 26.7.72 opined "A self-opinionated Minister of Irrigation and Power at the centre is about to strangle Calcutta port and condemn the whole of Eastern India to decay and slow death. The Bengalis.....donot relish the idea of being sacrificed to satisfy the whims of a Minister with a perverse mind. Impervious to the dictates of logic and with a queer sense of priorities, he does not mind killing Calcutta Port. Nobody knows for certain what he is really up to. Does he propose to release 20000 cusecs during the lean months of January to June or does he mean to reduce the flow to as low a figure as 5000 cusecs ? For the survival of Calcutta Port the difference is immaterial. In neither case will the Port survive. It is for saving it that the costly Farakka barrage was conceived and is under way, though. Experts hold that the Port's survival will require at least 40000 cusecs :

"To argue with a man like Dr. K. L. Rao is about useless.....Calcutta is too important for the country's economy to be trifled with for satisfying the vanity of a man who has in the past been responsible for a number of acrimonious inter-state disputes over the sharing of the waters of common rivers. It should never for a moment be assumed that with the commissioning of the Port of Haldia the one at Calcutta will become expendable. The two ports are indeed complimentary. If Calcutta goes down Haldia will neither suffice nor survive and Eastern India will lose the keystone of the arch of its economy."

Why was the Farakka barrage built at a cost of more than 200 crores of rupees ? Surely not for road or railway transport or for improving the landscape of the area. It was built to provide extra water for the Bhagirathi—Hooghly water way on which stands the port of Calcutta. Dr. K. L. Rao can now argue at length on the rights of other states to

use the waters of the Ganga for their own purpose ; but Dr. K. L. Rao's job is to justify the building of Farakka by fulfilling its declared purpose. It is not his job to make the construction of Farakka purposeless or to negate that purpose by his contrary acts. Calcutta has lost much of her importance as a port already by reason of the fall in the flow of water in the Bhagirathi-Hooghly ; but the port of Calcutta still earns hundreds of crores of foreign exchange by exports of tea, jute and other major exportable commodities. Calcutta also is the gateway of Eastern India as far as the seaborne trade of this part of India with the outside world determines our foreign relations. Calcutta also is an internationally important city in which over a million non-Bengalis live and work to the advantage of the whole of India. It has developed great political importance by being a meeting ground with Bangla Desh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. It is militarily of very great importance in so far as it provides a base for Eastern India with built in sea and air ports attached to it. It is also a multiple railway junction and a road and river traffic terminus. Calcutta is a great market, an industrial centre of greater magnitude than almost all other such centres in Asia, a remarkable seat of learning and a very large store house of knowledge, skill and technical know how. Calcutta is famous for its wonderful Museums, Libraries, Art Collections, Zoological and Botanical gardens and its literary, artistic and intellectual traditions. The *Hindusthan Standard* has rightly said on the 4th of August 1972 that "New Delhi is committed to saving Calcutta port and it cannot go back on its words on any pretext.....But the attitude of the union Power and Irrigation Minister is exceedingly unsympathetic, if not openly hostile. Dr. Rao is said to have stated that as a member of the central cabinet he has to

safeguard national and not regional interests. Fair enough. But does he deny that Calcutta port is a national port and that national interests demand that its claims on the waters of the Ganga should have primacy over all other competing claims?" Further if Dr. Rao is so very conscious of national interests as opposed to regional interests, why does he have such insomnia over the claims of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar on Ganges waters? The minor irrigation schemes of those states to which Dr. Rao gives special consideration are surely not Nationally important! Nor is the Narmada water supply from the Ganges anything but of regional interest. Dr. Rao may be a good engineer but he is hardly a successful master of convincing sophistry.

The future of India is closely linked up with her foreign policy. Her foreign relations have certain prominent features among which her lack of friendship with China stands out noticeably. If anything goes wrong in the field of Indo-Chinese relations and India has to defend herself against Chinese aggression, Calcutta naturally comes to the forefront as a centre of military activities of great importance. The proper functioning of the port of Calcutta has to be maintained fully and well so that Calcutta can serve as a base of vital potentiality. Road, rail, sea, river and air traffic converge in Calcutta. Dr. K. L. Rao should be able to work out the full implications of the facts related in this summary in order to convince himself of the utterly national character of Calcutta.

An article in *Hindusthan Standard* of the 10th August 1972 by Mr. Ranajit Roy gave the following facts: "In a 1966 publication titled 'Project to Save Calcutta' prepared by the External Affairs Ministry on the basis of data supplied not only by the Shipping and Foreign Trade Ministries but also by the Irrigation and Power Ministry, it was said: 'Calcutta is a

Premier Indian Port.....Calcutta Port is threatened with extinction. The loss of Calcutta Port would be a major world catastrophe in every sense of the word...Calcutta is the largest and most important commercial city in India. It ranks among the first ten cities of the world. The port serves a hinterland which is larger than U. K. and France put together. Fifty per cent of the nation's exports pass through this port'....For over a decade the country had been fed by official statements that the Farakka Barrage must provide for the diversion of at least 40000 cusecs during the lean months if Calcutta Port was to be saved from extinction. The Government of India's booklet, 'Project to Save Calcutta', gives the 'Salient features' of the Farakka barrage scheme. These features include the following item: 'Feeder Canal Capacity—40000 cusec; length 25 miles.....There is absolutely no meaning in providing for a feeder canal with this capacity unless it is meant to be diverted to the Bhagirathi-Hooghly during the dry months.....At every briefing before and after Indo-Pakistan conferences on Ganga waters, the Indian side gave out that without 40000 cusecs Calcutta Port could not be saved. The Government of India started playing a different tune after Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan and became an independent country. Suddenly Dr. Rao woke up to discover that he was a Minister for the whole country and not for West Bengal alone Equally suddenly, a series of schemes in the upper Ganga states came to be announced."

When arguing with Pakistan about Calcutta's need for extra water from Farakka Calcutta had always been in the highest priority position among all takers of Ganga water. To-day the upper Ganga states have become more important compared to Calcutta; Dr. K. L. Rao forgets that Ganga waters donot necessarily develop from the

catchment areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar or from tributaries which have their sources within those states. There are yet more distant upper reaches of this river system and everything considered the rivers are Indian rivers and not the rivers of this state or that for rights of utilisation of their waters. The idea that Calcutta's rights are born of national needs is being slowly brain washed out of the nation's mind. Calcutta used to be the greatest industrial-commercial centre of India in official descriptions ; but Bombay is being slowly pushed into that position by our Central Ministers when they grant economic preferences to the commercial-financial centres of importance. Calcutta's exports are still quite imposing in quantum and value. We would think that Bombay's exports do not come upto Calcutta's level either in bulk or in foreign exchange earnings. There may be greater concentration of capital in Bombay ; but where we are creating a socialist pattern of society ; such bourgeois considerations should not count. Calcutta had numerous small units which turned out machine parts and other merchant goods ; but due to Governmental interference with the import of foreign components these small shops have no longer that importance which they had in the past. In other words the Government of India have done many things which have injured Calcutta's economic stability. The attempt by Dr. K. L. Rao to cut down the extra water supply from Farakka may give Calcutta the *coup de grace* in the matter of total disintegration.

On Independence Day, 15th of August 1972, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Roy Chief Minister of West Bengal said to pressmen that he had arranged with the Central Government that 40000 cusecs of water will flow into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly stream through the feeder canal of the Farakka project even during the lean months. This arrangement will begin to take effect from early 1974 and will continue for five years during which period a factual study of the problem of maintaining Calcutta Port in full working will be made. All available data on the subject are largely conjectural and it was necessary that prolonged factual study should be carried out by experts before any permanent schemes could be made to satisfy the water requirements of the Calcutta Port. Mr. Roy' statements have not yet been confirmed officially from the Centre and we should feel happy when that is done to make the proposed arrangement irrevocable and devoid of all "strings" that may be attached to it by the Centre in keeping with their usual practices. We have to make this reservation while expressing our appreciation of the arrangement, as even after the arrangement was made Dr. K. L. Rao reiterated his references to "Two distinct schools of thought" regarding the quantum of water to be let into the feeder canal during the dry months of March to mid-May. Dr. Rao is himself a believer in the 20000-5000 cusec theory. He is clearly not impartial. He should therefore resign before the factual studies are commenced.

AUROBINDO'S MESSAGE

DILIP KUMAR ROY

Ich habe geglaubt, nun glaub' ich erst
recht,
Und geht es auch wunderlich, geht es auch
schlecht,
Ich bleibe beim glaubigen Orden.
So duster es oft und so dunkel es war,
In drangenden Noten, in naher Gefahr,
Auf einmal ist es lichter geworden.....

(GOETHE)

I have believed and now believe still more,
Whether or not it grows worse than before,
Or more distressing and strange—I would
align

Myself with those who have faith in the
Divine.
Though oft 'twas dark and dismal in the
heart of pain
Or imminent peril—lo, Light flashed again.

I have been asked to write about Sri Aurobindo's outlook on Yoga and message. I have decided to comply with the request on the occasion of his birth-centenary although I know full well how ill-equipped I am for such a task. But, as a Bengali adage has it, even squirrels helped Rama to built the bridge that led to the victory of the Divine over the titans.

This is not conventional humility nor have I ever believed in being a platitudinarian. I feel qualms of conscience because I feel truly overawed by Mother India's millennial wisdom which alone could have worked the miracle of saving us Indians time and again in 'the heart of peril' by outflashing His redeeming Light. This is not rhapsody but sheer history. Many an empire has risen and

declined : Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome.....and probably many more civilisations of which there are no historical or archaeological records. But India still survives, her mystic Flute still calls to her greatest sons—saints and sages, prophets and poets. One may say, sighing a la fatalist-materialist (Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam) :

The Moving Finger writes ; and, having
writ,

Moves on : nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all the tears wash out a word of it.

Which implies, in the present context, that India has had her day and so had better be reconciled to the fate prophesied by the Moving Finger—to wit, the destiny of decadence ending up in oblivion. “The rest is silence”.

This is no self-pity nor defeatist pessimism. A renowned intellectual who was our guest of late, told me with a deep sigh that the writing on the wall, written by the Moving Finger, could hardly be dismissed, and "so it follows, as the night the day", that India's twilight hour bids fair to be engulfed by the implacable great Night that casts its grim shadows everywhere. "And why must we survive?" he asked challengingly, "seeing that we don't deserve His Grace?" This he flung at me as I had quoted to him from Swami Vivekananda's prophetic Colombo speech way back in 1897:

"Formerly", Swamiji had declaimed, "I thought.....that this is the Punya Bhumi..... Today I stand here and say, with the conviction of truth, that it is so. Hence have started

the founders of religions from the most ancient times, deluging the earth again and again with the pure and perennial waters of spiritual truth. Hence have proceeded the tidal waves of philosophy that have covered the earth, East or West, North or South, and hence again must start the wave which is going to spiritualise the material civilisation of the world. Here is the life-giving water with which must be quenched the burning fire of materialism which is burning the core of the hearts of the millions in other lands. Believe me, my friends, this is going to be".

My friend, being an Indian, could not help but be moved by these noble words, but still he countered : "But how, my friend ? How is India's spiritual message going to be transmitted ? Through whose voices ? Where are the prophets, not to mention the Messiah ? How can we believe in Swamiji or Sri Aurobindo whom you quoted the other day from *Savitri* :

"The high gods look on man and watch and choose
Today's impossibles for the future's base ?"

And he went on : 'How can a realist look on such utterances as anything other than wishful thinking ? Christ, the idealist, said : 'God is not mocked'. But science, the realist, says : "Destiny is not mocked—let us not be star-gazers". And isn't that destiny toppling us, rolling, from decadence down into the abyss ?'

I smiled and said : "Not so fast, my friend. India's soul has yet to be conquered. What has changed is peripheral—the outer crust of so-called culture. But has not India assimilated miraculously—and over and over again—alien elements to achieve everytime a new synthesis ? Our sages and saints, prophets and Messiahs, were neither blind nor senile. Besides, how can you say that they were 'stargazers'—the authentic illuminates who have

not only rescued us repeatedly from sheer disasters by inspiring us to hark back to His Flute-call but also by weaning us from siren glamours that land us in the abyss ? Not for nothing did Sri Aurobindo sing :

How shall the end be vain when God is guide ?

My friend made a wry face : "But is God our guide to-day or the other Fellow ? What about the deep unrest, violence and indiscipline we meet with at every turn ? No, my dear friend, our bankrupt spirituality has not delivered the goods—that sticks out a mile."

"I know, my friend," I cut in. "None but a blind man will say that we are riding the rainbow to the golden sunrise. 'Time is out of joint,' as Shakespeare wailed. But the root cause is, assuredly, not the bankruptcy of our spirituality. It is our blind God-hostility that is leading us to the Pit. Sri Aurobindo has stressed it in *Savitri* over and over again :

A dark concealed hostility is lodged
In the human depths in the hidden heart of
Time,
That claims the right to mar and change
God's work.

Until it is slain peace is forbidden on earth."

My friend pondered awhile, then added, "But are we God-hostile, we intellectuals ? We want only to call a spade a spade."

"Yes, but don't you deny, in effect, the marvellous existence of diamonds ? Listen. The omens are, indeed, bad—as Karna said to Krishna on the eve of the battle of the Kurukshetra. But you must look up a little to spot the silver lining. Just an instance in point : in spite of all our deplorable blunders we have given refuge to a crore of refugees whom we might well have shut out by closing our borders. That is, surely, the first sign of the Lord's intervention. But there is also another hopeful sign : to wit, the widespread thirst for Light to-day all over the world—a dim perception (now incipient but it keeps growing) that

a new horizon is opening out before our gaze, a new ideal of One World, World Government, World Tribunal, World Bank and so on. Never in human history have men and women the world over acclaimed with one voice, as they have to-day, the banner of Universal Brotherhood and a new gospel of Truth and Love that brooks no barriers of caste or creed, race or colour. I concede, sadly, that we are at the moment denigrating the potency of the Song of songs of the Gita that, 'wherever the Yoga Emperor Krishna holds the reins and Ayjun, the generalissimo, does His bidding, there is bound to be victory, prosperity and rock-bottomed morality.' But, my dear friend, the present unrest and topsyturvy reversal of values just had to happen if only to open our eyes to the lunatic folly of indicting God as the author of the crimes perpetrated by the Devil's disciples. And that is why in this fateful hour we must all the more be on our guard and not play into the hands of our Enemy number One—Atheism—who cajoles us into throwing away the baby with the bath-water. In other words, we must never forget Upanishad's saying :

Yada charmavadakasham vesitaishyanti
Tada devam avijnaya dukhasyanto manavah
bhavishyati'

“What does it mean ?”

"It means that the impatient clamour to eradicate at one sweep the evil lurking in life's subterranean roots, without first knowing the Divine, is essentially as futile as wanting to girdle the sky with leather. This has been the Eternal message of the Sanatan Dharm which Krishna enjoined Sri Aurobindo to promulgate —the *Sanatan Dharm* of the Gita which is based, first and last, on man's aspiration to divinise his life with the power of prayer and dedication to the spiritual life".

"Sanatan Dharma?" asked my friend, somewhat mystified. "You mean dogmatic religion?"

"No : I mean the Eternal findings of the soul which are embodied in all revealed Scriptures and hymned by poets and prophets and avatars in all climes".

"How do you mean?" he asked, still at sea, Krishna enjoined—?"

"You haven't read Sri Aurobindo's Uttarpara speech—the famous pronunciamento he proclaimed when he came out of prison?"

"N--no, though I have heard about it from gossips who told me that in prison Krishna materialised before Sri Aurobindo and gave in his hands the Gsta, enjoining him to preach it to his countrymen".

"Not gossips, my friend". I laughed.
"Nor had Krishna materialised, like a ghost,
out of ectoplasm. It is called epiphany, that
is, He manifested Himself to Sri Aurobindo in
his prison-cell—even as He had to Messiahs
before him—and gave him His divine message.
Here let me read out from the book Krishna
came and said to Sri Aurobindo (the first
message).

'I have given you a work and it is to help to uplift this nation. Before long the time will come when you will have to go out of jail ; for it is not my will that this time either you should be convicted or that you should pass the time as others have to do, in suffering for their country. I have called you to work, and that is the *adesh* (command) for which you have asked. I give you the *adesh* to go forth and do my work'. "The second message came and it said : 'Something has been shown to you in this year of seclusion, something about which you had your doubts and it is the truth of the Hindu religion. It is this religion that I am raising up before the world, it is this that I have perfected and developed through the *rishis*, saints and *avatars*, and now it is going forth to do my work among the nations. I am raising up this nation to send forth My word. This is the *Sanatan Dharma*, this is the eternal religion which you did not

really know before, but which I have now revealed to you. The agnostic and sceptic in you have been answered, for I have given you proofs within and without you, physical and subjective, which have satisfied you. When you go forth, speak to your nation always this word, that it is for the *Sanatan Dharma* that they arise, it is for the world and not for themselves that they arise. I am giving them freedom for the service of the world. When, therefore, it is said that India shall rise, it is the *Sanatan Dharma* that shall rise. When it is said that India shall be great, it is the *Sanatan Dharma* that shall be great. When it is said that India shall expand and extend herself, it is the *Sanatan Dharma* that shall expand and extend itself over the world. It is for the *Dharma* and by the *Dharma* that India exists. To magnify the religion means to magnify the country. I have shown you that I am everywhere and in all men and in all things, that I am in this movement and I am not only working in those who are striving for the country but I am working also in those who oppose them and stand in their path. I am working in every body and whatever men may think or do, they can do nothing but help on my purpose. They also are doing my work, they are not my enemies but my instruments. In all your actions you are moving forward without knowing which way you move. You mean to do one thing and you do another. You aim at a result and your efforts subserve one that is different or contrary. It is *Shakti*, that has gone forth and entered into the people. Long ago I have been preparing this uprising and now the time has come and it is I who will lead it to its fulfilment".

Sanatan dharma means, literally, eternal religion. But since like (Shelly's) "love" it has been "a word too oft profaned" exploited by fanatics and chauvinists and what not, I may here, in parenthesis, explain what

Sri Aurobindo meant by it from his summit view of Yoga.

"The deepest heart, the inmost essence of religion," he writes, "apart from its outward machinery of creed, cult, ceremony and symbol, is the search for God and the finding of God. Its aspiration is to discover the Infinite, the Absolute, the One, the Divine, who is all these things and yet no abstraction but a Being. Its work is a sincere living out of the true and intimate relations between man and God, relations of unity, relations of difference, relations of an illuminated knowledge, an ecstatic love and delight, an absolute surrender and service, a casting of every part of our existence out of its normal status into an uprush of man towards the Divine and a descent of the Divine into man."

(*The Human Cycle*)

And so, Sri Aurobindo went on to add in his lecture by way of explanation: "That which we call the Hindu religion is really the eternal religion, because it is the universal religion which embraces all others. If a religion is not universal, it cannot be eternal. A narrow religion, a sectarian religion, an exclusive religion can live only for a limited time and a limited purpose. This is the one religion that can triumph over materialism by including and anticipating the discoveries of science and the speculations of philosophy. It is the one religion which impresses on mankind the closeness of God to us and embraces in its compass all the possible means by which man can approach God. It is the one religion which insists every moment on the Truth, which all religions acknowledge, that He is in all men and all things and that in Him we move and have our being. It is the one religion which enables us not only to understand and believe this Truth but to realise it with every part of our being. It is the one religion which shows the world what the world is, that it is the *Lila* (cosmic play) of Vasudeva.

It is the one religion which shows us how we can best play our part in that *Lila*, its subtlest laws and its noblest rules. It is the one religion which does not separate life in any smallest details from religion, which knows what immortality is and has utterly removed from us the reality of death.

"This is the word that has been put into my mouth to speak to you today. What I intended to speak, has been put away from me, and beyond what is given to me I have nothing to say. It is only the word that is put into me that I can speak to you. That word is now finished. I spoke once before with this force in me and I said then that this movement is not a political movement and that nationalism is not politics but a religion, a creed, a faith. I say it again to-day but I put it in another way. I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, faith, I say that it is the *Sanatan Dharma* which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the *Sanatan Dharma*, with it moves and with it it grows. When the *Sanatan Dharma* were capable of perishing, with the *Sanatan Dharma* it would perish. This is the message that I have to convey to you."

I do not know whether the questioning intellect of my wondering friend was finally appeased. But that is no concern of ours—by 'ours' I mean of those who believe in the eternal Gospel of the soul which India has sponsored from time immemorial through her great saints, sages and Messiahs of the spirit. Such instruments of the Lord must serve India today one-pointedly, holding up the banner of the One-in-all who is called by many names (*Ekam sad-vipra bahudha vadanti*). Sri Aurobindo belongs to this Pleiad of Illuminates and as such should be acclaimed by all who would co-operate with him—who love the India of the Vedas, the Gita and the Tantra—the India whose sacred soil has been showered with the *kathamrita*—nectarous words—of her

darling sons : the avatars of love divine leading us from age to age the flowering fulfilment of the illumined soul.

To end on a note of warning sounded by Sri Aurobindo who was no "star-gazer" but a mighty sentinel in this distracted age.

In one of his most heart-warming messages he said that the hour is big with fate and so all who cherish India must hark back to her everringing call of the spirit, otherwise we may "forfeit our Swadharma" which will be a disaster of the first magnitude, because

"The ancient India and her spirit might disappear altogether and we would have only one more nation like the others and that would be a real gain neither to the world nor to us. There is a question whether she may prosper more harmlessly in the outward life yet lose altogether her richly massed and firmly held spiritual experience and knowledge. It would be a tragic irony of fate if India were to throw away her spiritual heritage at the very moment when in the rest of the world there is more and more a turning towards her for spiritual help and a saving Light. This must not and surely will not happen ; but it cannot be said that the danger is not there".*

To be forewarned is to be forearmed : and so, we must brace ourselves to the supreme task of voicing, not merely with our tongue but through our every act, thought and aspiration, the deathless call of our India of Krishna (*The Bhagavat* 11. 12. 25) ;

Mamekameva sharanam atmanam
sarvadehinam

Yahi man sarvatmabhavena maya sya
hyakutobhayah

That is :

I am the soul of all, and so thou shalt for
ever be free

From cosmic fear if thou, O friend, but
refuge seek in me.

* The message sent to the Andhra University at the Convocation on Dec. 1948.

INCOME TAX ON AGRICULTURAL INCOME & TAX ON AGRICULTURE AS RENT—REVENUE

R. S. MACHALPURKAR

Both the above schemes aim at the same result and the underlined idea is the same ; of securing income to the State ; yet the two basically differ from each other and hence it is essential to make a choice of the right one, which will be convenient, desirable and practical both to the Assessee and the Assessors.

Tax on Agriculture in the form of Land Revenue, Rent, Lagan, Tauzi, Premia, or share of the produce has been in vogue from ancient times and we find it duly regularised in the process of Survey Settlement and Assessment effected by the Government from time to time. The first attempt effecting settlement was prior to 1888, the second attempt was made in 1905-8 and the third was during the period 1925-28. Since then there has been no Survey, no Settlement and no Assessment in the whole of India though the period of last Settlement fixed for thirty years in Uttar Pradesh and twenty years in all other Provinces has expired long ago and fresh Survey, Settlement and Assessment is not only over-due but in fact are most essential, quite urgent and inevitable. It is getting more and more urgent owing to the economic state of affairs progressing day by day since the date of Independence.

At this stage it will not be out of place to mention that today while the Land Revenue, Rent, Lagan, or Tauzi is the same i. e. as was

settled and assessed in the last Settlement in 1925-28 at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre to a maximum at Rs. 5/- per acre, just varying as per user or classification of the Land at that time, when the price of the produce of the land, may be wheat or rice etc. was on an average 16 seers per rupee i. e. Rs. 6-4 per quintal. Now the prices have gone up and reached the height of Rs. 116/- per quintal and still the rate of Land-Revenue—Rent is continuing just the same without any change, without any increase, much less to say of proportionate increase.

In the circumstances, the irresistible conclusion that arises before us is that of fixing proportionate liability on land, on agriculture in proportion and in keeping with the fresh Socio-Economic change in the Country.

Further in view of the taxes being levied from day to day by the Government on the public in the urban sphere and the framing of the yearly budgets there naturally raises a demand for tax on agricultural incomes, and thus recently the idea of income-tax on agricultural incomes is gaining strength and is likely to be moved shortly. But we have to consider whether the idea of Income-Tax on agricultural incomes would be advisable, desirable and practical in our country where the tax payers concerned are to a large extent not sufficiently literate either to keep accounts

or to assess their production nor are they in a position to pursue the inevitable process of assessment, valuation, submitting of returns and allied matters like appeals etc. and further the difficulty of leaving the agricultural operations in the field and to run after the authorities for the purpose of assessment and valuation.

It needs no explanation to prove that in agricultural operations with the contemplated intensive cultivation we can't expect the farmer to leave his field and crops unattended and pursue the Patawari, the Revenue Inspectors, the Tax-Practitioners and the concerned authority for assessment, valuation and tax-reliefs. If the farmer is engaged or compelled to spare time for the above processes, definitely the fields cannot be expected to yield the desired production and/or the only alternative to be expected will be corruption in the midst of Revenue-Income-Tax personnel.

It is also an undisputed fact that no body can be sure of the out-put of crops in a particular field for any particular year. Inspite of the best efforts of experts and their full attention and care we find the crops failing only because it is not only the labour but it is the climate, the rains, the heat, the cold, the storms and the atmosphere which is beyond our control but which actually control the production of crops in the field. In other words the crops being much more dependent on the uncertain climatic conditions there can be no fair assessment either about the out-put in the field of any crop, nor can there be any fair assessment as to the price of the out-put so as to fix a valuation and effect tax-assessment thereon. In view of all this uncertain factors if tax on the income of agriculture or yearly produce is sought to be levied, that does not appear to be either feasible nor workable in any precise manner either to the assessee or to the assessor ; but it may only be beneficial to those addicted to corrupt and

underhand dealings. In the circumstances the only course of wisdom would be to refrain from the experiment of levying income-tax on agriculture and upset the people of the country.

The alternative for agricultural income-tax I believe can be, only in the form of a fresh survey, settlement and assessment of the resources of production in the country ; keeping pace with socio-economic progress of life, with due regard for the cost of living, standard of living, the rising trend of prices, wages, salaries and taxes. It would be a complete survey and would cover all places and every resource wherever available on the surface of the earth, below the surface of the earth and above the surface of the earth, whether so far known, unknown, ignored, used or unused. The utilisation of these would naturally add to the national product both in the form of productive capital and income.

An all pervading survey of India for all productive resources thus seems indispensable as well as most urgent, and essential. It would enable proper classification of soil, sub-soil and land on the basis of environment as also of their present use and future utility and their productivity from the industrial and other points of view. The ceiling limits as to minimum or maximum holdings may be fixed by reference to suitability for intensive cultivation and irrigation facilities. One will also study the cultivation in tanks, reservoirs, river-water, river-beds or in the area of the sea and ocean. Also the utility of the forest areas, the mountains, the valleys and the mines, minerals, and the space above the earth's surface being utilised and to be developed for the purposes of the air-lines and the utilisation of the sun's rays, air currents etc. etc.

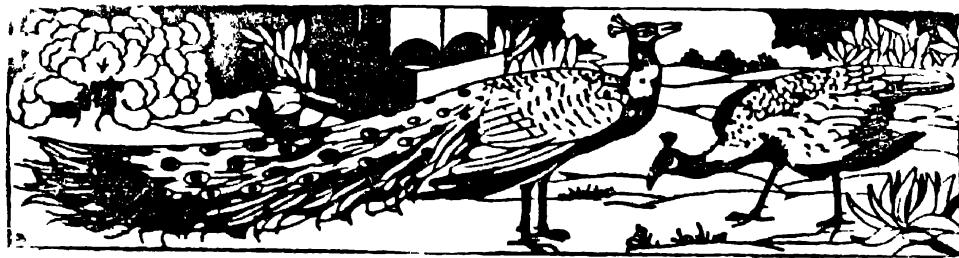
An attempt at survey of all these factors to assist fresh assessment, fresh settlement at a

air rate on the basis of new classifications will bring forth not only the desired result of increasing revenue income but would also procure additions to production.

Besides, a reasonable and long term settlement would grant relief to the agriculturist and others alike, since it is the normal desire of an average working individual that he wants to devote himself to his job undisturbed by other elements and wants to be let alone to work out his schemes in his own way uninterfered and to earn for himself the increased and additional benefits as the fruit of his labour by paying a fixed sum, which will be his agreed liability. He would be free from unknown obligations ; He will not have any uncertainty hanging upon him. This desire of the average individual of the countryside cannot be ignored. He desires to work hard and procure more production only with a feeling of certainty about revenue, rent, premia, lease royalty and all increased output will be his property alone. This is actually the impetus for him to work hard and deserves

to be given due regard in the interest of national welfare.

Thus it will appear that both from the aspects of simple working of the administration and of taxation, assessment and realisation, as also from the point of view of avoiding unnecessary botheration of the yearly assessment, valuation and income tax process of returns and so on, the proposal of fresh survey, settlement, assessment and thereby of reasonable increase in the relevant amount of revenue, rent, premia, lease or royalty etc., from different productive resources will be more desirable, workable and advisable as well as beneficial to both the assessee and the assessor instead of launching upon a cumbersome, impractical method of yearly income-tax on agriculture or agricultural income and other similar productive outputs. In the interest of the Nation and stabilisation of our democracy on a socialistic pattern we have to be vigilant both for national welfare as well as for simple working of the administration which will be beneficial to the general public, inculcating faith in our democratic system.



PROBLEMS OF THE RECENT LAND CEILINGS

S. NAKKIRAN

Indian agricultural economy is facing an institutional reform after the reintroduction of the talks on land ceilings. Land reform measures like other economic reforms did not get continuous momentum. It was the talk of the day after our independence. Land reform measures like the consolidation of holdings, tenancy reforms, cooperative farming and land ceilings did not yield the expected returns. This means that we have failed to create a sense of security to the tenants and the real tillers of the soil and the rural economic imbalance continued to be a threat to our rulers and planners.

The only link in the lost chain of land reforms seems to be the land ceilings. Only through this measure the rural aristocracy can be wiped out and a real stable peasantry created. Though arguments were there against land ceilings and against fixing a lower limit the new wave of economic reforms could not be stopped. Nationalisation of industries, higher taxation, ceiling on holdings and incomes are sweeping over the country. Whether we like it or not these measures are popularly praised by the common man.

The recommendation of the Central Land Reforms Committee in regard to the level of ceilings to be imposed on agricultural holdings was finalised and was circulated to the state governments on August 1971. The Committee has recommended a uniform ceiling of 10 to 18 acres throughout the country. This has been endorsed by the working Group on Land Reforms of the National Agricultural Commission, and in the opinion of the working group, within the ceiling range of 10 acres of best land and 54 acres of worst land only the following four divisions should be earmarked.

a) The ceiling shall be in the range of 10-18 acres of land with assured irrigation and capable of yielding at least two crops a year.

b) In the case of land having assured irrigation for only one crop in a year, the ceiling shall not exceed 27 acres (10.8 hectares)

c) For all other types of land the ceiling shall not be over 54 acres

d) In the case of holdings consisting of different types of land the total holding, after converting the irrigated land into the lowest category of land, shall not exceed 54 acres.

Irrigation as Basis ?

When the recommendations were implemented confusion and practical difficulties broke out. On April 5, 1972 the Punjab Legislature Congress party decided to have a 30 acre ceiling against the 10 to 18 acres suggested by the C.L.R.C. Following this controversy arose as to the interpretation of the versions placed in Parliament on August 4, 1971 and November 14, 1971. This was over the definition of irrigated lands".

According to one statement the CLRC decided that, "the ceiling for a family of five may be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land or irrigated land capable of growing two crops." But the other version said, "ceiling for a family of five may be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land or land with assured irrigation from government source for growing two crops". The confusion started with the words "assured irrigation from government source for growing two crops." This was realised after the Punjab governments' decision to fix a higher ceiling. At this time the Minister Mr. A. P. Shinde told the Rajya Sabha in reply to a question that by "irrigated land the CLRC had in mind, "assured irrigation from government sources for growing two crops". On the basis of this Acts were passed in West Bengal, Gujarat M. P., Andhra, Bihar and Orissa.

Against this The Working Group on Land Reforms of the National Agricultural Commi-

sion in its interim Report submitted on May 1972 opposed any distinction being made between irrigation from Public and Private sources for imposing ceilings. It has pointed out that the main consideration should be whether irrigation was assured or not, whether it was assured for two crops or for one crop only.

The Chief Ministers Conference held during the end of May 1972 discussed this "irrigated land" matter and opinions differed. Three points made in favour of equal treatment were :

1. In many cases private irrigation is more efficient than public irrigation ;
2. The bulk of private irrigation projects were constructed with credit given by government and other agencies ;
3. In some states farmers are still getting electric power on subsidised rates.

Points against equating 'Public' and Private are also raised

All states did not fix the ceiling on the basis of the irrigation potential of the lands. In U.P. the law applies uniformly to all lands whether irrigated by government or private sources. In Rajasthan the criterion for fixing the ceiling limit was the productivity of a particular piece of land,—roughly one standard acre should produce 12 maunds of wheat to give a return of Rs. 3600 to the farmer with a net income of Rs. 2,400 per annum. In Punjab and Haryana there are no separate ceilings for irrigated and unirrigated land. In Kerala the ceiling has been fixed on the basis of standard acre and not on irrigation basis. Maharashtra, Andhra, Orissa, Bengal and Bihar have fixed the ceiling on the basis of "assured". In Maharashtra under the present Act the ceiling on canal irrigated land is 18 acres, irrigated land from government sources 27 acres and land irrigated by natural and private sources 48 acres. For dry land areas the ceiling ranges between 66 acres and 126 acres. In Andhra the ceiling for irrigated lands from Government sources the limit is 27 to 51 acres. For dry lands the limit is ranges between 162

and 324 acres. In Orissa the ceiling is 29 acres for perennially irrigated land and 30 acres for seasonal irrigated land and 80 acres for dry lands. In West Bengal the ceiling is 7 hectares for a family of nine adults in irrigated areas and 9.8 hectares for unirrigated areas.

Exemption from Ceilings :

Till recently in almost all states exemption were given to certain kinds of farms from the ceiling. Under the guise of these exemptions many people had overcome the difficulties from the ceilings. The working group on Land Reforms of the National Agricultural Commission has strongly recommended cancelling the exemptions except plantations, which may be exempted to the extent of the area actually under plantation with a reasonable margin for future replanting. Differences are there in many states in giving exemptions. In Tamil Nadu in 1970 the government had withdrawn exemption granted to sugar farms and grazing lands. In Kerala Tea, Coffee, Cardamom and Rubber plantations were exempted but orchards were not. In Andhra exemptions for mechanised farms, orchards, gardens and sugarcane farms were removed. In Maharashtra exemption were withdrawn for mechanised or well managed farms. Though some concessions were given to orchards upto August 4, 1979, such orchards were treated as dry land and a ceiling of 48 acres was fixed. Reconsideration should be given in some states in giving exemptions to ordinary cases.

Other problems that are to be tackled regarding the ceilings are ;

1. Distribution of surplus: How to make the tenancy of agricultural labourers viable
 2. How to identify the persons holding excess lands?
 3. How to deal with the persons who have lands in two or more states ?
 4. Will the ceiling limit be reduced in future ?
- The true success of the land ceilings depends on the solutions given to the above problems.

from the Rear Admiral downwards. Rear Admiral Krishnan, of the Eastern Command, was the only Tamillian Officer I met ; most of the officers were from Kerala and Punjab. Tamil Nad, which sent its ships and sailors to the Far East in ancient times, should be better represented in the Indian Navy. The Tamil Nad Government would do well to institute a large number of scholarships to attract Tamil youth, especially from the coastal districts, the fishery coast as it used to be called, to all trades of the Indian Navy and the Indian mercantile marine. It might also help in this direction to establish and maintain a couple of training schools for officers and men so that Tamil Nad may retrieve its ancient reputation as a nursery of sailors who went down to the sea in ships.

The landing ship which we visited was a large one meant to carry and land not only troops but vehicles like jeeps and tanks. Smaller vessels like coasters and barges and landing launches and patrol vessels—motor torpedo boats that will form the infrastructure of the Navy and the mercantile marine are just as necessary and perhaps need a higher priority.

And so I and my colleagues of the Defence Committee came with a sense of satisfaction of the good work done in the defence of the country by its Navy and with hopes and expectations for its rapid development. But to this end the Government of India must ~~pend much more on the Indian Navy than the paltry sum of Rs. 90 crores, a bare one-tenth of the Defence Budget. And to ensure an efficient Navy the men who man it must be~~

The Indian Navy does not provide a luxurious life—it should not—but it must ensure minimum comfort. The housing for the officers at Vizag is less than the minimum. Most of the junior officers have to live in single rooms. Nor are all officers provided with quarters by

the Government. By the way, housing is as bad, if not worse, in the Hindustan Shipyard, only 1/3 of the workers being provided with housing by the Corporation.

The Government will do well to remember that India's maritime frontier is as long as its land frontier. And the increasing foreign presence in the Indian Ocean ought to put it to more purposeful action towards the growth and development of the Indian Navy.

Raja Rammohan Roy

Prof. Pranab Ranjan Ghosh writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* about certain aspects of the life and work of Raja Rammohan Roy. We are reproducing below some extracts from Prof. Ghosh's article :

In honouring Rammohan Roy, India will honour herself this year. The history of modern India starts from him. And in him meet the ancient and medieval India with a new meaning and purpose. If assimilation of different cultures and religions is the genius of India, it again started functioning in the personality of Rammohan, born in the seventies of eighteenth-century Bengal. As all renaissances in the history of the world start from the intellectual sphere, so it was in the case of the Indian renaissance. Starting from the intellectual plane it went deeper and found its social and spiritual fulfilment first in the Brahma movement, and then the fulfilment if we may say so, in the greater world of the Hindu spiritual Renaissance embodied in the twin personality of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. In the literary greatness of Rabindranath Tagore we find the spirit of the renaissances unfolding in its aspect of literature. But whatever may be the subsequent development, Rammohan remains the starting-point of modern India.

Born in a *brahmana* family, in a period when the Mogul Empire was crumbling and the new British Empire forming its nucleus mainly in Bengal and also in some other parts

of India, Rammohan had the advantage of studying three cultural forces intermingling and reacting on each other in his lifetime. As an inheritor of three cultures, Rammohan was well-equipped with Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Persian, and English. He could write fluently in all these languages, although from the viewpoint of India today his mastery of English, which he took to learning after he was thirty, seems astonishing. In fact Rammohan's English prose can be well compared with the best English prose of his time.

Although coming from a conservative Hindu family, Rammohun from his early boyhood showed a natural sympathy for worshipping the one formless God. In later life, while he translated Vedantic scriptures and wrote so many pamphlets in defence of Hindu theism, one could easily note his indebtedness to Sankaracarya as the sole philosopher on whom he entirely depended to understand the essence of Hinduism. In the context of the state of Hindu religion and society prevailing in his time, his reliance on Vedanta and Sankaracarya was really striking.

In his reference to Rammohan, Swami Vivekananda once observed that three things were important in the message of Rammohan : (1) his acceptance of the Vedanta, (2) his preaching of patriotism, (3) the love that embraced the Muslim equally with the Hindu.¹ It seems that Swamiji himself was influenced by Rammohan in these three aspects,..... Rammohan also had the catholicity of religious tolerance,² but his was an intellectual process.....

Rammohan's study of Islam strengthened his views on monotheism, which later found further support from his study of Christianity.it was he who first inculcated in the dawn of India's modern history the essential unity of religion, which forms the basis of independent India's national policy.

In his universal outlook Rammohan

observed [not only the] unity underlying the different cultural groups of India, but of those throughout the world ; a whole. In fact there were very few comparable with him in this world-outlook in his day. Rammohan was born a Bengali ; in his outlook he was an Indian ; when he died he was already a man comprising in him most of the great ideals of the East and the West.

That our education should be science-oriented and at the same time fully conscious of our spiritual heritage was clearly foreseen by him. Although sometimes he thought that for our political advantage we should reform our religious ideas a bit,³ still it was clear that he believed in an educational system based on religious ideals. While conversing with Dr. Duff, he once remarked, 'All true education ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the working of the conscience'.⁴ It seems that in modern times we have lost this insight regarding education in the name of so-called secular ideals.

As a humanist, Rammohan has a unique position in the history of our renaissance. He was more concerned about his countrymen and humanity as a whole, than most of his contemporaries. His deep concern about the fallen state of Indian womanhood led him to fight against the system of burning widows with their dead husbands. Even though he cited reasons and examples from ancient scriptures, all his inspiration for fighting against that social abuse came more from his heart than from his brain. It was his respect for Indian women, descendants of Gargi, Maitreyi, Lilavati, etc., which stirred the younger generation and thus started the liberation movement of women in nineteenth-century Bengal. In this respect the great Vidyasagar followed in his footsteps.

Rammohan and Vidyasagar both have

distinguished places in the history of Bengali literature. While Rammohan's approach is altogether didactic and intellectual, Vidyasagar's style is artistic and full of poetic flavour. It is natural that Bengali prose later developed on the Vidyasagarian lines. But it was for Rammohan to clear the way for common men towards the approach to our source-scriptures by his translations and discussions on Vedanta. Since Rammohan, the Upanisad has entered with its spiritual depth and poetic beauty into Bengali literature. Devendranath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath, followed Rammohan in this matter and from him this Upanisadic spirit developed in Rabindra-literature.

Rammohan's prose style in Bengali reminds one of the Sanskrit system of writing *tika* (gloss), where a *purvapaksa* (objection) is followed by an *uttarapaksa* (reply). But what he says is always clear, lucid, sharp, full of inherent humour, although it lacks the spontaneity of Vidyasagar and others. But Bengali prose needed such a strong basis of reason in its early stage. Rammohan is one of its early architects, to whom our literature will remain indebted for ever.

Few people know that Rammohan was a poet with quite a few devotional songs to his credit. Although his songs are preoccupied with the moral aspect of religion and the transitoriness of human life, still in them we find the first examples of modern Bengali classical and devotional songs, which later developed through numerous poets of the Brahma Samaj, among whom the best example can be found in no other poet than Rabindranath himself.

For better or worse, the central interest of the Indian intelligentsia today is politics rather than religion. In a way, this is one sure sign of the western impact on the Indian way of life. It can be safely said that Rammohan foresaw this political predilection of future

India and all his life he was conscious of India's political status and of world politics as a whole.⁵ He was a supporter of freedom, of the people's rights whenever and wherever he found occasion to voice his feelings. He felt in his heart of hearts the pangs of a subjugated country, as India then was. Admitting the beneficial role of the British rule, he was aware of India's bright future when India would rise with all her past heritage of spirituality and assimilate the political and scientific advantages of modern Europe. Throughout his life he fought for the betterment of his motherland, whether within his country, or in England in the last years of his life. He was the first cultural ambassador of resurgent India, accepted with highest honour by the king, the philosopher, the politician, the religious aspirant of England then.

India from Rammohan's time never remained isolated but gradually became one of the most important centres of give-and-take between Asian and European countries.Rammohan remained the emblem of unity of culture which was so important for India's regeneration as a whole. Even after two hundred years since his birth, he remains the most modern man of India, in the truest sense of the term.

1. Sister Nivedita : *Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda* (Udbodhan Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta), Chap. II.
2. See *Prarthanapatra* (1823) : written in Bengali by Rammohan Roy.
3. See Letter to John Digby, 1928.
4. Quoted from *Banglar Jagaran*, in Bengali, by Kazi Abdul Odud, p. 14.
5. We are reminded here of his famous line —'Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful'—from a letter to John Buckingham, the then editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.



"Thy branches ne'er remember their green felicity"

Photo : *Parimal Goswami*

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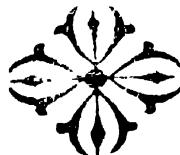
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NOTES

C I A Agents in India

The Congress President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma accused the United States of America of employing secret agents in India whom he described as C I A agents. Secret agents are employed by all nations for gathering information as well as for carrying on propaganda and to engage in other activities which benefit the employer-nation of these secret agents. The undesirability of engaging secret agents who act in a manner which is injurious to the interests of the country where they work, can be easily understood. It is also understood that no nation which engages secret agents to work in other countries would ever admit that the activities of their secret agents are in any way other than quite harmless as far as the countries in which they work are concerned. Dr. Sharma's accusation soon induced the U S A to say that the work done by the C I A agents in India was not harmful to India. This is an admission by the U S A that C I A agents are employed to work in India. Their innocent assurance that the work done by these secret agents was not detrimental to India's interests, of course has no value. For any work that secret agents do must be of a kind that cannot be done openly. Secret work is always suspect. For the reason that secret workers are not known to be working and

they can be always used for work which is against India's interests whenever the United States of America developed any anti-Indian feelings. Not very long ago the United States of America ordered their Seventh Fleet to come to Indian waters to put pressure on India. The U S A have supplied arms time and again to Pakistan knowing that those arms would be used against India. The United States of America have been trying to develop friendly relations with the peoples Republic of China latterly and China's attitude towards India has been unfriendly for more than a decade. The U S A have also been active, atleast so all people think, in inducing the Japanese to line up with the Chinese and the result of any such entente between Japan and China could only be disadvantageous to India. Generally speaking many things that the United States of America have done and are doing appear to be detrimental to India's national interests. The assurance, therefore, that Mr. William Rogers has given that the work done by C I A agents in India is not injurious to our interests ; can not be relied upon.

India too cannot but take a critical view of such activities indulged in by the secret agents of the U S A. Not very long ago India objected to other nations engaging in cultural

activities in India. Surely employing secret agents in India for harmless purposes should be considered more objectionable than carrying on cultural activities! There are many Americans in India who cultivate the fellowship of Indians on one pretext or another. These Americans are neither tourists nor are they in trade or industry. They have no good reason to be in India. Some of them make a travesty of our religious institutions and pollute the environment by their noisy and unhygienic ways. Why the Indian Government permit these people to stay on in India is quite mysterious. Complaints to the police about the activities of these Americans seem to be quite useless. They have many Indian friends of the gullible sort and they have built up a facade of religious activities which work well as a camouflage. We do not know if these people are CIA agents; but if they are, they have a great anti-Indian potential.

Foreign Press Slow Down Praise of Mrs. Gandhi

When Mrs. Gandhi defeated the "ageing reactionaries" of the Congress and emerged as the leader of a group which commanded much more than an absolute majority in Parliament, she answered her critics "with supreme and scornful confidence". She even expressed disdain for American aid for "had not the 'green revolution' in farming filled the Government stores with a comfortable surplus (the first ever) of nine million tons of grain?"

"Suddenly nothing remains of this confidence. Unprecedented inflation since the war has left the people painfully worse off than before. They are disillusioned. They do not yet blame Mrs. Gandhi, but they blame 'the system'".

The quotations are from Walter Schwarz's report from New Delhi to *The Guardian* published on September 30, 1972. The report goes on to describe riots, stoning of police

stations, hijacking of buses and a four day battle in Delhi after a home guard had been killed allegedly by a policeman. It describes the looting of food stores in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh by unruly mobs. "In Patna police baton charge striking teachers and open fire on students.....Opposition parties of the left, right and centre are all planning demonstrations in many states against inflation and corruption.....What brought people into the streets was the sudden knowledge that victory over Pakistan has left them worse off than before, that the Government seems unable or unwilling to do anything effective about it".

The mention of Pakistan points to the root cause of the reversal of policy relating to Mrs. Gandhi's leadership of the Congress. The foreign press has always harboured a sneaking preference for the Pakistanis inspite of their total disregard of all principles held in high esteem by the Western nations. It is perhaps due to the Western love of total domination of the weaker members of humanity which they cherish and nurse in their subconscious. They never liked the action that India took against Iyahya Khan in Bangladesh. They had known that victory always leaves the victorious "worse off than before". The two world wars must have taught them that.

Mrs. Gandhi's government is not doubtlessly experiencing easy sailing conditions just now. The bureaucracy has let the Government down in many spheres of governmental activity. But bureaucrats are after all employees who can be brought to order. Mrs. Gandhi is doing her best to control the bureaucrats and to establish order and discipline. There are no grounds to assume that she will not succeed. Ministries may fall in the States now and then; but Mrs. Gandhi fortunately seems to be relatively well entrenched.

West-Bengal's Share of IFC Aid

The Industrial Finance Corporation's aid to the provinces for 1971-72 has been declared to be 39.16 crores. Out of this Maharashtra will get 10.09 crores and West Bengal will receive only 65 lakhs. This is typical of the manner of allocation of funds for all economic development programs as far as West Bengal is concerned. When it comes to taking money out of West Bengal to Central and other pools one sees a different picture. For instance foreign exchange earned through exports of jute, tea etc. would be a very substantial amount for West Bengal; so would be receipts by the Income Tax department. But allocation of subvention quotas from the Central Government do not compare so well with the funds that the centre obtains from West Bengal. This state also does not receive proper consideration when it comes to grants of licences for starting new industries. There have been also many moves to remove business and offices from West Bengal, thus reducing the employment potential of the state. This is a matter which the Central Government should look into carefully and remedy matters fairly and equitably. Otherwise this will lead to estrangement between the Centre and the State.

17000 Jobs for West Bengal this Year

Some time ago Shri Siddhartha Shankar Roy Chief Minister of West Bengal had announced that there would be new jobs for a hundred thousand persons in Haldia alone. He did not particularly mention the time period during which the jobs will be actually availed of by the incumbents; but everybody understood that it will happen within a reasonable period. Shri Debi Prasad Chatterjee said about the same time that the Health Department will employ about 8000 persons. He also had not mentioned when; but as unemployment was an acute problem people

thought its solution required prompt and immediate action, so that jobs will be filled as soon as possible. Now we learn from Shri Siddhartha Shankar Roy that by December 31, 1972 he envisages the employment of 17000 persons. This is surely a come down after the above two top rankers had between them promised 18000 jobs to the unemployed of West Bengal. Some one had said that unemployment will be tackled on a war footing. This looks like a strategic retreat, which at times becomes necessary to win a war in the long run. We hope it is that and not just running away.

West Bengal Food Corporation ?

There has been some talk of organising a State Food Corporation in West Bengal in order to make food procurement more successful. The West Bengal Government people think that the Food Corporation of India has not been able to handle the job properly. Private wholesale buyers too have not handed over proper quanta of food articles to the government organisation and have thus helped the growth of illicit trade in these goods. If the State Food Corporation comes into existence procurement will be more complete and the illicit buying and selling will be checked. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce have however challenged this assumption. In the opinion of the President of the Chamber Government's interferences with private traders, normal business will intensify black market dealings and food articles will go underground in larger quantities. No prophecies can be made with any degree of certainty however: for government's good intentions often remain unrealised. On the other hand there is no need to assume that this venture will necessarily fail. That there is a large underground market in food articles is a known fact. The underground dealers are efficient and well organised. The bureaucrats

are not so. Government should secure the services of better men if they really mean business.

Remove Darkness

Load shedding has become a real menace to the normal life of the community and to the smooth running of business enterprises. It is happening all over the country we are told ; but we can only discuss what is going on in Calcutta as we directly suffer from the sudden stoppages of machinery, suspension of refrigeration, air conditioning, the working of electric lifts, fans and other appliances. Even private families now cannot confidently throw dinner parties or undertake to do anything on time. Power is cut off two or three times in twenty four hours on occasions and the length of such stoppages can go upto six hours at a stretch. Workmen attend and sit idle for the best part of their working day and no goods are delivered on time. The loss of perishable commodities through stoppage of refrigerators has been tremendous and many restaurants are not keeping any stocks to avoid these losses. Many families now have a number of oil lamps and hand fans to go through the dark hours which descend on them suddenly and without notice. Sm. Indira Gandhi's Garibi Hatao program has been put in one corner as Garibi has been intensified by fall in earnings caused by lack of power. There is a great outcry of "andhiala hatao" instead and people are hoping that Sm. Gandhi will take some drastic action to restore electric supply to its normal health. All plans should now have "remove darkness" as a prime objective.

Urban Property Ceiling

Government would soon discuss the question of fixing ceilings on urban property holdings. It would appear that the possession of house property beyond a certain value is an offence against society for some unknown reason. Possessing a shop with a crore worth

of goods or a godown with ten crore worth of stock is no offence ; but if one possessed a beautiful house worth ten lakhs he would be deemed to have become an offender. If one owned a *bustee* of one hundred mud huts which he rented out at Rs. 20/- per hut, though the value of his entire *bustee* would be about Rs. 50000/- and his earnings were about 50% on his capital, he would be considered to be a law abiding person. But a person who owned a house worth Rs. 500000/- and rented it out at Rs. 2000 per month, thus earning about 4% on his capital, he would be a law breaker. Strange are the ways of political leadership, and playing to the gallery in politics is a mysterious art with no rules nor basic principles other than attracting applause at the psychological moments. Owning house property beyond a ceiling is spectacular living and that has to be checked with a view to control mass reactions against concentration of wealth. Coming back to ceilings on urban property one has to consider first of all what human habitations are urban and what are rural. According to Table 16 in "India 1971-72" a Ministry of Information and Broadcasting publication there are in India 142 towns with populations of 100000 and over, 198 towns with populations of 50000 and over 756 towns with populations of 5000 to 9999 and 277 towns with population of less than 5000. So that a town is a town in India without any reference to the number of its population. In the same book we find that India has 776 villages with populations of 10000 and over and 3421 villages with populations of 5000 to 9999. This again proves that a centre of human residence can be called village by the government of India without reference to the number of persons living in it. But in a recent press notice we found that an urban centre was an urban centre if it had 10000 or more persons living in it. So that the afore mentioned 776 villages were all towns and the

756 and 277 towns mentioned above were in their turn all villages: We think a town in order to be a town should at least have a population of 50000 or more persons. Thereafter towns should be classified into four classes A, B, C and D. In class A we should place Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi (populations 7005362, 5968546 and 3629842). In class B should go Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Kanpur (populations 2470288, 1798910, 1648232, 1588378 and 1273016). In class C should be placed Lucknow, Nagpur, Poona, Jaipur, Agra, Indore, Jabalpur, Madurai, Varanasi and Allahabad (populations 826246, 866144, 853226, 613144, 637785, 572622, 533751, 548298, 582915 and 513907).

In class D should be placed all towns with populations of 100000 and above upto 500000. Towns with populations below 100000 should not be counted for the purpose of fixing a property ceiling. As for the ceilings class A should have a ceiling of 10 lakhs or more, class B 5 lakhs or more, class C 3 lakhs or more and class D 2 lakhs or more.

Assamese Flout Constitutional Provisions

The Indian constitution has fair and just provisions for the preservation of the human rights of various minorities who are scattered all over the country in the different states. The Bengali minorities are to be found in large numbers in the states of Bihar and Assam. In Bihar imposition of Hindi on the Bengalis has been tried by the Bihar authorities at places ; but there had never been any language riots anywhere. In Assam the question of forcing Assamese on the various minorities has assumed a crude and aggressive shape from time to time and Assam has already had to allow the formation of other states out of its territory for the reason that certain minorities objected very strongly about remaining with

the Assamese within a single state. It would appear that the Assamese had provoked the Bengali minorities too in the past and had indulged in robberies with violence, arson, loot and murder in order to force the Bengali minorities either to leave Assam or to kao tao to the Assamese bullies. The central government under Pandit Nehru did not do much to enforce the provisions of the constitution and some of the minorities eventually succeeded in breaking away from the state of Assam and forming their own political units. The Bengalis, however, neither asked for separation nor did they get it for the reason that the hooliganism of the Assamese strong arm boys subsided to some extent and relatively peaceful conditions came to be restored in that state. Recently, however the language question has again raised its head in Assam. Assamese is rather undeveloped and the Bengalis do not wish to have it as their medium of instruction at university level. It was even suggested that Cachar, the Bengali speaking area of Assam should have a separate university where Bengali should be the medium of instruction. Bellicose elements among the Assamese do not want this and they wish to force the Bengalis to accept Assamese as their medium of instruction at university level. The methods they have now adopted are the same old methods of rowdy rioting. There have been many reports of rioting arson, assault and murderous attacks. The army has been called out and curfew imposed in many places. As far as one can judge the central government do not wish to have the language problem settled in the Assamese manner. They want education to be carried on at the university level through the medium of Assamese and Bengali. The Assamese do not agree to this and want to force the acceptance of a monolingual system upon the minority Bengali community. One way to solve the problem would be to detach Cachar area from Assam and to link it with

West Bengal or Tripura. Or create another mini-state out of the remains of the state of Assam. But the Assamese have a genius for creating political trouble by thrusting their underdeveloped language on all who do not wish to adopt it as their medium of self-expression in court, office and examination hall. Had they utilised all that extra energy which they use for street fights, for developing their language, things might have been better for their state and their vernacular. Assamese is not a very well established language. This can be seen from the relatively limited number of newspapers published in that language, the very few films made in Assamese and the great shortage of Assamese books. There are perhaps nearly two million Bengali speaking people who are citizens of Assam. The number of persons whose mother tongue is Assamese in Assam would be about seven million. There are several other languages in Assam which are spoken by not quite so large a section of the population as speak Bengali. Bengali also is comparatively highly developed and for all these reasons it has a claim for recognition as a second state language.

Are the Poor becoming less Poor ?

International organisations for economic aid by developed countries to under developed countries were set up with the idea that unless the rich helped the poor, there would eventually be a clash of interests which will cause greater losses and misery to the rich people than they would suffer from if they gave a small per centage of their incomes to help the poor. These, organisations were therefore set up by the wealthier nations as a measure of self-defence as well as for achieving the ideal of equality and fellowship. Large funds were set apart by the wealthier countries to help the economic development of under developed countries. Substantial progress was made by a number of backward countries and delegations moved about the world to see how poverty was being banished from the lands where want

and unsatisfied desires ruled supreme. Thousands of crores were spent ; but the hundreds of millions of poverty stricken people continued to remain poor. For to give a man 2 rupees where he has been getting a single rupee before required a doubling of the capital resources that brought into existence the national incomes of the poorer peoples of the world. Let us take India's case as an example. If the per capita income of the People of India were calculated to be 200 rupees per annum and to get that income for the average Indian we needed capital assets worth 330000 crores ; then by securing capital aid to the tune of 25000 crores we could only do about $\frac{1}{13}$ of what we tried to do—that is double our national income. That is we could only get about 7 paise more extra than the initial one rupee. Or looking at it in another way if we had spent 15 years to achieve that increase of seven paise, we would take only about two hundred years to add that whole rupee to our per capita income per annum. Such calculations are quite disheartening and do no good to the morale of humanity. But it clears up one massive blind spot in our vision of our economic future. We know we cannot become affluent by obtaining aid from other nations. For other nations can give us only capital, which capital requires to be of such impossible dimension in order to bring economic well being within our reach, as makes Foreign Aid an infructuous scheme for economic development. We have to think of the hundreds of millions of idle and unproductive man hours, that we allow to go down the drain, for conversion to wealth in a direct manner, unaided by capital as far as one can produce value without the assistance of capital. If India is losing 10000000000 man hours in a year and if one could produce 50 paise by one hour's work then the 10000000000 man hours could give us additional value worth Rs 50000000000, five thousand crores in one year. That would

be an addition of much more than seven paise per rupee in 15 years to our per capita income per annum. As a matter of fact addition of value in that manner would double the national income in about 4 or 5 years. As things are people do not visualise much growth in under developed countries through foreign aid. By the end of the century it would leave all the countries no less poor than they are now. The per capita income of the average member of the poor nations could not be even $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the income of the average person in a wealthy country by the end of the century !

Optimism about the Bokaro Steel Plant

The Bokaro steel plant would be selling iron to Russia very soon. That is good news in so far as any sale of any Indian goods to foreign countries improves India's economic position in a highly desirable manner. But then Bokaro is being built by the Russians and they are interested in showing to the world how good they are at putting up plants in foreign countries. In fact have they shown any great efficiency in building Bokaro ? People complain that the Russians have delayed almost at every step and they have in this manner put up the cost of the plant inordinately. In 1965 when estimates were made for the 4million tonne plant it was considered by the experts that the costs will not be more than about 700 crores of rupees. But when probable costs were recalculated in 1970 it looked as if the expenses would be more than 1000 crores. If two million tonnes of steel come out of a plant costing 10000 million rupees and if depreciation is 10 per cent then the depreciation of plant alone will add Rs 500 per tonne to the cost of steel. More if the output falls below 2 million tonnes. Other costs of steel making may make Indian steel unsaleable in the competitive open market. Delays are very dangerous in economic planning. Bokaro should have been largely finished by now, but

we are beginning to talk about blast furnace iron now. When shall we have steel ? And what will be the cost of the plant by then ?

Ustad Alauddin Khan

The death of Ustad Alauddin Khan at the age of one hundred and ten years has removed a luminous star from India's musical firmament. He was not only an extraordinarily talented Sitar and Sarod player but he was also a great composer and the creator of a gharana or school in point of style. Alauddin gharana is a distinctive school in the world of Sitar and Sarod and there are hundreds of highly competent exponents of the style that Ustad Alauddin Khan initiated. Pandit Ravishankar his son-in-law and Ali Akbar Khan his son are two world renowned members of the Alauddin gharana. Ustad Alauddin Khan was a totally self made man. He did not have the backing of any great guru and he made progress by hard work and by his own creative genius. The court of Maihar gave him unstinted support ; but his connection with Maihar came after he had made his name by his devotional approach to his art. He has established his place in the pantheon of Indian masters of musical composition and creative variations. He was a great son of Bengal and numerous admirers of the Ustad are mourning his death throughout the length and breadth of West Bengal, Tripura, Manipur and Bangladesh.

K. L. Rao Supplying Water for 21st Century

There are some men who achieve greatness by removing the current needs of humanity. There are others who organise the well being of those who are not yet born. Dr. K. L. Rao is arranging water supply for South Indian men and women who will feel thirsty after 2000 A. D. The learned engineer Minister normally does not care much about the opinions of foreigners. One may refer in this

connection to his reactions to the opinions of the Dutch and other foreign experts about the need of 40000 cusecs of water for the Bhagirathi (the Hooghly) for saving the Calcutta port. But he thinks the needs of 21st century Mysoreans for Ganges water should be certified by foreigners from the U. N. so that no one can accuse Dr. Rao of having any undue devotional preferences for Ganges water as contradistinguished from common garden well water or desalinated sea water. The desalination of sea water will doubtless become cheap and commonly arranged for in the 21st century and all agriculturists are of the opinion that well water is much better for the crops than river water and it is therefore rather injurious to arrange for irrigation by digging canals. But, Dr. K. L Rao thinks he will show us his own magic performance with the waters of India (apologies to the late P. C. Sorcar) by mixing the waters of the Ganges, the Krishna, the Narmada, the Godavari and the Cauvery. The great doctor has missed his vocation.

The Art of Four Tagores

Mrs. Shreemati Tagore has made a great success of the Art Exhibition she recently organised at the Birla Museum. In this exhibi-

bition she displayed a wonderful collection of miniature paintings by Jyotirindranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Gaganendranath Tagore and Abanindranath Tagore. People in Calcutta have had occasions to see exhibitions of the three Tagores Rabindranath, Gaganendranath and Abanindranath ; but the beautiful sketches made by the poet's elder brother Jyotirindranath came in this exhibition as a revelation to art lovers. Masterly sketches these are too, mostly of personalities of contemporary days. Rabindranath Tagore has expressed in line and colour what took shape in his imagination as images of things that might have been. The pictures keep pace with the unleashed thoughts of the great poet. Gaganendranath Tagore makes mysteries of known objects and gives clear cut shape and form to that which is utterly unreal. Gaganendranath gives forceful expression to his rare visions in a manner which is entirely his own. Abanindranath Tagore the youngest of the four is a creative revivalist of the Moghul Rajput styles. He also brings back to life many art forms that are no longer in existence. He has synthesized many styles and motifs from Sino Japanese sources too. Abanindranath Tagore is indeed a great creative artist whose equal it is difficult to find.



THE FALL OF BRAHMA

DR. AMAL SARKAR

A study of history reveals that rulers, fighters, preachers, and even scholars, who once rose to prominence in their respective fields, were forgotten by posterity and passed into oblivion. When critics of the succeeding ages, however, probe into the causes of the fall of these eminent leaders, they find, quite astonishingly, that these persons did not have really any fall ; on the contrary, they had merged with the new heroes. Of course, there are some personalities whom the succeeding generations do not usefully remember. This is perhaps because of the fact that they were rigidly personal and it is an established truth that what does not have the spirit of universalism (i.e. what does not escape from emotion) can not attain any permanence or lasting prominence.

Man has created god in his own image and the latter, as it were, faces the same debacle as man does : he also by virtue of his pursuits and behaviours rises once to a lofty position, plays his part well and then is heard no more. This sort of fall is noticeable in respect of many gods of the Hindu pantheon and this is specially true of Brahma, the creator. In the procession of Hindu gods it appears as if Brahma has practically lost the importance of his membership in the triad. The other two members of the triad, Siva and Vishnu, have come out more prominent and successful and Brahma has almost lost his identity. But the question is whether Brahma really lost his lofty position in course of time or he, by virtue of his all-pervasive and lucid nature has only blended himself with the important gods.

From the Puranic period down to the present day we come across five major cults in this country : cults of Siva (Saiva), Vishnu (Vaishnava), Surya (Sourya), Sakti (Saktya) and Ganapati (Ganapatya). Brahma is, however, not named even. During these periods, the initiative almost invariably rests with the principal cult deities, Brahma being at best represented in the role of a mediator with the more important among them on behalf of other deities and persons of lesser importance approaching him for help and advice in times of distress and danger. But such was not the position of Brahma in the later Vedic period, if not in the period of the early Vedas. In the Brahmanas and Upanishads the creator is described by various names, one of which is Brahma. In the Satapatha Brahmana (XI.2, 3-6) of course, the creator has been called Brahma (neuter), and not Brahma, who is said to have been the creator of the gods and the original source of all things.¹ In the Mundaka Upanishad (I. 1-3) Brahma, and not Brahima, is the first of the gods, who is responsible for the creation and preservation of the Universe (Brahma devanam prathamah sambhuva visaya karta bhuvanasya gopta). In describing how the earth was created the Manusamhita (I. 2) refers to Brahma among all other gods as the progenitor of all the worlds. It says that the irresistible self-existent (Swyambhu) Lord was born in the golden egg (haimam andam) and then himself gave birth to all the worlds (tasmin yajne svayam Brahma sarvalokapitamahah). In the same text, the appellation Narayana is applied to Brahma and not to Vishnu, as is commonly

found. More than this, the usual incarnation of Vishnu in fish (*Matsya*), tortoise (*Kurma*) and boar (*Varaha*) forms have also been attributed to Brahma and it seems that in this respect *Manusamhita* is based on older texts like the *Satapatha Brahmana*. In this context, it is interesting to note that the *Linga Purana* (1.4.59), which is of the Saiva variety of *Puranas*, describes Brahma as the deity who assumed the form of the boar. ['In that night, when all things, movable and immovable, had been destroyed (and became absorbed) in the universal ocean, Brahma slept upon the waters ; and beholding the universe being engulfed by water took the form of a boar, lifted the earth up and saved her from the skirmish.'].²

In the epic literature the concept of the concrete god Brahma was further developed. There are a good many references in the *Ramayana* which speak of the different types of activities entrusted to Brahma. He actually appears to receive oblations at Dasaratha's horse sacrifice (1.14.4). The gods approach him for the creation of Rama and he agrees (1.14.12-20). He creates the lake Manasa (1.27.7). The gods approach him for a general and it is he who plans the creation of Karttikeya (1.39.2-9). Harassed by Sagara's grandsons the gods appeal to Brahma (1.41.25; 1.42.1-3), who appears to Bhagiratha and blesses him with the descent of the Ganga (1.45.16-53). Ravana becomes a terror through Brahma's boon (4.10.4) and it is Brahma again who blesses Ravana with immortality but makes him vulnerable to a man's weapon. Many more instances from this epic can be referred to which clearly prove the importance of the god. Similarly, in the *Mahabharata* Brahma has a prominent position and on many an occasion he has been invoked. Besides mentioning the activities of the god the *Mahabharata* (3.84. 103-04) refers to his image

also.³ In this epic Brahma blesses Seshanaga, who practised hard penances, and commissions him to hold the earth (1.32). It is he who assumes the shape of a golden swan and encloses the three worlds (12.288.3). Narada's hymn to Brahma is a cryptic hymn of single epithets. Many of these epithets deserve special attention. Thus he is called the lord of valour and speech, the giver of wealth and purvanivasa (a former abode). He is said to practise extremely stiff self-control and penance, and is known as Chitrasikhandi, perhaps a description of another anchorite sect.

Brahma, being the creator, was indeed an artist by himself and it is through him, as referred to in the *Brihatsamhita* (42.1), that the knowledge of *Vastusastras* was imposed to the generations of artists. In the field of art Brahma's (also Sarasvati's) emblem pustaka is represented as a manuscript made of palm leaves. The post-Vedic Brahma was undoubtedly derived from the Vedic *prajapati* and as such *sruk*, *sruva* and *pustaka* (really the *Vedas* in manuscript form) became the former's special emblems. That the creator in the name of Brahma could not be forgotten totally is clear from the Niddesa supplying us with a curious record of the various religious systems that prevailed at the period, mentioning Brahma along with others. Brahma could not also be neglected in the syncretic cult of India. One of the most representative of the composite cult icon is the Dula Dee (Khajuraho) temple icon of Brahma-Vishnu-Siva-Surya.⁴ In the make of images Brahma was given the same measurement (124 angulas) as that of his two rivals, Siva and Vishnu. In the Anantasayi figure (Terracotta plaque, Bhitargaon, Kanpur, C. 5th cent. A.D.), a lotus issues out of Vishnu's (*Padmanava*) navel on whose blossom sits Brahma (*Padmayoni*).⁵ A similar feature can be noticed in the Deogaonth

stone relief of C. 6th cent. A. D. in which the centre of the top section is occupied by Brahma seated on a lotus the stock of which issues from the body of Narayana, and Vishnu is flanked on either side by Hara-Parvati on bull and Indra and Karttikeya.

The sectarian jealousy, specially of the Vaishnavas, is verily responsible for the loss of position of Brahma. The Narada Pancharatra (a much later work) says that such gods as Brahma, Rudra, Dikpalas, Surya, their Saktis or their children should neither be worshipped daily, nor ever be resorted to the fulfilment of any desire.' Be that as it may, the inclusion of Brahma in one form or the other could not be avoided. The figure of Brahma, along with Siva and Vishnu, on door lintels at Khajuraho, in the stele of a standing image of Vishnu of the Pala period in the Stuart-Bridge collection in the British Museum, and in the panel above the door-frame in the Sandera and Ruhavi temples Gujarat indicate the continuation of the conventional Trimurti even after Brahma was no longer a major deity. Even in the Surya temples of a later time, as at Madhera and Delmal, Brahma continued to be figured. This is because the cult of Brahma remained a living creed in Gujarat at the beginning of this period. In the Badami and Aihole caves composite figures are to be found. In the Ekapada-trimurti Vishnu and Brahma sprout forth from a central Siva figure. In the ruins of the Bheraghat temple, the central figure is that of U'ma-Maheswara (according to Goomaraswamy) flanked by other images among which is included the figure of Brahma. Even at a still later period Brahma could not be forgotten. The Sukranitisara (C. 16th cent. A. D.) announces itself as a summary of the archetypal Nitisara, work of the god Brahma from the pen of the sage Bhargava (Sukracharya). (This reminds us of Brahma as

the giver of the Vedas. It is Brahma again who inspired Valmiki to compose the whole story of Rama and insisted the Buddha, after the latter's enlightenment, to teach the dharma and release the beings of the world from existence.) That during the 17th century people were worshipping Brahma can be proved from a statement of Francois Bernier, the foreign traveller, on whose questioning the pandits replied, 'we have indeed in our temples a great variety of images..... To all these images we pay great honour..... yet we do not believe that these statues are themselves Brahma or Vishnu, but merely their images and representations.' In an illumination from a late ms. (C. 1800 A. D.) of the Devi Mahatmya, facing Siva, in the upper right, is the four-headed Brahma giving up his alms-bowl (Kamandalu) and the ms. of magic wisdom of the Vedas.⁷

From what has been discussed above, we find that Brahma creates (Masya Purana, 3-3-4) all living beings and inanimate matter. The Rajas, the creative, active principle, inheres in Brahma. As has been said in Markandeya Purana (46 : 105-6), of Brahma's rajas-self was made Marichi Kasyapa, of his tamas-self Bhava (i. e. Siva) the annihilator, and of his sattva-self the Purusha (i. e. Vishnu). That is to say, Brahma is the creator not only of wordly beings and non-beings but the two most important gods of the Hindu Pantheon, Siva and Vishnu are only his other forms. The theory that from Brahma all things proceeded and in him the universe pre-existed is a sufficient proof of Brahma's superiority to other gods. As the act of creation is past, the creative power of the deity (Brahma) has no immediate interference in the continuance or cessation of material existence, or, in other words with the preservation (i. e. Vishnu) or destruction

(i. e. Siva) of the universe. At a stated time the creative power, which is Brahma only, will again be called into action, as will be noticed when we speak of the period Kalpa ; till then only the powers of preservation and destruction excite the hopes and fears of the devotees. In this context, it is interesting to note that Brahma and Siva are sometimes found almost identified with each other ; oftener, however, in direct opposition and hostility. Brahma creates, Siva destroys ; but destroy is to create anew and afresh (cf. the cosmic dance of Siva : Nataraja), and herein Siva and Brahma coalesce. In a similar way, Vishnu preserves what has been created by Brahma ; he has not the power to create by himself (cf. his Anantasayi form) and in this respect Vishnu is closely associated with and dependent on Brahma. Again that Brahma has not lost his importance can be gleaned from the fact that he has his Vahana (mount) in hamsa (swan) which means the 'breath of life'. In the expression Om (Aum) in which are represented the three gunas, sattva, rajas and tamas, is the subtle form of the sacred formula hamsa, the reverse of which is soham, symbolising the bindu, nada (sound), Sakti (power) and Santa (quintessence), the basis of every mantra. Herein lies a complete assimilation of Brahma, be it in the field of the existing cults or in the idea of the sumum bonum of earthly existence.

As has been stated above, Brahma personifies exclusively the positive aspect of the life-process of the universe, and is never represented as destroying what he has produced. He symbolises specially the creative phase and pure spirituality. And as such, he has never, like his rivals Vishnu and Siva or even Sakti, a character which is ambivalent, self-contradictory and enigmatic. Moreover, the personal god Brahma trans-

cends into the impersonal Brahma, the supreme and the absolute. And in this is embedded the germ of Hindu pantheism, the belief in the one-in-many aspect of divinity. Thus we can say that Brahma has neither lost his primitive glory of the past, nor has he any fall, as is generally interpreted ; on the contrary, as times rolled by he has elevated his own position in the epithet Brahma and fused himself with the other members of the triad.

1. Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra joined their different powers, and created ten men, whose names were Narada, Daksha, Vasishtha, Bhrigu, Kratu, Pulaha, Pulastya, Angira, Atri, and Marichi who symbolise Reason, Ingenuity, Emulation, Humility, Piety, Pride, Patience, Charity, Deceit and Morality respectively (the general names of whom are the Munis). Brahma then produced dharma (justice) from his breast, adharma (injustice) from his back, labha (appetite or passion) from his lips and Kama (love or desire) from his heart. The last was a beautiful female, and Brahma looked upon her with amorous emotions, but the Munis telling him she was his own daughter, he shrunk back, and lajja (shame), a blushing virgin, sprung from him (Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV. 90.)
2. It will not be out of place to mention that the Matsya, Kurma and Varaha Avatars, were originally associated with Brahma Prajapati, but with the development of the Bhagavata (Vaishnava) creed they were transferred to its composite cult-god.

The Vishnu and the Garuda puranas mention Brahma as the uplifter of the earth from the ocean, but they at the same time, state that Brahma and Vishnu are identical.

3. **Tato gachcheta rajendra Brahmasthana-manuttamam : tatrabhigamya rajendronam purusharsabha : Rajasuyasvamedhabhyam phalam vindanti manava :**
4. Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1893, pp. 126-27, pl. X, fig. 2 and R. Ghiroman, Les Chisnites Hephtolites, pp. 55-58, fig. 65 and pl. VII, fig. 1. Another syncretic figure we can find in the image of Dattatreya (Hari-Hara-Pitamaha).
5. Padma (lotus) is the symbol of female organ as also purity and the creator (Brahma) is born out of lotus meaning thereby that he is self-created. The belief that Brahma is the creator continues even after he lost his supreme position in the pantheon.

Brahma in this sculptural group

possesses two arms ; in his left hand he carries a Kamandalu, and the right hand is held in chin-mudra pose. There are jata-mukuta on the head, and a deer skin is thrown across the body in the upavita fashion, with the head of the deer made to hang on the chest. The peculiarities like the deerskin covering thrown on the body, the kirita-mukuta of Vishnu assign the sculpture to the same age to which the sculptures of the early Hindu caves at Ellora belong, i. e., to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th cent. A. D. (Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, p. 111).

6. Humphrey Milsord, travels in the Mogul Empire, A. D. 1656-68, p. 242.
7. H. Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in Indian Arts and Civilization, fig. 56.

PALAEO- DEMOGRAPHY

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Demography is often an aid to understand history. The Moorish conquest of Spain was made easier by the plague which preceded it. The fall of Athens in the Peloponnesian War was partly due to the plague which raged there. It is curious to note that the invasion of Baktiyar Khilji into the heart of Bengal was through the thinly peopled hilly jungles of Jharkhand inhabited mainly by the Tribals, and the raid of Sultan Firuz Tughlak into the heart of Orissa was through the hills and jungles inhabited by the Depressed Classes and Tribals. Possibly the Tribals were out of sympathy with the central governments of Bengal and of Orissa ; and they did not care

to report themselves to the tax collector office them.

For very early times the details are fragmentary ; even then they are useful. Proportion of women among the wheat-eating and barley-eating Indo-Aryans was low. Hence the marriage of an Indo-Aryan female equivalent to the higher-Castes of Hindus, with a Sudra was prohibited ; but a male could marry a Sudra female. This was not racism ; but an attempt to preserve their particular culture. Disparity in age at marriage as preached by Manu, is great. Hence we may infer a slower growth of population.

Dr. Romilla Thapar of the Delhi Univer-

sity in her Presidential address before the Thirty-first session of the Indian Historical Congress has said :—

"In the study of interactions of cultures there are many facets which require investigation. Let us start with the most primary, the question of numbers of people involved. This would imply demographic studies of various sites and settlements. Comparative assessment of population figures from the sites of varying cultures could be helpful, as also the detailed charting of the location of sites, are they superimposed or are they adjacent?"

The following notes are attempts at palaeo-demography. They are but guesses. A French philosopher has said that where truth fails guesses are our guides. They are imperfect as to collection of data, methodology and analysis. We have no easy access to a big library, we are suffering from partial blindness, fractured leg and failing health as a result of a motor accident. Our only justification for submitting them to the scrutiny of readers, is if anyone of them is benefited and/or prompted to further enquiry we shall consider ourselves to be lucky.

Ancient cities had dense population.

(a) **Harappa and Mohenjo-daro** : The age of these two cities is some 4000 years. It may be five centuries more or less.

Annual consumption of cereals : We have estimated from the size of granaries and likely annual consumption the populations of Harappa and Mohenjodaro to have been 37,000 and 33,500 respectively, and the density per acre to have been 74 and 52 persons. (See Human Skeletal Remains--Anthropological Survey of India, 1962, pp 8 et seq.)

The denser population of Harappa goes to corroborate the general idea that it was the older city.

(b) **Tyre** : Tyre on the coast of Phoenicia (Lebanon) is an ancient city captured by

Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. It is a small island about half a mile from the coast. Major C. R. Coudor, D. C. L., LL. D. in his *Bible Geography* says :—

"Tyre is a town [late 19th century] of 3000 inhabitants not occupying the whole of the ancient site, which covered 100 acres on an island, with two parts of twelve acres each. The mole of Alexander is now a sandy isthmus."

"Alexander captured Tyre after a siege of seven months. The Tyrian losses were about 8,000."

"Azemilcus, the king of Tyre, together with the dignitaries of the town and certain visitors from Carthage who had come to the mother city to pay honour to Heracles according to an ancient custom, had fled for refuge to Heracles' temple : to all these Alexander granted a free pardon ; everyone else was sold to slavery. In all, including natural Tyrians and foreigners taken in the town, some 30,000 were sold." (Arrian's *Life of Alexander* translated by Aubrey de Schicourt, p. 87.)

The normal population of Tyre was about 38,000. So the density was about 380 per acre. This was possible because they lived in many storeyed houses.

(c) **Carthage** : Carthage was destroyed by the Romans in 146 B. C. The war began in 149 B. C. ; after some failures Scipio occupied the suburb Megalla in 147 B. C. and blockaded the city. The Carthaginians held out, however, till the next year inspite of terrible suffering from famine. When the final assault was delivered, the street fighting lasted six days, and the horrors of the struggle can only be paralleled in the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. At last the Byrsa, or citadel, surrendered, and 50,000 captives fell into Scipio's hands ; it is said that the population of the city had been more than ten times as great at the commencement of the siege." (P. 184 of J. Wells' *Short History of Rome*.)

At one time the population was as great as 700,000. The circumference of the old city of Carthage was 15 miles ; and it was triangular in shape, and it was almost an equilateral triangle. Its area was less than 11 sq. miles including harbours. The density per sq. mile was about 45,500 and that per acre was 71.

Roma Qudrata.

Rome was not built in a day. The earliest Rome is the Roma Qudrata. It was founded in 753 B. C. by its first King, Romulus--after whom it has been named. He reigned for 37 years till 716 B. C.

The boundary of the Roma Qudrata has been traced from the accounts of Tacitus, Pliny and others, from tradition as existing in the first century A. D., from the archaeological remains and the steps leading to its three gates. The map of Roma Qudrata has been prepared by cartographers. The area enclosed is some 65 or 66 acres.

Romulus, when well established, picked out 3000 of the youngmen to form the foot-soldiers of his army, and 300 more to serve as horsemen.

Romulus divided the patricians into three tribes. Each tribe was divided into curies, each curie was divided into ten clans or gentes, and each gens again into ten families or households. So there were 3000 families. The plebeians were not divided says the legend.

As the families were inducted only recently and were not more than one generation old, the multiplier we use to determine the population strength is 5. So there were at least, $5 \times 3000 = 15,000$ persons besides the plebeians. This is a conservative estimate.

If we assign one plebeian as client to each patrician family, the population would be 3,000 more. As yet the Romans generally lived in huts or one-storyed buildings, the density of persons per acre would be 273. This is almost slum condition. The clue to such a high density is furnished by W. G. de Burgh in

the **Legacy of the Ancient World**, Vol. I p. 225, where he says :—

"On a ring of hills by the banks of the Tiber, fifteen miles from its mouth, there stood in the early centuries of the first millennium groups of rude huts, surrounded by a stockade, where shepherds took refuge with their flocks when raiders descended on them from the Sabine hills. As time went on several of these hamlets were within a single ring-wall, a town came into being."

Medinah.

The population of Medinah at the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A. D. may be estimated thus. By the time of his death all Jews were expelled ; and the population was wholly Muhammadan. From the size of Masjid-ul-Nabi as in the time of Muhammad, the sitting capacity can be calculated. The measurements of the Masjid as at the time of the Prophet are given in Sir Richard Burton's **Pilgrimage to Mecca and Madinah**. The area required by a devout Muhammadan to sit and make the genuflexions are taken from the Moti Masjid of Emperor Shah Jahan in the Fort of Agra. Every seat is bordered by black marble embedded in white. The area of a seat thus becomes known.

Dividing the sitting area of the Masjid at Medinah by the area of an average seat at Agra we get the number of all those who came to pray on Fridays when the Prophet himself led the prayers.

As all adult males are enjoined to pray, we assume that all adult males came to pray. The age-distribution of a given population is cited :

	Progressive	Stationary	Regressive
0 -15	400	330	290
15-50	500	500	500
50+	100	170	300

In view of female infanticide among the pre-Islamic Arabs, and frequent wars between the tribes, we consider the Arabs of Medinah to have been of the Stationary type.

Thus out of 1,000 males, 670 came to pray. Taking the number of males and females to be equal, 335 persons per 2000 came to pray. In this way we have estimated the population to have been 7,500.

Edward Atiyah in *The Arabs* gives the population of Mecca and Medinah to have been 20,000 and 15,000 respectively. The sources of error are (1) the assumption that the Population was of Stationary Type, and (2) the area of a seat allotted by Shah Jahan.

If the area of the seat is reduced by one-eighth, and the population of adults be increased from 670 to 800, the population would be

$$\begin{array}{r} 800 \quad 9 \\ 7,500 \quad - \quad - \\ 670 \quad 8 \end{array} \quad | \quad 10,070.$$

No reasons or facts are given by Atiyah in the book. So in any case it could not have been more than 10,000.

Population of the Rig-Vedic Aryans.

The Rig-Veda is the earliest piece of Indo-Aryan literature, not excepting the now deciphered Helladic inscriptions discovered in Crete by Sir Arthur Evans. When the Rig-Veda was composed the Aryans were occupying the hills of Kabul and the Punjab.

There is mention of thirty-three gods. Equating gods with powerful tribal leaders or Kings, just as in Bengali literature the word Raja is used as a synonym for any powerful rich man, we may try to get a peep into tribal strengths. Indra is the king of gods ; and there is Mitra or Varuna, 11 Rudras, 12 Adityas and 8 Vasus. The latter was like tribal confederacies, like the Yadavas of the Mahabharatan age, working together more or less loosely. If we can find out the strength of any tribe, we may make a reasonable guess of their total strength or population.

Stuart-Piggot in Pre-Historic India page 261 says :-

Indra's exploits as a destroyer of forts,

recently discussed by Wheeler in connection with the defences of Harappa citadel, go to confirm this view.

"With all-outstripping chariot-wheel,
Indra, thou far-famed hast
Over-thrown the twice ten kings of men
With sixty thousand nine and ninety
followers
Thou goest on from fight to bright
intrepidly,
destroying castle after castle here with
strength."

Thus a hymn in the first book of the Rig-Veda(I,53). The number of fighters with Indra is 60,099. It is not a round number ; probably some sort of enumeration or census took place.

Generally the fighting age is between 20 and 35, and the proportion of such men is about one-eighth. There is great paucity of women among the wheat-eating and barley-eating population of the Punjab. So it would be better to take one-seventh of the tribal strength as fighters.

Indra's tribal strength was $7 \times 60,099$ or 4,21,000.

He is the most powerful of leaders. 11 Adityas or the confederacy of the Adityas may have had a similar strength. In this way we estimate the strength of the other confederacies. It is likely that their tribal strength was somewhat less; so we omit the tribal strength of Mitra or Varuna.

The total strength of the Aryans is thus about $4 \times 4,21,000 = 16,84,000$ men. In round number some 17 lakhs. We may say that the population of the invading, rather eastward migrating, Aryans did not exceed two million.

If a close search is made in the Rig-Vedic literature other similar statements may be found which may help scholars in evaluating their number.

Rate of population growth in Latium (C. 1050 B. C.-750 B.C.)

The traditional date of the Trojan war is 1084-1094 B.C. In the latter year Troy was destroyed; Aeneas with his followers fled from the city, and sailed westward: and after wandering for seven years landed at Laurentium (a town in Latium) about 1076 B.C. He married Lavinia the daughter of the local king Latinus, and founded the town of Lavinium, in honour of his wife. Turnus, the king of Andes, made war upon Latinus and Aeneas, for the hands of the betrothed Lavinia. Latinus was killed, but Turnus was defeated. Aeneas succeeded Latinus; and Turnus with the help of Mezentius of Coere, a town in Etruria, again attacked Aeneas but was himself killed.

So about 1050 B.C. or a little afterwards there were three towns in Latium. Had there been a fourth town Turnus would have leagued with it for his war against Aeneas.

Laurentium, Lavinium and Ardea were near the area. Aeneas son, Ascanius founded Alba Longa island, 18 miles from the sea. It included Mount Alban within its circuit and entered into the Alban lake. It was a much larger city than the small towns of Latium. The Mount Alban was the sacred mountain of the Latins, on which the religious festivals were celebrated, and on its highest summit was the Temple of Jupiter Latinus. It was both a religious and a political capital of the Latins. It was the mother of thirty seven colonies, whose people came to her every year to offer up sacrifices to Jupiter Latinus. So powerful was the Federal State that the Etruscans did not venture to attack it, and an agreement was made that the Tiber should be the boundary between the States.

Its population must have been very much larger than that of an average Latin town. We take it to have been 3 or 4 times the

average. There were 30 towns, big and small, three centuries later.

A population which was $3+3=6$, or $3+4=7$ in the beginning became $29+3=32$, or $29+4=33$ at the end of 300 years, the rate of increase is 9.74 per cent per decade, or 5.31% per decade.

This is a very high rate of increase for an ancient people in ancient times. The general rate of increase in ancient times was 4 or 5 per cent per century. With the progress of civilization and greater use of iron in plough shares and harnessing of bullock power to agriculture more food was easily produced, leading to a greater increase in population. But this in our opinion does not account for fully such a high rate. Settled government may have helped; but such a high rate is possible only by immigration from surrounding poor areas.

We have evidence that the neighbouring and allied Sabines were increasing fast, they were the parent stock of the OSCo—Sabellian races. They had a peculiar institution called *ver sacrum* (sacred spring time). Whenever the district seemed to be in danger of being over-crowded they were accustomed to consecrate to gods every child and animal born during the spring of certain years. In the 20th year thereafter the children, when grown up, were turned adrift to find new homes wheresoever the gods should guide them. From this state-directed emigration sprang the Sabellian races of central Italy.

A large part of the growth noticed is certainly due to immigrations or continued infiltration of the neighbouring tribesmen into the plains of Latium. As there was intermarriage with the Latins and Romans, they were merged into it.

Equable distribution of income among the early Romans in the 8th century B.C.

Romulus, the first king of Rome, reigned

from 753 B.C. to 715 B.C. Romulus picked out 3,000 of the young men to form the foot-soldiers of his army, and 300 more to serve as horsemen. In this way each family would furnish one foot-soldier, and every ten families one horseman.

Roman cavalry was paid three times the salary of a foot-soldier. As it was a militia salary is likely to have been paid for the economic loss suffered by the family.

From this meagre data we may, by applying Pareto's law of distribution of increases, try to form an idea about the distribution of incomes among the early Romans. Pareto's law has been found to hold good for all countries and all times. It is $y=N.x-a$, where y =the number of persons having an income of x and above, and N and a are two constants, a is generally about 1.5 for industrial countries, and is about 1.67 for agricultural countries. The greater the value of a , the more equitable is the distribution of incomes.

For every 10 or 11 men having an income of 1 unit and above there is 1 with an income of 3. For such a community, a little calculation will show that the value of a is 2.1 or 2.2. That is, the distribution of incomes is much more equitable than in the present age.

But the matter is not so easy. There were slaves and foreign traders in early Rome. It has been noticed that amongst primitive agriculturists (e.g. those who follow cultivation in India) and herdsmen the difference in income between the rich and the poor is not so great as amongst pure agriculturists of the plains. The truth of the assertion has not been quantitatively proved, but qualitatively observed. We may infer therefore that there were herdsmen amongst the Romans.

Further we do not know whether the fodder for horses and their equipment were paid by the horsemen or by the State, very

likely they were paid by the horsemen. If we assume that the cost of fodder and equipment is $\frac{1}{2}$ (half), then $a=2.5$.

All that we can assert is that the distribution of incomes among the early Romans was very equitable.

Density of population in Latium (Italy) in early Roman times.

"Latium proper consists of a district of 700 sq. miles between the Tiber, the spurs of the Appennines, the Alban Mount and the sea" (Well's Short History of Rome, p. 3).

From very early times 30 cities of Latium were associated for purposes of defence and common worship. It was a federal league such as existed in Boetia or in Aetolia.

Servius Tullius, the fifth king of Rome reigned for 44 years from 578 B.C. to 534 B.C. His reign was mainly peaceful, but he extended the power of Rome by a treaty with the Latins, who hence forward appear as her constant allies. He also surrounded Rome with a great wall, parts of which still exist.

There was no citizen that was not a soldier and the army of Servius Tullius mustered 80,000 strong in the Field of Mars.

Servius' army could not have consisted of Roman citizens alone for in that case we have to suppose that the population of Rome increased 26 times in course of 182 years. Such rapid increase is not possible even for an expanding city, attracting immigrants. Further, Regal Rome was a much smaller place than Imperial Rome, its area including the several hills, were of the order of 3 sq. miles. Assigning 5 persons to a family, these 80,000 soldiers were recruited from 4,00,000 people which means a per acre density of 208 persons—worse than slum conditions. It must have contained contingents from the 30 allied cities of Latium.

Like Romulus, Servius Tullius must have recruited one soldier per family. Further, that

was the usual way of forming a militia in the ancient world. It is usual to assign 5 persons to a 'single unit' family consisting of the husband and the wife and their children. In agricultural families in India the number of persons per family is a little higher than the average. It is of the order of 6.6.

In ancient times people loved to live together whether in ancient India or in ancient Greece or in Rome. The Roman law of *patria potestas* conferred upon the father or the grandfather the right to control the lives of their descendants.

For these reasons we assign 6 persons to a family on a conservative estimate. Further there were slaves captured in war.

Assigning 6 persons to a family the population of Latium was $6 \times 80,000 = 4,80,000$ for 700 sq. miles. The density per sq. mile works out to 696 persons. This is very high density.

Deducting one-sixth of the gross area of Latium for the town sites, roads and rivers and hills and groves, we get 587 sq. miles available for cultivation. Multiplying 587×640 acres = 3,75,680 acres. Dividing this figure by 80,000 we get 4.8 acres of cultivable land per family.

In the alluvial plains of Bengal and the Punjab, an adult male can plough 5 acres of land with a steel-shod plough. In North Lakhimpur people cultivate *chur* lands with bamboo ploughs, and their average is 2.5 acres to 3.0 acres.

In the sixth century B.C. iron though known was neither plentiful nor cheap. With wooden ploughs or ill shod ploughs, non-alluvial rocky soil cannot be cultivated as easily.

Without being dogmatic, we may say that in that time people were reaching the limits of cultivation. Hence recruitment to army and other non-agricultural pursuits was easy.

FOLKLORE IN RELATION TO ANTHROPOLOGY—SOME OBSERVATIONS

R. M. SARKAR

Right from the days of W. J. Thomas, to whom the credit of coining of the term folklore goes, the study and researches in folklore have been receiving different treatment through the ages. It has been defined by the scholars in different ways and the diversity of definitions sometimes causes disputes amongst the persons devoted to the discussions of this branch of study. Moreover its affiliation to the humanities and also to the social sciences is very interesting, though it brings confusion in the understanding of the subject as a whole. These two groups of workers utilise the materials of folklore according to their own lines of

thinking. But, on the whole, the subject in question is a vast one and it embraces a complicated field of knowledge in relation to the different activities of man.

Like folklore the field of anthropology is also vast and boundless though the latter is somewhat systematic. Amongst the different fields of anthropology cultural anthropology comes closest to folklore in similarities in the different thoughts and ideas. A close link is to be detected between the definitions of folklore and culture which is the basic concept in cultural anthropology. William Bascom has shown the resemblance between the defini-

tions of the terms folklore and culture. The former indicates "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc., of the olden time." It was propounded by W. J. Thomas in his letter to *The Athenaeum* in the year 1846. On the other hand, E. B. Tylor introduced the term culture in 1865 in his book *Primitive Culture* published in 1871, in which he discussed the matter in an analytical way. Culture, according to him, includes that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. These similarities in the basic concepts of folklore and anthropology have brought the two branches of study under common category. Anthropologists studying the non-literate societies always use the folkloristic materials as a part of their study. Folklore constitutes a part of culture which the cultural anthropologists should utilise to focus the life and customs of the people they study.

The history of the development of folklore acknowledges the fact that though it has been the point of discussion of scholars belonging to the diversified disciplines yet folklore has received due recognition from the works of the anthropologists. The reputed earlier anthropologists like Tylor, Boas and Frazer had given much importance to folklore in their researches in connection with the study of human society and culture. Tylor in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1865) focussed the different beliefs and attitudes of man in his day to day living. The different belief attitude system of man was authentically discussed by him in the later years when he published his *Primitive Culture* in 1871. Sir J. G. Frazer's vast collections of folklore and superstitions spread over the twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough* (1911-13) - the most celebrated book of

world-wide fame. The work mentioned is considered as the pioneer in the systematic collection and study of folklore materials from different parts of the world. It was Boas who took a keen initiative in the study of folklore, the background of anthropology. The American Folklore Society of those days was very much influenced by the anthropologically oriented scholars like Boas who edited the journal of the Society from 1903 to 1924. In his celebrated works on the collection of folklore of the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl, Boas put forward the proposition that corpus of traditional tales in a particular culture reflect the traits of material culture. These tales are essential in the understanding of human society as he thinks the tales provide many valuable clues to the vanished elements of tribal history. While writing about the "Growth of Indian Mythology" he has opined that "if we have a full collection of the tales and myths of all the tribes of a certain region, and then tabulate the number of incidents which all the collections from each tribe have in common with any selected tribe, the number of common incidents will be the larger the more intimate the relation of the two tribes and the nearer they live together" (Boas, 1896). He collected folktales from different aboriginal groups and then tried to evaluate the geographical locations and linguistic divisions of these with examples. He considered that the recording of folklore was a fruitful field technique for the anthropologists. It helps in the understanding of the very nature of culture with minimum chance of overlooking of the different traits. Most of the time it provides an ethnocentric approach to the way of life which Boas has felt in his study on *Kwakiutl culture as Reflected in Mythology* (1935).

This particular line of approach had been maintained by Boas' worthy pupils like Benedict and Herskovits for a greater period.

Benedict gave a befitting lead in the anthropological folklore in America in the capacity of the editor of the journal of American Folklore Society. Her remarkable work, *Zuni Mythology* (1931), opened a new vista in the study of folklore in the anthropological background. Herikovits has done a tremendous work in the understanding of culture through folkloristic studies. He has emphasised that "a substantial body of folktales is more than the literary expression of a people. It is, in a very real sense, their ethnography which, if systematized by the student, gives a picture of their way of life" (1948 : 418). Recently Bascom has done a series of works in the field of anthropological folklore which have caused a great deal in the revival of the techniques of study started by Boas. In his Presidential Address to the Sixty-fourth annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, 1952, he has tried to present the practical aspect of the utilisation of folklore materials in the study of culture vis-a-vis anthropology. He emphasised that "folklore is studied in anthropology because it is a part of man's intelligently realised traditions and customs, a part of his social heritage. It can be analysed in the same way as other customs and traditions, in terms of form and functions, or of interactions with other aspects of culture. It presents the same problems of growth and change, and is subject to the same processes of diffusion, invention, acceptance or rejection, and integration. It can be used, like other aspects of culture, for studies of these processes or those of acculturation, patterning, the relation between culture and environment, or between culture and personality" (Bascom, W.R. 1965 : 28-29).

It is to be noted that anthropological approach of folkloristic study has attracted the attention of many non-anthropological folk-

lorists who have attached importance to the systematic attempts of anthropological folklorists. Herbert Halpert, in his article "Some undeveloped areas in American folklore" has drawn the attention of the non-anthropological folklorists to utilise the ethnographic data in their study. He is supported by many renowned folklorists like Alan Lomax, Mac Edward Leach, etc. The reputed historian-folklorist like R. M. Dorson has strongly opined that the field-workers in folklore would be very much benefitted from the ethnographical studies. Stith Thompson has emphasised that folklore and ethnology are inter-dependent disciplines as their intimacy is so deep that it is very difficult to draw exact boundaries between the two. The folklorists try to enquire into the traditional social organisation and material culture whereas the ethnologists feel helpless in their study if they do not know the songs and stories, myths and beliefs of the people they study. In Europe the organised efforts of the folklorists and ethnologists are closely seen. In the United States the study of folklore with the direct help of the ethnologists has opened up new vistas. The folklore of the North American Indian, explored through the joint efforts of the folklorists and the ethnologists is now considered as better recorded and analysed than that of any non-literate group. The American Folklore Society has been receiving the active interest and fruitful participation of the American anthropologists since its inception.

P. E. Goddard's observations, though made fifty-eight years ago, deserve mention in tracing the relation of folklore to anthropology. He asserts that folklore materials can be better utilised in the study of social contact amongst the different linguistic groups in a country. He has pointed out that the fact that closely related languages of the Siouan stock were spoken in the Northern Plains and on

the South Atlantic Coast of North America discloses that the present far separated peoples were once in social contact. Among the unlettered people folklore takes the place of literature in which the total life and activities of the people are reflected. It is seen that the folk narratives are not the product of a single person. During verbal transmission these are subject to moulding by a number of individuals until they reflect the conceptions of the average people of the community concerned. At the time of studying and analysing folklore as a part of culture it should be classified and the geographical areas over which a particular type of folklore are seen to spread over should be determined. From the nature of distribution of folktales the areas and centres of cultural transmission and inter-change can be detected.

Therefore, from the above discussion it is seen that the folklorists related to the different disciplines like history, psychology, literature, etc., possessed a keen interest in the utilization of anthropological methods in the study of folklore. On the other hand, the anthropologists have realised the importance of folkloristic materials in the study of various facts of society. In India, the study of anthropology has not yet been so much benefitted by the analysis of the folkloristic materials though it is the richest country in the world so far as the vast wealth of folklore is concerned. India is to be considered as a fruitful field in the adoption of folklore as a methodological tool in the study of society and culture.

The study of Indian folklore started as a branch of Indology. The traditions of India's diversified culture and civilization attracted the attention of many persons of the West interested in the study of comparative religion, mythology, philology, etc., and they began to unveil the different features of India's age-old customs and way of life. The study of

folklore got stimulation, first of all, from William Jones, the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal started in 1784. In the journal of the Society a few writings on the different aspects of folklore began to be published regularly. The Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, established in 1804, also took initiative in the matter. A large number of articles on folklore began to appear in the pages of the "Indian Antiquary" which was started at Bombay in the year 1872 under the editorship of James Burges. In that journal folklore received a special treatment and it separated from the antiquities. Then the other journals like the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay (1886), the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (1909), the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1915), and Man in India (1921) took the lead in the publication of the folklore materials collected from different parts of India. Besides these scientific English articles a vast amount of materials in relation to folklore have also been getting published since then in the different regional languages of the country.

A large number of Western and Indian scholars engaged themselves in the collection and study of the vast treasures of Indian folklore. Of them the names of R. C. Temple, G. A. Grierson, William Crook, Lal Behari Dey, S. C. Mitra etc. are important. With the advancement of the folkloristic study in the country a few reputed anthropologists doing valuable work on Indian society and culture tried to systematize the study of folklore. In this connection the name of S. C. Roy, the father of Indian Ethnology, may be mentioned. Roy, through his vast field investigation in Chotanagpur, could understand the importance of customs and traditions in the day to day life and activities of the people and that was why he wanted to shape the very system of collection and analysis of these materials in a

scientific way. He expressed his ideas thus : "the collection of folklore materials, particularly folk traditions and folk customs and folk rites, has not hitherto been altogether neglected in India. But the task of systematizing, sifting and analysing them yet remain to be undertaken" (Roy, 1932 : 353). He attracted the attention of the folklorists working in India to the activities of the Folklore Society of London and in the inaugural issue of *Man In India* he wrote : "It cannot fail to be of great assistance to Indian students of folklore if they bring themselves in closer touch with such a society as the Folklore Society of London through a more active co-operation with its aims and ambitions and by establishing themselves as members of the society". He devoted his journal to the cause of scientific study of folklore in addition to the different anthropological discussions. Prof. D. P. Mukherji while commenting on the trends of works of the Indian sociologists once remarked: "It is not enough for the Indian sociologist to be a sociologist. He must be an Indian first, that is, he is to share in the folkways, mores, customs and traditions for the purpose of understanding his social system and what lies between it and beyond it. He should be steeped in the Indian lore, both high and low" D. P. (Mukherji, 1958 : 232).

There are so many factors in folklore which can be utilised for the anthropological study of the society and culture of the people both tribal and non-tribal. Here, by way of example we have attempted to show the importance and the immediate necessity of utilising the nature and extent of the patterns of worship of the folk deities and festivals connected with them in the anthropological study. The social anthropologists in India are very keen in tracing out the inter-personal, inter-caste and inter-communal relationship patterns and stresses are being laid by some to examine the trends of unity in the overall diversity of the

different groups of people. In India this sort of study can be taken up with the help of numerous festivals of the folk deities who are found in the open field, at the foot of a tree, or by the side of a stream. These deities are considered as the tutelary deities of the village and they are propitiated by all the villagers irrespective of castes and classes. In West Bengal these deities are to be found at each and every village and they are known as Chandi, Sitala, Manasa, etc. All these deities are, most of the time, found in the possession of the lower caste people. The priests of these deities also come from these communities. There is always a legendary background which illustrates the connection of the deity with the particular lower caste family officiating as the priests. The impact of the great tradition of Hinduism have caused a great deal in the upgrading of these deities and due to which lower caste priests have been replaced by Brahman priests. A number of folk narratives are seen to be associated with the phenomenon of gradual introduction of these folk deities into the fold of Hinduism. These narratives are recognized as *Mangal Kavyas*. In Bengali literature of the present day a vast amount of materials relating to the growth and development of the different *Mangal Kavyas* are seen which depict the nature of the deity, its relationship with the lower caste people and then how it has been upgraded to the level of the orthodox Hinduism. The social anthropologists can easily take up these folk narratives to evaluate the traditional set up and the interactions of thoughts and ideas of the different segments of the society. The scientific analysis of these narratives should also be supplemented by the direct observations on the nature of worship and the pattern of participation of the people from the different caste and communities.

Throughout the south-western region of

West Bengal and the eastern border of the Santal Pargana district of Bihar it has been noted that each of such deities is worshipped in a definite number of villages at different times throughout the year. The village headman makes the preliminary contact and the non-Brahman priest arranges to worship the deity following the traditional customs of the village society. In the worship of these deities a large number of villagers belonging to the different castes and communities stand on the common platform and they observe some common restrictions in the taking of food and drink. A unique pattern of the distributions of the different services and subsequent remunerations on the basis of caste and community groups is seen which is governed by age-old customs and traditions. The number of ballads that are generally recited in the praise of the deity present many interesting points on the socio-religious life of the rural settings.

Much has been said about the *Gajan* festival of West Bengal villages by the different scholars. The festival is centered round the two different village deities—Dharma and Siva. The former festival, held in the month of *Vaisakh* (April-May), is known as the *Gajan* of Dharma and the latter one is called as the *Gajan* of Siva which takes place in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April). The scholars differ amongst themselves in their opinion about the origin of Dharma, the worship of whom takes place in each and every village of the south-western part of West Bengal. But the people from the lower rungs of the society are found to participate in a large number and naturally a great many indigenous elements are seen to be associated with the propitiation of the deity. Some scholars are of opinion that in due course the *Gajan* of Dharma has been transformed into the *Gajan* of Siva because of the impact of Hinduism.

Both the *Gajans* are essentially the same but certain differences are to be marked in the nature of participation of the people and the appointment of Brahman and non-Brahman priests. The *Dharma Mangal Kavyas* illustrating the growth, development and the introduction of Dharma into the greater fold of Hinduism from the non-Aryan state reflect many interesting angles of study from the anthropological view points. A comparative study of the two *Gajan* festivals in the background of the nature of participation of the different castes and communities would reveal many interesting points on the inter-caste and inter-communal interactions. The vast number of ballads that are recited during the festivals are still to be analysed sociologically to evaluate these in the context of the society and culture of the indigenous population.

The folkloristic materials on the nature and the pattern of the folk deities can easily be taken up as an important tool for studying the matrix of the rural society. The nature of participation of the people in the different phases of the ceremonies after breaking through all the barriers of castes and classes indicates the trends of social integration. The methods of study should be conducted in the following way.

1. The folk deities :

The deities that are worshipped over a particular geographical region are to be collected systematically and then these should be grouped as per their importance in the life and activities of the region. Then the groupings in the hierachial pattern of the deities should also be made. The Vedic and non-Vedic traditions amongst the deities are to be brought out and a record should be kept about the interactions of the two traditions over each other.

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JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

Introductory

In every democratic welfare state due emphasis has been laid on Fundamental Rights of a citizen which are indispensable for the material and moral uplift of man. According to former Chief Justice of India Mr. Subba Rao, "The Fundamental Rights are modern names for what were traditionally described as natural rights."¹ These rights are called "fundamental" because they provide an opportunity to develop one's personality and potentiality to the highest level possible. They arise out of the "original freedoms which are at once necessary attributes and modes of self-expression of the human beings and primary conditions of their community life within an established legal order."²

The idea of defining and declaring the Rights of individuals and of citizens is not a very recent contribution to political theory. The Fundamental Rights have become well known since the late 18th century and since the drafting of the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution. The Glorious Revolution in Britain also, hundred years before it insisted upon a Bill of Rights after, which may well be said to have laid down the basis for a well-defined and solemnly declared code of Human Rights and the Rights of citizens. How these rights have been fashioned in every democratic constitution to make all citizens appreciate that the privileges of a

few have been swept away in order to promote an orderly society functioning on accepted principles of the Rule of Law.

Nature of Fundamental Rights in the British Constitution

The British Constitution is unwritten. Hence, there is no code of Fundamental Rights in Britain as exists in the American Constitution and in other written constitutions of the world. However, this does not mean that there is no recognition of fundamental rights of the individual in the United Kingdom. In fact, the object is secured there in a different manner.

The foundation of individual rights in Britain is negative in the sense that an individual has the right and freedom to take whatever action he desires, so long as he does not violate any rule of the law of the land, which comprises both common and statute law. The judiciary is the guardian of these rights in the United Kingdom as elsewhere ; but there is a vital difference. While in Britain the courts have the fullest power to protect the individual against tyranny of the Executive, the courts are powerless against legislative aggression upon individual rights.

In order to make the point clear, it would be better to cite the British judiciary itself. The Privy Council once observed :

"No member of the Executive can interfere with the liberty or property of a British

subject except on the condition that he can support the legality of his action before a court of Justice.”⁵

In another leading case the highest English tribunal held :

“All the courts today and not less this House, are as jealous as they have ever been in upholding the liberty of the subject. But that liberty is a liberty confined and controlled by a law. It is in Burke’s words, a regulated freedom..... In the constitution of this country, there are no guaranteed or absolute rights. The safeguard of British liberty is in the good sense of the people and in the system of representative and responsible government which has been evolved.”⁶

The above quoted extracts from the leading decisions of the British judiciary bear testimony to the fact that while the British courts enjoy absolute power to defend the individuals against the tyranny of the Executive, it is helpless against legislative aggression upon individual rights. In fact, the British constitutional theory does not provide the constitutional guarantee of liberty by means of a Bill of Rights. According to a leading constitutional expert Shri D. D. Basu ;

“The rights are founded on the ordinary law of the land ; hence, they can be changed by the Parliament like the other laws. So, there is no right which may be said to be ‘fundamental’ in the strict sense of the term.”⁷

Of course, there are proclamations of certain individual rights in some constitutional charters and documents like the Magna Carta and Bill of Rights, but these charters were to be made binding upon the Executive and not upon the Legislature in Great Britain.

Nature of Fundamental Rights in the American Constitution :

As a result of the experience gained by

them of arbitrary legislative power wielded by British Parliament the framers of the American constitution were apprehensive of tyranny not only from the Executive but also from the Legislature. In the words of Stephen :

“The Americans have refused to acknowledge any unlimited power, either in the Executive or in the Legislature, and whilst retaining the notion that the citizen may do anything he is not forbidden to do, have also guaranteed against legislative interference with certain defined rights.”⁸

The framers of the American constitution adopted the constitution making its ratification conditional with a promise for adoption of a Bill of Rights. This promise was redeemed by the addition of the first Ten Amendments of the Constitution of the United States containing American Bill of Rights soon after the commencement of the constitution.

The American Bill of Rights enumerates the rights of the individual, although it does not define them. The task of giving definition of the rights is left to the Supreme Court which while deciding cases and claims for enforcement of rights interprets the constitution, puts meaning into the general words of the constitution and fixes their scope taking into consideration the history, social, economic and sociological factors which must regulate judicial interpretation at any given point of time.

The result has been the establishment in the United States of a “judicial supremacy” as opposed to the “Parliamentary” supremacy in Britain. It means that the limits of freedom lie where the Supreme Court says they lie. In the absence of a clear definition and lack of precise scope specification of the rights the contents of the Bill change with the change in the thinking, philosophy and attitude of the court. There is no doctrine of the ‘security of the state’ in the U.S.A., and

the Legislature is powerless to override any individual right on the ground of the safety of the state.⁷ The court of course, acknowledges that the Legislature has the power to regulate the exercise of the individual rights in the collective interests under the doctrine of 'Police Powers' but the determination by the Legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of power is not exclusive or final, but is subject to supervision by the courts.⁸

So, the American Bill of Rights is equally binding upon the Legislature as upon the Executive. In a leading case the U.S. Supreme Court held :

"A government which holds the lives, liberty and property of its citizens, subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unlimited control of even the most democratic depository of power, is after all but a despotism."⁹

Undoubtedly, the American Supreme Court, since the historic decision in Marbury V. Madison case has assumed the power to declare an Act of Congress as unconstitutional on the ground of controvention of any provision of the Bill of Rights. Unlike the British constitution, the Fundamental Rights in the American constitution can not be amended by the Legislature in the ordinary course of legislation but can be amended only through the special process of constitution amendment requiring concurrence of the state Legislatures.¹⁰

Fundamental Rights in the Light of C. A. Debates¹¹ :

The first task which engaged the attention of the constituent Assembly was the constitution of an Advisory committee on the subject of fundamental rights. On January 24, 1947, on a motion of Shri G. B. Pant, the Assembly adopted a resolution setting up the committee.

In his speech moving the resolution, Mr. Pant said :

".....The individual citizen who is really the backbone of the state, the pivot, the cardinal centre of all social activity, and whose happiness and satisfaction should be the goal of every social mechanism, has been lost here in that indiscriminate body known as the community. We have even forgotten that a citizen exists as such. There is the unwholesome and to some extent a degrading habit of thinking always in terms of communities and never in terms of citizens. But it is after all citizens that form communities and the individual as such is essentially the care of all mechanisms and means and devices that are adopted for securing progress and advancement. It is the welfare and happiness of the individual citizen which is the object of every sound administrator and statesman. So let us remember that it is the citizen that must count. It is the citizen that forms the base as well as the summit of the social pyramid as his importance, his dignity, his sanctity, should always be remembered. If you bear this in mind, I think we shall understand and appreciate the importance of the Fundamental Rights. Because, on the proper appreciation of these rights has depended the progress of humanity."¹²

The members of the Fundamental Rights sub-committee met for the first time on 27th February 1947 and quickly decided that the Fundamental Rights should be justiciable, that they should be included in the constitution, and they also decided the form these rights should take.

A study of the proceeding of the Fundamental Rights sub-committee reveals that the Right to Freedom were drafted with only

a brief argument over the wording of the proviso to the Right of Freedom of Association. The provision abolishing untouchability was adopted with equal swiftness.¹³ There had been considerable controversy over the clause protecting freedom of conscience and practice of religion. A lady member Rajkumari Amrit Kaur opposed the free practice of religion "since this could include such anti social practices as temple prostitute, purdah and sati and because it might invalidate such secular gains as the widow's Remarriage Act."¹⁴ A. K. Ayyar came to her support with a note saying that the use of the word "practice" was too wide.¹⁵ This protest had its effect ; the Advisory committee altered the sub-committee's provisions and in its own report laid down that the right freely to practice religion should not prevent the state from making laws providing for social welfare and reform ; provision that was carried into the constitution.¹⁶

Equality before the Law was another right that might have been thought unexceptionable. Yet A. K. Ayyar held that it could hamper reform. He preferred using the phrase that 'no person should be denied the equal protection of the law. The Advisory committee accepted Ayyar's advice which was incorporated into the constitution.¹⁷

The conflict between individual liberty and the state's responsibility was evident in the provision concerning forced labour. The members of the committee found that they were in no disagreement about abolishing forced labour ; but they disagreed strongly on the question of involuntary labour in the form of military or social conscription. The two lady members Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur were against conscription and the latter opposed compulsion in any form.¹⁸ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, K. M. Munshi and A. K. Ayyar did not want

to write into the constitution a clause prohibiting military conscription. K. M. Munshi believed that any such prohibition would be very dangerous in time of war. A. K. Ayyar reminded the committee that Fundamental Rights in India, rest on the bedrock of Indian national security.¹⁹ Ultimately a sub-committee, comprised of G. B. Pant, C. Rajagopalachari, K. M. Munshi and B. R. Ambedkar redrafted the provision reversing the stand of the sub committee. The new wording provided that nothing in the forced labour clause should prevent the state from imposing compulsory service for public purposes²⁰—essentially the form in which the provision appeared in the constitution.

The Right to Property proved a very controversial right. The members of the constituent Assembly were sharply divided on it. The constituent Assembly's treatment of this issue is worthy of detailed study for it shows how the members looked upon the conflict between individual liberty and social reform.

Since 1787 every people who have intended to give themselves a written constitution have had to decide what were the citizen's rights of life, liberty and property, and within the context of their own aims and experience in what way and to what degree these rights were to be limited for the good of society as a whole. India was no exception to this.

When the Fundamental Rights sub-committee took up the question of due process, it voted 5 to 2, with two abstentions, to include the clause in its classic form.²¹ Two days later the members reinforced their earlier decision, providing that no private property could be acquired for public use unless the law called "for payment, according to principles previously determined, of just compensation for the property acquired."²²

In this form the matter went to the Advisory Committee.

On 21st April the Advisory Committee as a whole met and considered the due process clause. The importance of the meeting lay as much on its effect on the attitudes of members as in the decisions reached. Early in the discussion, Pant gave the opinion that due process would be understood only in a procedural sense. A. K. Ayyar recognized that the clause might endanger property tenancy, and other legislation, and much depended on the ideas and interpretations of judges. Yet the Fundamental Rights sub committee had taken all this into consideration and decided to retain the clause.²³

Ambedkar and Munshi opposed Pant's view, Ambedkar said :

"As to property and tenancy legislation, the latter would not be endangered by due process and a special proviso would keep property legislation out of the courts."²⁴

At this point Sardar K. M. Panikar suggested that life and liberty should be separate from property in the rights. He said :

"The courts should guard our life and liberty and there should be no detention. But so far as property is concerned, it must be subjected to legislation."²⁵

Sardar Vallabhai Patel argued that they must deal with property separately. And a few minutes later he made a resolution to this effect. The committee adopted this course.

The decision in alienating the right to property from the doctrine of "due process" increased the hold of Legislature over private property at the expense of the judiciary and perhaps that of abstract justice. This trend has become even more marked. The day after the Advisory Committee took this action it moved to restrict further the power of the courts to review property legislation.

On April 22nd, the Advisory Committee

took up the Rights sub-committee's draft clause that property could be acquired for public use only on payment of just compensation—"just" being the word that clearly left the provision open to interpretation. Govind Ballabh Pant said that he opposed this wording if it meant that the government would not be free to determine the compensation it would have to pay. C. Rajagopalachari commented that if this clause covers all cases of acquisition, then the question of the justness of compensation will go to the courts and the functioning of government will be paralysed. A. K. Ayyar said that after all 'compensation' carries with it the idea of 'just compensation'. Therefore the words 'just compensation' have been used. K.M. Panikkar suggested that they should take out the "just" so that it would not be justiciable. Patel concluded the discussion by saying :

"If the word just is kept, we came to the conclusion that every case will go to the Federal court. Therefore, "just" is dropped."²⁶

The Assembly greeted the committee's action favourably. Only two members opposed the provision on the ground that it did not provide for 'just' compensation.

With the right to possess property guaranteed in the constitution, the constituent Assembly again considered the extent of the State's power to deprive a person of his property in the name of social justice. The Drafting Committee stipulated that nothing in the article should prevent the state from passing legislation promoting public health or preventing danger to life or to property. This latter clause was to be, as we shall see, the foundation of state's "police power" in matters of property.

The reopening of the Debate on this Article was on July 24, 1949. At the meeting Pant reiterated his belief that :

"The Legislature alone should have the authority to give such compensation as it considers to be fair not only in the sense that it is fair in terms of the market value, but considering the circumstances of the state and the purpose for which the property is being acquired."²⁷

Ayyar said that in that case there might as well be no Fundamental Rights. Nehru held that compensation for property should be paid, but that payment must be made largely or only in bonds. K. M. Munshi thought that if the manner of compensation was kept out of the courts, the payment of it could be spread over hundred years. He also believed that leaving the quantum of compensation to legislatures was unwise because some of them might lack a sense of fair play.

After a prolonged discussion, a generally acceptable formula had been found. The formula bearing the names of Nehru, G. B. Pant, K. M. Munshi, A. K. Ayyar and N. Gopala Swamy Ayyangar was moved in the Assembly as an Amendment to the Draft constitution.²⁸ The text of the amendment is essentially that of Article 31 of the constitution.

The supporters of the complete review powers for the courts, and those in favour of unfettered powers for legislatures must have been disappointed by this compromise. The meaning of the provision was best explained to the Assembly by K. M. Munshi. He told the House :

"The import of the clauses was that Parliament would be the sole judge of two matters : 'the propriety of the principles laid down, so long as they are principles' and that the principles may vary as regards different classes of property and different objects for which they are required'. If the Legislature lays down genuine principles for compensation, the court will not

substitute their own sense of fairness for that of Parliament. They will not judge the adequacy of compensation from the standard of market value ; they will not question the judgement of Parliament unless the inadequacy is so gross as to be tantamount to a fraud on the fundamental right to own property".²⁹

Jawahar Lal Nehru informed the Assembly that :

"eminent jurists have told us that on a proper construction of this clause (clause 2), normally speaking, the judiciary should not and does not come in. But equity applies to the community as well as to the individual : No individual can override ultimately the rights of the community at large. No community should injure and invade the rights of the individual unless it be for the most urgent and important reasons".³⁰

The constituent Assembly adopted the new provision, which became Article 31 of the constitution.

Many members of the constituent Assembly first approached the "due process" issues as if it were a simple one. Experience in constitution making soon taught them that it was not so simple. Wealth was the responsibility of the few and liberty was the possession of the many. The members who would enthusiastically expropriate another's property were loathe to jeopardise their own freedom. Most of the rank and file supported Nehru on expropriation and compensation. But a large number of the members opposed the sacrifice of "due process", embodied in the American constitution as a protection of individual liberty. None would have disputed that stable government and peaceful conditions throughout the country were indispensable for the attainment of social revolution. But a considerable number of the members held

that individual liberty should not be endangered even for such ends. To save what they could, they fought the issue into the final days of the Assembly.

Inspite of the fact that the stalwarts in the Assembly like Nehru, Patel and others favoured its deletion, the Assembly favoured "due process" however, and Rau included the provision in his Draft Constitution, published in early October 1947, although he qualified 'liberty' with the adjective 'personal'.³² This change greatly narrow the scope and meaning of liberty.

A bit later, B. N. Rau proposed an amendment to his Draft constitution. It aimed that when a law is made by the state in the discharge of one of the fundamental duties imposed upon it by the constitution and when that happens to conflict with one of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the individual, the former should prevail. In other words general right should prevail over the individual right. However, Rau could not get the members of the Drafting Committee to accept this amendment at their meeting in the autumn of 1947. So, he tried to obtain the same result by other means and suggested that "due process" clause be eliminated in favour of the phrase according to the procedure established by him'. It was largely through the untiring efforts of B. N. Rau although other personalities and events of the times played a part as well that forced the Drafting Committee to reconsider the issue. The Drafting Committee took up the matter again during its meeting of January 1948 and the members ultimately decided to eliminate "due process".³³

Disapproval of the Drafting Committee's decision soon became evident in the amendments to the Draft submitted by the Assembly members. The Drafting Committee reconsidered the issue during its meeting in March 1948, but declined to put back 'due process'

to Article 15. When this Article came to the floor of the House for debate on 13th December 48, the supporters of "due process" again attacked it. Mahboob Ali Baig made several points. He said :

"The Drafting Committee claimed the Japanese constitution as its precedent for using the phrase 'procedure established by law'. Yet in the Japanese constitution several fundamental Rights endangered by the omission of due process had been separately guaranteed for instance, the right of a person not to be detained except on adequate cause and unless at once informed of the charges against him, the right to counsel and to an immediate hearing in open court, and the right of a person to be secure against entry, search etc., except on a warrant".³⁴

Another member K. M. Munshi said :

"When a law has been passed which entitles the government to take away the personal liberty of an individual, the court will consider whether the law which has been passed is such as is required by the exigencies of the case and therefore, as I said, the balance will be stuck between individual liberty and social control".³⁵

B. R. Ambedkar, torn between his belief in 'due process and his official duty to uphold his committee's decision, remained on the fence. He explained the implications of including due process in the constitution and of deleting it, and then left the House to decide in any way it liked.³⁶

Nevertheless, the amendments were defeated, and on December 13, 1948, Article 15, without the 'due process', was confirmed as part of the Draft Constitution. This could happen when a whip has been issued to assure its adoption, as the controversy had been widespread. A. K. Ayyar held that :

"a good number of members in this House favoured the retention of the Clause".³⁷

Ambedkar reported to the Assembly in September 1949 that :

"No part of our constitution has been so violently criticised by the public outside as Article 15".³⁸

The pressure brought by the Assembly on its leaders produced results. On September 15 Ambedkar submitted to the Assembly a new Article 15A, which provided that any arrested person must be brought before a magistrate within twenty-four hours of his arrest, informed of the nature of accusation, and detained further only on the authority of the magistrate. The arrested person should not be denied counsel. But these provisions were not to apply to persons held under preventive detention laws. An individual so held could not be detained longer than three months unless an Advisory Board consisting of High Court judges, or persons qualified to be judges, supported further detention, and unless laws permitting greater periods of detention were in existence. Parliament could by law prescribe the circumstances and the period of detention.

Introducing Article 15A in the Assembly, despite the Home Ministry's objections, Ambedkar said that :

"Article 15 had been violently criticised by the Indian public ; and a large part of the House including myself, were greatly dissatisfied with the wording of the Article. We are therefore now, by introducing Article 15A, making, if I may say so, compensation for what was done then in passing Art. 15. The new Article, certainly serves a great deal which had been lost by the non-introduction of the words due process of law. Those who are fighting for the protection of individual freedom ought to congratulate themselves that it had been

possible to introduce this clause. Some of the powers of preventive detention had to be kept, due to the present circumstances in the country".³⁹

The Constituent Assembly's reaction to Ambedkar's new Article was, in general, favourable. Most speakers agreed that the times demanded some extraordinary measures, but that detention procedures should be strictly controlled. Pandit H. N. Kunzru spoke most cogently against the excesses of preventive detention. To the argument that the representatives of the people in Parliament could do no wrong, Kunzru replied :

"In the United States there were safeguards against congressional excesses, and that even the Japanese under a military occupation had rights not provided by Article 15A".⁴⁰

The Assembly rejected all amendments excepting those of Ambedkar to his own article ; the amended provision was passed.

Thus, the authority of the courts in cases of personal liberty was lessened and the individual had lost another of the remaining vestiges of the protection of 'due process'.

Limiting the Rights :— Although the rights to be included in the constitution were regarded to be fundamental and justiciable, but they could not be absolute as some members of the Assembly realised. The rights, it was decided, could best be limited by attaching provisos to the particular right and by providing for the rights to be suspended in certain circumstances. A. K. Ayyar explained to the Rights sub-committee that :

"The U. S. Constitution had laid down civil rights in a general fashion and the scope of rights had been narrowed and expanded by judgements of the supreme court. Later constitutions, particularly those drafted after world war 1, attempted to expand the rights and to define them

more precisely with provisos by compendiously seeking to incorporate the effects of The American decisions. The Assembly had to choose between the principles and techniques involved in two systems.⁴¹

Some Assembly members were of the view that the rights had further to be qualified in two directions. There was little argument about the need to limit individual liberty by permitting state intervention for certain social purposes. Thus, it was decided that the right to equality was not to prevent the state from making special laws for protecting women and children.⁴² Similarly the freedom of religion was not to prevent the state from passing social reform legislation.⁴³

However, about the need to circumscribe the basic freedoms of Speech, Assembly, Association, and Movement, there was no easy argument. AT ISSUE WAS THE DELICATE AND EXPLOSIVE QUESTION OF FREEDOM VERSUS STATE SECURITY AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, OF LIBERTY VERSUS LICENCE IN INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR.

At its meeting on 25 March 1947, the sub-committee drafted the "right to freedom" and voted to qualify each with the proviso that the exercise of these rights be subjected to 'public order and morality'.⁴⁴ Similarly to the 'freedom of assembly' it decided to attach the restrictive proviso of the Irish constitution.⁴⁵

In the Constituent Assembly, the provisos received a mixed reception. Their supporters explained that they were to prevent the misuse of the rights by subversive groups and were nothing more than the embodiment of precedent as it had been established by case law. On the other hand the more common view was that the provisos so circumscribed the right that they no longer had any meaning. As one member put it:

"the rights had been framed from the point of view of a police constable."⁴⁶

The Drafting Committee during its deliberations turned its back on the will of the Assembly and revived the provisos in an even more intricate form, making the rights of free speech, assembly, association, movement, etc., subject to public order, morality, health, decency and public interest. Furthermore, in the case of speech, the utterance must not be seditious, slanderous, or undermine the authority of the state. The mechanism for suspending all the fundamental rights in emergencies had also been expanded.

The members of the Assembly strongly attacked the provisos during the debate on the Draft constitution. In reply Ambedkar gave the classic definition of the provisos. He said :

"The rights of the American constitution are not absolute. In support of every exception to the Fundamental Rights set out in the Draft constitution one can refer to at least one judgement of the U. S. Supreme Court. The purpose of the provisos, was to prevent endless litigation and the supreme court having to rescue Parliament. The provisos permit the state 'directly' to impose limitations on the Fundamental Rights. There is really no difference in the result".⁴⁷

But the attack persisted. Thakur Das Bhargava moved an amendment that would put the 'soul' back in Article 13 by inserting the word 'reasonable' before 'restrictions' in the various provisos.⁴⁸

The pressure was so great that the leadership capitulated. The amendment of T. D. Bhargava was adopted. Liberty scored a triumph over bureaucracy's desire for maximum security. Thus, the Assembly placed a major restriction on the scope of legislative competence. The judges may

review the reasonableness of restrictions placed upon rights and thus have the same power in relation to Article 19 (of the constitution, Art. 13 of the Draft) which American judges enjoy generally under the 'due process' clause.

The Assembly's next task, so far as Fundamental Rights were concerned, was to consider again limiting the rights by suspending them in times of emergency. The provision which laid down that while a proclamation of emergency was in force, nothing in the seven freedoms article should restrict state action was passed. To the critics, whose general point was that sufficient limitations on the rights already existed, Ambedkar replied :

'The Article did not suspend the rights ; it only made certain state actions permissible'.¹⁹

Legal Methods and the Constituent Assembly

Having made the fundamental rights justiciable, the sub committee next included within the rights the legal methods by which they could be secured. To do this they adopted the British device of prerogative writs, or directions in the form of writs. Speaking in the constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar had said :

"If I was asked to name the particular article in this constitution with was the most important I could not refer to any other article except this one (Article 32). It is the very soul of the constitution and the very heart of it and I am glad that the House has realised this importance. Hereafter, it would not be possible for any legislature to take away the writs which are mentioned in this article. It is not that the Supreme Court is left to be invested with the power to issue these writs by a law to be made by the legislature at its sweet will. The con-

stitution has invested the supreme court with the writs and these writs could not be taken away unless and until the constitution itself is amended by means left open to legislatures. This may be regarded as one of the greatest safeguards that can be provided for the safety and security of the individual".²⁰

A careful analysis of the constituent Assembly discussion, on the nature of fundamental rights of Indian citizens, leads us to the conclusion that the sounding fathers of the Indian Constitution wanted :

"to strike a balance between a written guarantee of individual rights and the collective interests of the community".²¹

The provisions in the nature of constitutional limitations (e.g., Arts. 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24) are binding both upon the executive and legislative authorities of the state and the courts shall be competent to declare a law as void on the ground of controvention of those rights, as in the United States.²² On the other hand, the rights of life and liberty, is practically left to the legislature, subject only to the limits imposed by Article 22. These rights will be available against the Executive but only within the limits allowed by law. So also the right to property (Article 31). The scope for judicial review of such laws is at least narrower than in the U.S.A. for the American doctrine of "due process" has not been imparted in India

Though the individual rights guaranteed by Article 19 are in general binding upon both the exclusive and the legislature, the legislature is allowed by the framers of the constitution to make valid exceptions to the rights within limits imposed by the constitutions ; such grounds, in brief, are security of the state, morality, decency, health and public interest.

Subject to the above exceptions engrafted

by the constitution itself, the Fundamental Rights embodied in Indian constitution constitutes limitations upon the sovereignty of the parliament so that the Indian parliament can not claim that legal omnipotence which is the predominant feature of the British Parliament.⁵³ In fact, the very existence of a written constitution constitutes a limitation upon the sovereignty of the legislature.

Thus, in the light of the constituent Assembly Debates, it can be concluded that as regards fundamental rights the Indian constitution attempts a compromise between the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and judicial supremacy.

Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution

The constitution of free India envisages a charter of Fundamental Rights in part III, assuring the citizens of those rights. This charter is the sheet-anchor for a young democracy like India. This part of the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights is more elaborate and comprehensive than the Bill of Rights enshrined in any other existing constitutions of importance.

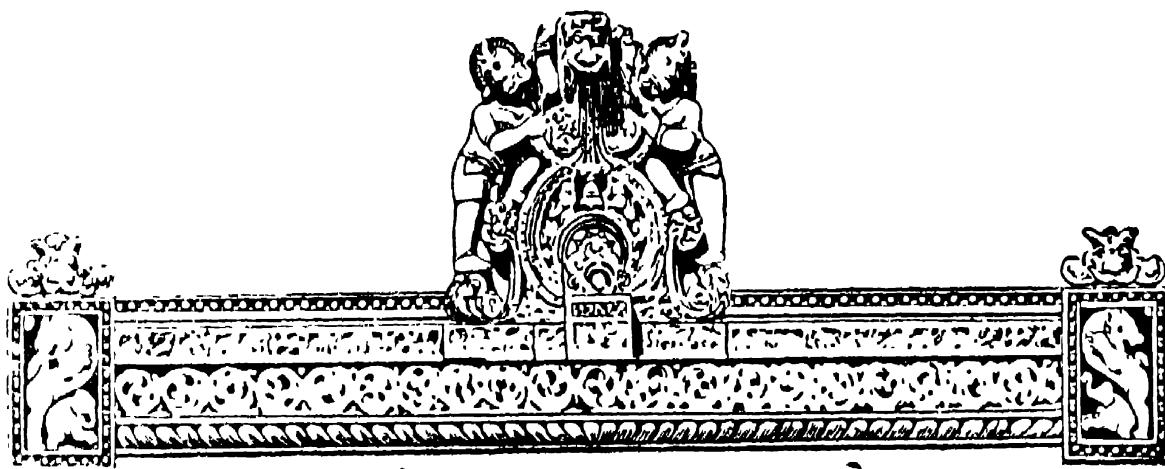
These rights in the Indian constitution have been divided into parts the Right to Equality, the Right to Freedom, the Right against Exploitation, the Right to Freedom of Religion, Cultural and Educational Right, the Right to Property and the Right to Constitutional Remedies.

Consistent with their faith in democracy, architects of the Indian constitution not merely enumerated the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to all citizens but made them justiciable, and the judiciary as the guardian and watch dog.

1. Golak Nath V. State of Punjab, AIR 1967.
2. Saunmur V. City of Quebec, (1953) 4 DLR 641 (670).

3. Eshugbayi Vs Government of Nigeria (1931) 35 CWN 755 (PC).
4. Liversidge V. Anderson (1942) A. C. 206, Lord Wright.
5. Basu D. D., Commentary on the Constitution of India, p. 49.
6. Stephens's Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. I, p. 561.
7. Schenck V.U.S. (1919) 249 U.S. 47.
8. Bridges V. California (1941) 314 U.S, 252 (263).
9. Hurtodo V. California, (1833) V. S. 516 (531).
10. Article V.
11. All citations from the Debates have been taken from the proceeding in G. Austin's The Indian Constitution Cornerstone of a Nation, 1966.
12. Pant's Speech, CAD, Vol. 11, p. 309.
13. Minutes of the Fundamental Rights sub-committee Meeting, 29 March, 1947, File 4-F/47, Prasad Papers.
14. In a note dated 20th April 1947, Rajendra Prasad Papers, File 1-F/47.
15. Note dated 20th April 1947, Ayyar Papers.
16. Interim Report, clause 13, Explanation 3, Reports, First Series, p-25.
17. Interim Report, clause 9, Reports, First Series, p. 25.
18. Ayyar's Note dated 17th April 1947.
19. Rajendra Prasad Papers, File I-F/47.
20. Interim Reports, Clause II, Reports, First series, p. 25.
21. Minutes of the Meeting, 26th March 1947, Prasad Papers, File I, F/47.
22. Minutes of the Meeting, 28th March 1947 ; Ibid.
23. Rajendra Prasad Papers, File I-F/47.
24. Ibid.
25. Rajendra Prasad Papers, File I-F/47.
26. Proceedings, op. cit.

- 27. Proceedings of the Meeting, July 24, 1949.
- 28. Amendment 369, List VII, Orders of the Day, September 8, 1947.
- 29. IX, CAD, 32, 1299-1300.
- 30. IX, CAD, 31, 1192-950.
- 31. CAD IX, 31, 1192-950.
- 32. Rau BN, Draft constitution, clause 16.
- 33. Minutes of the Drafting Committee, 19th January 1948.
- 34. CAD VII, 20, 844-5. Baig was referring to Articles XXXII, XXXIV, and XXXV of the Japanese Constitution.
- 35. Ibid., p. 852.
- 36. CAD VII, 25, 1001.
- 37. Ibid., 20, 853.
- 38. CAD IX, 35, 1497.
- 39. CAD IX, 35, 1497-8.
- 40. CAD IX, 36, 1551-52.
- 41. Clause 4, Interim Reports, Reports, First series, p. 23.
- 42. Ibid.
- 43. Ibid.
- 44. Minutes of the Meeting, Prasad Papers, File I-F/47.
- 45. Ibid.
- 46. CAD III, 2, 384 ; Somnath Lahiri.
- 47. CAD VII, I, 40-41.
- 48. Ibid., 17, 735-40.
- 49. CAD IX, 5, 180-6.
- 50. CAD, VII, p. 593.
- 51. Basu, Commentary on the constitution of India, p. 510.
- 52. Gopalan V. State of Madras, (1950) SCJ 174 (289).
- 53. Ibid (262), Mukherjee J.



HANAMASTURI AND WESAK FESTIVAL (1970) IN AMERICA

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The Hanamasturi (Flower Festival) of the northern tradition, honouring only the Buddha's Birthday, and the Wesak Celebrations (Siri Waisakha Purnima Punyodaya), honouring the Buddha's day of birth ('Uppatti) Enlightenment (Sama-sam Bodhi) and the passing away (Parinibbana), all observed on one day, of the southern tradition, are the most cherished of Buddhist celebrations observed almost universally now. It is gratifying to state that they are most fittingly observed in the democratic land of America, where religious tolerance is treated as a great virtue.

In Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, the Gautama Buddha's day of birth, of enlightenment and of passing away from life are observed on three different occasions in their annual calendar; while from Tibet-India-Ceylon to South-East Asia they are observed on one day by both Mahayanists and the Theravadins. The word Wesak has become of universal usage due to the missionary zeal of the Singhala Buddhists from ancient times. Mahayanists and Theravadins observe both days in America, indicating a trend towards Ekayana (one school ideal). In the Japanese Jodo Shinsu school many Theravadin traditions are practised, and in all its temples in North and South America.

As stated before, Hanamasturi, as it is called in Japan, is the birthday of Buddha Sakyamuni, which took place over 2,500 years ago in Lumbini, near the Nepal border, in a sal grove with flowers at their best and in full bloom. This day is usually observed on April 8 in Japan and some other countries.

Hanamasturi is one of the loveliest religious services of the Buddhists in Japan, China,

Korea and the U.S.A. 'Hanamasturi' is the popular name for this ceremony. In exact sense it has been called 'Gotanye', or Buddha's Birthday; it has also been called 'Kambutsuye' because in this service 'pouring sweet tea' over the Buddha's image is one of the most characteristic performances. The origin of this service in China can be traced back to the Chao Dynasty of the 4th century; and to the period of Empress Suiko in the 7th century in Japan. Later, in the Heian Period, it began to be held at all local temples as well.

Today in Japan the Hanamasturi is held on a larger scale. April 8 is in the midst of the flower season, when cherry blossom and many other flowers are in full bloom. In this best season, in the ancient city of Kyoto, for example, one week or ten days' programme of the Hanamasturi is planned, mostly for young Buddhists and citizens. The programme includes (1) The main service to celebrate the birth of Buddha, with thousands of Buddhist Sunday School children, Buddhist Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Y. B. A., Buddhist college students, etc.; (2) Public lectures by renowned scholars or writers; (3) Tea Ceremony; (4) Display of the flower arrangement; (5) Visit to hospitals, social settlements, etc.; (6) Celebration banquet by the public; (7) Special gathering of Buddhist kindergarten children; (8) Concert by Buddhist choirs.....

Of these, the main service is held in front of a small shrine with the figure of the Baby Buddha, Prince Siddharta, standing upon a lotus flower. The name of the 'Flower Festival' (Hanamatsuri) and 'Pouring over Buddha' (Kambutsu) comes from the allusion to an historical event that when the Buddha

was born rain of holy dew fell and the flowers were in full bloom. On the basis of this, sweet tea is poured over the image of the Baby Buddha, to represent the dew. Hanamasturi does not only mean a traditional following of the historical fact, but also means the festival in which Buddhists express thanks and joy for the birth of Buddha Sakyamuni into this world.

There is a two-hour public service, with the traditional pouring of sweet tea on the head of the Baby Buddha, and offerings of flowers and incense with intense piety and devotion. The main theme is the expression of gratitude to the Buddha, at the same time bowing to follow his teachings. It is an attempt to revitalize the spirit of Buddhism and put one's total efforts to gain Nirvana (Enlightenment) for self and all.

In Japan, as in other Buddhist countries, gorgeous and beautiful public parades follow the service, with floats depicting various aspects in the life of the Buddha.

The Wesak is usually honoured on the Full Moon Day of the month of Waisakha (Indo-Ceylon lunar calendar) which usually falls in the month of May or sometimes late in the month of April. This explains the reasoning behind the question as to why it is often called the Wesak Full Moon Celebration. Wesak is the Sanskrit equivalent of a Singhala word—the Indo-Aryan tongue of Ceylon. Due to the missionary vigour of the Singhala Buddhists this word has become universally accepted.

In America—being a Christian country—this day is not honoured as a public holiday except in the state of Hawaii, where there is a large percentage of Buddhists of Japanese and Chinese descent. Therefore it is not surprising that the celebrations in America had to be organized on different week-ends to suit local needs and public demand.

The Venerable Bikku Vinitha states : "Wesak is a festival purely of the people, an expression of personal and private feeling. It is free because it is unorganized. Its strength and charm lie in the spontaneity of celebration."

Wesak is a time of serene joy and pious emotion. Merry-making, with such adventitious aids as intoxicants, has no place. The theme is rejoicing that the Buddha was born, that he sought out and found that unique wisdom which solves the problem of man. So Wesak is a time which illuminates the spirit. The joy is not some ebullience evoked by stimuli from outside, but something holy.

The celebration of Wesak, then, is a matter for the individual. The individual, however, has learnt to act in consonance with the feelings of the community so that, together, the society behaves as if under orders. Temples, houses and streets are decorated, religious functions are held on a smoothly programmed basis.

There are two features which are very characteristic of Wesak, namely colour and serene joy. May they remain ever so !

In the home Wesak dawns afresh and somehow there seems more light in it than on other days. Everywhere is bustle, for the decorations—mainly paper lanterns on which many strenuous hours have been spent—must be hung up for all to see how the memory of the Blessed One is being honoured.

These lanterns are of many shapes : big ones, many faced, made with framework of reeds and surrounded by clusters of smaller ones suspended from extensions, all paper-tasselled for the rippling breeze—a mosaic of colours ; commoner ones of the shape of tumblers which rock and swing on long lines which stretch from post to post ; bunting, paper flags and streamers strung together to no pattern or design but conveying the impression

of some order ; strands of cream-coloured or pale green tender leaves of coconut hanging from long lines to form avenues of arches. Dominating all this is the bright Buddhist flag with its six vertical stripes of colour. These are the most frequently seen, go wherever you want.

Sometimes at the entrance to an important building, temple, business office, free refreshment booth for the occasion, or spanning the roadway, stands an areca-wood or bamboo archway, like the facade of a building, many feet high. Hung with clusters of coconut at the intersections, these elaborate structures known as *pandals* are the modern survival of the *toran* of Sanchi in India, the same which in Japan have become *torii*.

There were six principal Hanamasturi and Wesak celebrations in New York City ; one in Washington D. C., the nation's capital, and five in the vast Metropolitan New York City where nearly 8 million people live. All were noteworthy and two of them resembled celebrations in Ceylon, India, Thailand and Burma, having been organized by Singhala Buddhists with the help of China, Japan-American, Indian, Burmese and Thai Buddhists. The assistance given to these by Mahayana Buddhists (Japanese and Chinese) should be respectfully noted.

The New York Buddhist temple, which is of the Japanese Jodo Shinsu school, held its Hanamasturi festival on April 12, the closest Sunday to April 8. The guest speaker for this occasion was Dr. B. P. Kirthisinghe, who is the representative of the Maha Bodhi Society of India in America. He spoke on Buddhism and World Peace. All devotees poured sweet tea on to a decorated baby Buddha, stated to symbolize the dew that fell on the baby Siddharta when he was in the Lumbini gardens in Nepal, under a sal tree. After a one-hour service which began at 11 a. m., the luncheon was served at 12.30 p. m.

Two Chinese temples in Manhattan, New York City, situated on Mott St. and Canal St., hold their Hanamasturi services on April 12. They resembled the Japanese service in all respects. The people present were mostly Chinese, mixed with a few Americans.

The celebration at the Temple of Enlightenment--a Chinese Buddhist temple in Bronx, New York City, differed a little. Here the birthday service was called Bodhi Day and was held on 3rd May, in accordance with the instructions of the World Fellowship of Buddhists. The service was in Chinese, from 10.30 a. m. to 3 p. m. with a break for lunch at 12.30, when delicious Chinese vegetarian dishes were served to all. The dishes, prepared in Chinese homes of devotees, were brought in by family groups and served to all present. They were enjoyed by everyone as in one brotherhood. This is true of Japanese Buddhists and all Chinese temples throughout America and Canada. A lunch is served by the adult Buddhists Association of each temple to all devotees attending the Buddha's Birthday festivities, whether Hanamasturi Wesak.

The celebration of Wesak at the Washington Buddhist Vihara, founded by Singhala Monks with the assistance of Thai, Burmese, Cambodian, Nepalese and Laotian Buddhists, and supported by a generous American public, was a very significant contribution to Buddhism in America. Without such universal cooperation and brotherhood it would not be an important event. The Buddha's message was equality to all human beings, to bring them out of ignorance and thereby out of suffering. The Buddha's message also contained seeds of social and economic justice, which is of course governed by Karma—the universal law of cause and effect.

The Washington Vihara was held on May 16th and 17th. The main programme was :

1) Unveiling of the guilded Buddha statues in the Shrine Room presented by Ceylon sculptor and artist, Mr. Prabhath Wijesekara. The Mayor of Washington, the Hon. Walter Washington, had very kindly consented to unveil the statue ; 2) Unveiling the Buddhist mural donated by Ceylon artist, Mr. Senaka Senanayake ; 3) Unveiling of the 8 foot bronze Buddha statue in the Vihara garden donated by the government of Ceylon. The Rev. Dr. Lowell R. Ditzen, Director, National Presbyterian Center, Washington, D. C., very kindly consented to unveil this statue ; 4) Opening of the International Bazaar in aid of the Vihara by Mrs. O. Weerasinghe, wife of the Ambassador of Ceylon to the U. S. A.

There were decorations, lightings, flags and banners, and over 150 attended the festival. About fifty present of these were Asian Buddhists and of the balance about twenty-five were American Buddhists, and the other fifty were curious American public, TV and camera-men from news media. The whole proceedings were broadcast over the TV and radio.

If the writer was asked what was the most significant contribution of this festival, it was that twenty Asian and American Buddhists took eight precepts (Attenga Sila), that is three beyond Buddha's well-known Pancha Sila, on the basis of which Premier Nehru formulated his famous five principles of India's foreign policy. Those who took the additional three to make eight precepts took the precepts from early dawn and kept them until the next day, for a total of twenty-four hours. The additional precepts were : to fast from mid-day, eschew comfortable chairs or bed, and keep away from additional pleasures such as music, dancing, etc. These upasakas and upasikas, that is those who took the eight precepts (as they are called), spent the day in meditation and participating in, or listening to, group discussions and sermons.

The other Wesak festival in Washington,

D. C. was held by the Washington friends of Buddhism and the Buddhist Centre of America. It was held under the leadership of Dr. Kurt Liedecker, President of the two groups, in the auditorium of the American University on May 25th, with a large audience of interested American public. Dr. and Mrs. Liedecker are Buddhists. They have a deep attachment for India, Ceylon, Thailand and Cambodia. Dr. Liedecker is a well-known authority on Hinduism, Buddhism and Sanskrit in the U. S. A.

The only Wesak festival in the New York City was organized by the writer with the cooperation of the Venerable Hozan Seki, President of the American Buddhist Academy of New York City. On May 23rd the apartment terrace of Mr. Kirthisinghe was decorated with banners, an American and a Buddhist flag with lights, and a large portrait of the Buddha was set up on the iron fence of the terrace on view to the public. The large portrait of the Buddha (worth Rs. 4,000) was donated by the generosity of Dr. Rene Shopshak, an artist of international repute.

On the same evening a public meeting was held in the American Buddhist Academy, 331 Riverside Drive, New York City. At this public assembly Venerable Hozan Seki gave a welcome address and called on Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe (the writer) to take the chair. There were three speakers. The first was the Rev. Jinamurthi (Charles O'Hara) of America who was ordained in Ceylon and has travelled widely in Asia. The others were Dr. Frank E. Becker, President of Staten Island Buddhist Society, and Mr. Ralph Boultjens, Chairman, Ceylon Council, Asia Society, New York.

There were about 150 devotees present. Ceylon tea was served to all at the conclusion of the celebration.

All present from monks to interested guests seemed to enjoy the bliss of these noble occasions. Their minds were not only on the Buddha and his Dharma, but also on the far-off Buddhist lands in Asia. They all seem to have developed a common veneration for India—the holy land of Buddhists.

USES AND ABUSES OF STIMULANTS

SWARNAKAMAL BHATTACHARYYA

Should I drink, should I smoke, or take tea or coffee to stimulate myself when I am exhausted under the strain of heavy mental work, or to invigorate myself or inspire myself in my imaginative creative work ? This is a question which has been asked several thousand times throughout the world. The opinions of the master minds differ very strangely and so confusingly that the inquisitive mind is left in dismay and doubt as regards the correct path. Talented poets like Burns and Byron were worshippers of the drinking cult. Burns sang the praises of whisky in eloquent terms :

"It kindles wit and waukens lear".

While Thomas Hardy said :

"My experience goes to prove that the effect of wine taken as a preliminary to imaginative work is to blind the writer to quality of what he produces rather than to raise its quality".

Late Mr. A. Arthur Reade had put this question to the master minds of the world of his time (viz., 19th century) including Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen of India. 124 of these illustrious men responded to him. Of them 25 used wine at dinner only. 30 were abstainers from alcoholic liquors, 24 used tobacco, and out of them 12 smoked while engrossed in work, one chewed and one took snuff. One took tea and coffee both and tea was to him a wonderful refresher and

reviver. Very few of them resorted to alcohol for inspiration.

Some of the most valuable opinions of these great men are very interesting and worth thinking over :—

Rev. Dr. L. Abbot wrote :—

"I have no experience what-ever respecting tobacco. My general opinion is adverse to its use by a healthy man..... As a stimulant, alcohol is, in my opinion, at once a deadly poison and a valuable medicine, to be ranked with belladonna, arsenic, prussic acid and other toxic agents, which can never be safely dispensed with by the medical faculty, nor safely used by laymen as a stimulant except under medical advice".

Austin Allibone of New York was very particular about the ill effect of wine :—

"I have no doubt that the alcohol as a rule is very injurious to all persons — authors included", he said.

Mathew Arnold's views were rather liberal :—

"I have to inform you, he wrote, that I have never smoked and have always drunk wine, chiefly Claret. As to the use of wine, I can only speak for myself. Of course, there is the danger of excess ; but a healthy nature and the power of self control being presupposed, one can hardly do better, I should think, than 'follow nature' as to what one drinks and

its times and quantity.....I suppose most young people could do much without wine, as with it. Real brain work of itself, I think, upsets the worker, makes him bilious. Wine will not cure this, nor abstaining from wine prevent it. But in general wine used in moderation seems to add to the agreeableness of life—for adults, at any rate, and whatever adds to the agreeableness of life adds to its resources and power".

Dr. Alexander Bain wrote just from the opposite camp :—

"As to the other stimulants-alcohol and tea group—I find abstinence essential to intellectual effort. They induce a false excitement, not compatible with severe application to problems of difficulty.....A friend of mine heard Thackeray say that he got some of his best thoughts when driving home from dining out, with his skin full of wine. That a man might get chance suggestions by nervous excitement, I have no doubt ; I speak of serious work of composition. John Stuart Mill never used tobacco, I believe he had always a moderate quantity of wine to dinner".

Hubert Howe Bancroft of San Francisco opined that—

"Some constitutions are benefited by a moderate use of tobacco and alcohol, others are not. But to touch these things is dangerous".

Prof. Darwin found snuff a great stimulus and aid in his work. He also smoked daily two little paper cigarettes of Turkish tobacco—

"This is not a stimulus, but rests me after I have been compelled to talk with tired memory"—he said.

Prof. Dowden was conscious that the direct effect of alcohol on him was injurious.

Prof. Edison spoke highly of tobacco—

"I think chewing tobacco acts as a great stimulant upon everyone engaged in laborious brain work".—he wrote.

Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's views are very valuable—

"It is my firm conviction that neither the head nor the hand derives any fresh power from the use of stimulants. It is only habits already contracted which give alcohol and tobacco their so called stimulating properties and engender a strong craving for them, which those who are not enslaved by such habits never experience. I must not however place alcohol and tobacco on the same level. The latter is comparatively harmless, the former is a prolific source of evil in society, and often acts like deadly poison".—he confirmed.

Ivan Turgenev had no personal experience of the influence of tobacco and alcohol on mind.

' My observations on other people lead me to the conclusion that tobacco is generally a bad thing and that alcohol taken in very small quantities can produce good effect in some cases of constitutional debility'.—he stated.

Mark Twains' experience will inspire the smokers—

"As far as my experience goes"—he wrote—wine is a clog to the pen, not an inspiration. I find cigar smoking to be the best of all inspirations for the pen, and in my particular case, no sort of detriment to the health. I smoke with all my might and allow no intervals".

William Howitt wrote in his article—

"Hygiene of Brain", "I regularly take both (tea & coffee) and never experienced any deleterious effect from either, on the contrary tea is to me a wonderful refresher and reviver, I am quite well

aware that this is not the experience of many others, my wife among the number, on whose nervous system tea acts mischievously producing inordinate wakefulness and its continued use indigestion. But this is one of the things that people should learn and act upon namely to take such things as suit them and avoid such as do not".

Prof. Miller was a very strong critic of those addicted to wine :—

"Look to the mental workers, under alcohol"—he wrote—"Take the best of them. Would not their genius have burned not only with the steadier and more enduring flame, but also with a less sickly and noxious vapour to the moral health allround them, had they been free from the unnatural and unneeded stimulus ? Take Burns for example. Alcohol did not, make his genius or even brighten it.... Genius may have its poetical and imaginative powers stored up into fitsful paroxysms by alcohol, no doubt, the control of will being gone or going, the mind is left to take ideas as they come, and they come brilliantly for a time..... While imagination sparkles, reasoning is depressed. And, therefore, let the true student eschew the bottles; deceitful aid. He will think all the clearer and all the longer".

After due consideration of all the most exciting contradictory and sometimes confusing views of the great men who responded to him the late Mr. Reade concluded in his book "Study & Stimulant" as follows :—

1. "Alcohol and tobacco are of **no** value to a healthy student.
2. that the most vigorous thinkers and hardest workers abstain from both the stimulants—
3. that those who have tried both **moderation** and total abstinence find the latter the more healthful practice.
4. that almost every brain worker would be the better for abstinence.
5. that the most abstruse calculations may be made, and the most laborious mental work performed without artificial stimulus.
6. that all work done under the influence of alcohol is unhealthy work.
7. that the only pure brain stimulants are external ones—fresh air, cold water, walking, riding, and other outdoor exercise".

The mental workers should, therefore, think twice before they take recourse to wine or tobacco, to stimulate themselves when exhausted under heavy strain, or when they want just to inspire themselves.



SOME THOUGHTS ON STUDENT UNREST

S. K. BASU

These days indiscipline among the students is chronic and widespread, not in this country alone, but in almost all the countries of the so called free world. While the causes of this malady are many and highly complex we may mention social and economic inequality, changing values, lack of proper opportunity for the fulfilment of the aspirations of the younger generations and for expression of their ideals as some of them. Aspirations and lack of opportunities for their fulfilment are relative concepts. In the materially advanced countries of the west inspite of a comparatively high standard of living and better job opportunities and better social security, incidence of unrest is quite high. This is probably due to the moral and ideological vacuum in the social structure wherein an older generation of the moneyed class, with a particular kind of outlook which does not appeal to the younger generation and which is too much conditioned by business and trade interests, control not only the economic life of the society but also its political and cultural one.

In India most of the cases of violent outburst can be directly or indirectly traced to economic and social causes, in some form or the other. Our educational system is a legacy of the British Raj, which wanted the universities to turn out an adequate number of clerks for the colonial administration. Even after twenty five years of our independence the basic structure of our educational system remains more or less the same, though there has been considerable expansion in the field of engineering, technical, medical, agricultural and other kinds of applied education. The schools and colleges are over-

crowded (in some of which there are not even enough accommodation for the students on roll), and the basic facilities, such as those of libraries, hostels, play-grounds, laboratories etc. are inadequate, if not nearly absent in some respects in certain cases. An army of discontented, poorly paid, frustrated and tired teachers, who have, in many cases, to work at two or more places, in addition to undertaking private coaching, to make both ends meet, are supposed to educate and provide moral guidance to the vast number of students, who flock to the schools and colleges just for obtaining some paper qualification, which they hope, will help them in getting jobs in future. Generally speaking the educational institutions neither educate the students nor make them job-worthy. Of course, there are some very good institutions imparting really good education and making the boys job-worthy, but they are, for obvious reasons, usually open to the children of the moneyed class. Incidence of indiscipline appear to be low in these institutions. Really good education is very costly. It is true that the state has opened certain good institutions, which are relatively less costly and which give quite a large number of scholarships on the basis of merit and poverty. But even in these places those coming from the affluent class outnumber the others. The poor are so poor that they can not compete with the rich even in matter of taking advantage of state subsidy. In short, the socio-economic condition obtaining in the country are not at all congenial for peaceful conditions in the educational institutions and elsewhere.

But these conditions can not be removed

without bringing about a radical change in the social structure. We can't say if, when and in what way that will come, though there is evidence of growing awareness on the part of the top leadership of this matter. The post-independence student movement in India, however, has not been directed at any radical socio-economic change. Before independence the students as a whole supported the movement for the overthrow of the foreign rule. After independence, though their frustration with existing order has been increasing they have not made any organised attack on the prevailing social structure. On the contrary, regional, communal, linguistic and local problems have received most of their attention and the target of their attacks have been certain intermediaries such as vice-chancellors, police, administrators, teachers etc. And properties, both public and private.

But even within the existing socio-economic framework, there is enough scope for eliminating some of the sources of trouble and, to that extent, for maintaining discipline and harmony. At present there is no proper machinery or agency for looking into the genuine grievances of the students, who happen to be under the impression that nobody will care to attend to their problems unless some violence or organised agitation takes place. There exists a vacuum in this important area of emotional and moral needs and politicians, professional agitators and anti-social elements are ever ready to jump into it to exploit the youth, whose courage, energy, enthusiasm and determination can do or undo many a thing that others may not simply dare to undertake. Many modern social thinkers consider students to be the most powerful element in a society. They have been instrumental in bringing about social and political changes in many countries like Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Pakistan etc.

Understanding, sympathy and love are of

great importance for harmony and peace. An honest and sincere attempt must be made to understand what the younger generation expects from us, rightly or wrongly. Whether their demands can or should be fulfilled is a different matter. On this we can argue with them, educate them and slowly try to bring them round to a rational and realistic standpoint. Understanding their point of view and showing them sympathy and love is, in our opinion, of paramount importance. The young people of to-day are living in a society which is too much commercialised, artificial and impersonal and which cares too little for their needs and aspirations. The students are frustrated and the causes of their frustration are not only economic or material but also moral or emotional. Youth is a period of idealism which is a psychological or emotional phenomenon. What frustrates the young people is not only that they are in difficulty but also that there is nobody to stand by them and show sympathy to them in their difficulty. In short they need love, which they do not get in the schools and colleges, in the society and also in many cases, in their homes. Here we make a distinction between love, and sentimentalism. While love is something which inspires a man to do good to one whom he loves, even though the action may not be liked or its good consequences foreseen by the latter ; sentimentalism is a blind emotion, and quite often does more harm than good. What is wanting is not sentimentalism which is to be found in abundance but love i.e. a genuine concern for the good and well-being of the millions of young boys and girls.

We believe the great majority of the students are basically good and can be won over with love, sympathy and understanding. There are, of course, bad boys, but proper investigation will reveal that circumstances

have made them bad,—for nobody is born bad. So morally the society is responsible for them. But even in the existing social order we can win over the majority of the boys if they are convinced that they can get at least as much peacefully, (through discussions, negotiations, petitions etc.), as they might hope to achieve through violence. For this, of course, we repeat, they must be convinced of our sincerity, sympathy and integrity.

In many cases the authorities yield to the agitators and concede to their demands only after a violent agitation has taken place. This not only undermines the prestige of the authorities but also lets down, in the eyes of their friends, those sections of the boys who oppose violence and destruction. The leadership naturally passes on to the hands of the violent group. To counteract this the authorities should carefully examine the demands of the students, see how far they are reasonable and to what extent it is possible to meet them, before any agitation starts. Once it is decided to turn down the requests on some valid, objective ground, it should be possible to convince at least some of the boys of the same. To accomplish this there must be an effective machinery to keep the students informed of the developments. But once peaceful approach has been turned down the authorities should not submit to violence. This amounts to discrediting peace and peace-lovers. Every body should be convinced that nothing more could be achieved through violence than could be done through non-violence. It is no use complaining of indiscipline and at the same time encouraging it by not taking the right measures at the right time. Violence is bound to grow if people are convinced that it is the only means of achieving some end. Unfortunately this is the prevailing impression among the students and others.

The problem of peace and harmony in the educational institutions can not be considered in isolation from that of those in the society at large. But there are certain things that can be done to promote peace. Developing a more intimate relationship between the teachers and the taught, making certain persons (who should not be parts of the administration) responsible for student welfare, developing machinery for dissemination of correct information to the students and also for collecting advance information regarding possible troubles, quick disposal of cases which are likely to agitate the minds of the boys, talking and arguing with them with sympathy and good humour, sharing their difficulties, encouraging responsible leadership from among the boys to eliminate outside influence, meeting them frequently in informal gatherings etc. are some of the things that appear to be important.

While administration in every other fields is considered a specialised job for which training is given to the administrator concerned, no such training is considered necessary for the educationists and administrators in the field of education. Even a sub-inspector of police is given extensive training but for a lecturer, a warden of a hostel or a principal of a college there exists no such arrangement. Though certain universities have posts of Dean of Student Welfare, they can not help much unless they are properly trained in their work and unless they are made independent of the administration. To look after routine requirements is one thing and to be able to mediate, argue and advice is another, for which an independent status is necessary. The person who will look into the grievances must be able to identify himself with the cause once he is convinced of the genuineness of the same.

Indiscipline among the youth is a very serious threat to social peace and progress, and it appears that this matter has not received the due attention that it deserves—though much valuable and learned theoretical work has already been done in this field. We think to tackle this problem co-operation of a large number of persons and specialists representing a variety of interests and fields will be necessary. One of the most important things is to involve the students themselves

in this work. The best thing would be to convene a meeting of teachers, administrators, educationists, social scientists, political leaders and student representatives to discuss the matters from different angles so that some concrete suggestions for action may emerge. Probably the University Grants Commission is the proper organisation which can take some initiative in the matter. Let us hope efforts will be made to use the power and energy of our youth for constructive work.

BRAIN DRAIN, FACTS AND FICTION

G. P. SAXENA

There has been much discussion about Brain-Drain in recent times. There are some who believe that it is a new form of exploitation by western countries. There are others who consider it a blessing in disguise and a safety valve. However discussion on this subject has been more or less emotional. In order to come to correct conclusions let us examine the following points :—

1. Magnitude of Brain drain.
2. Social dimension of migrants.
3. Is it real Brain drain ?
4. Economics of Brain drain.
5. Remedies.

Magnitude of Brain Drain :

There are no reliable statistics on the subject. Moreover the available figures indicate those who leave India but not those who return from abroad. According to the figures given by Blaug and others in their book, "Causes of graduate un-employment of India", there are about 20,000 Scientists, Engineers and Doctors abroad. This amounts to 3% of

the total professional manpower and 30% of the annual output. Total number being 94,000 engineers degree holders, 1,34,000 diploma holders, 84,000 doctors, 3,30,000 science graduates. Total number is 6,42,000 (This figure is upto year 1966).

This is not a very significant number particularly when there is unemployment of engineers in India.

Social Dimension of Migrants :

In order to understand the problem let us see the social background of those who leave India. Majority of those who leave this country are degree holders of engineering or medicine or qualified scientists holding Master's degree. Some of them have gone abroad for higher studies, and have acquired foreign citizenship. Some of them have foreign wives beside foreign degrees. The finding of the Education Commission is that the majority of degree holders of engineering and medicine belong to the upper middle class. It is also evident that those who go for

higher studies at their own cost belong to the rich class. This class of migrants belongs to families of big bureaucrats and neo-rich. There might be a few honourable exceptions when a poor man's son might have gone abroad for higher studies. This background should be kept in the mind while dealing with this problem.

The next point is whether the persons who go out of the country are really brilliant persons. Education Commission has commented "However, not all who go out of India are necessarily first rate scientists nor are they of critical importance in the country's requirements. We recognize the seriousness of Brain-drain is often exaggerated....." Secondly as has been pointed out earlier that most of those who go for higher studies abroad are sons of rich parents who had money for the foreign education of their children. Most of them are mediocres and they are sent abroad with the view that their foreign degrees will give them weightage over poor Indian people. When their wishes have not been fulfilled there are cries of Brain drain so that these rich parents' sons should be maintained at poor tax-payers cost.

Recently a study by Tej Narain Tiwari has been published in the Modern Review of April, 1972. In that study it has been pointed out that two hundred twenty four (224) Indian names have been published in Biographical Encyclopedia of Chicago which shows that there are 7% of scientists who have worked in India and attained distinction while remaining in India. C. V. Raman and Bhabha who remained in India and worked in India cannot be regarded as less gifted than those who have migrated to foreign lands.

Further the above figures suggest that the majority of the migrants are technically qualified persons. Now, are our best Business executives or Entrepreneurs or Experts in

humanities and social sciences brainless? Secondly there is no proof that those who stay in India are brainless and those who are migrants to foreign countries are really men of intellect. As a matter of fact some doctors are working as Butchers Asstt. in foreign countries rather than treating patients in their poor countries because they want to get more and more money and a free society. This attitude is most anti-intellectual and such persons cannot be regarded as men of brain. There are really some good exceptions like Khurana etc. but such persons are rare and since India cannot afford to provide proper research facilities for such people they should be allowed to work in the best laboratories of the world for the benefit of humanity.

Is it Harmful?

It would have been harmful had there been shortage of technical manpower but it is not so. Already there are thousands of unemployed engineers and doctors. Moreover, this can be harmful only in case of doctors as most of our villages are without doctors. It is doubtful if the doctors serving abroad will like to come back to India and settle in the villages. Hence there is no point in calling them back and maintaining them at public cost. There are certain advantages if some people go out of India and utilise their time in the best way. They may get good experience in factories and research laboratories. If tomorrow there is economic growth in the country such people will return after gathering great experience. Provided that the nation could give them good salaries. They are however regularly remitting some money to their relations in India and thus giving us valuable foreign exchange.

Thirdly it is a safety valve. So long as unemployment exists in India the flow of such manpower is a safety valve for our country.

There are some people who feel this flow of technical manpower is a great loss to the nation. In support they quote the view of Harbsion & Myer expressed in their book Education, Manpower and Economic Growth. The above authors have shown that the attainment of technical power and economic growth are concomitant. However these figures are not any conclusive proof that more engineers and technical persons in a country means more development. In this context it will be interesting to note that there has been simultaneous rise in population along with economic growth. If we conclude that the growth of population is essential for economic development then the whole program of family planning becomes a farce but now everybody is suggesting to limit the family. In advanced countries technical skill and manpower developed along with general economic development. But in our country technical manpower is unemployed which shows that above formula is not working here. Manpower has no meaning unless it is utilized. However the above discussion does not belittle the importance of manpower, but it is limited to the present problem of technical manpower drain in view of the existence of the vast unemployment. Hence in the present phase the drain of technical manpower is no loss. It is positive gain in the sense that they are earning and gaining experience in the highly developed countries which may be useful to India in later stages. It may also be pointed out that American boom will last so long as the Vietnam war is not over. Once the Vietnam war is over there is bound to be great unemployment. Mr Richard Demsei and Douglas Schmide have estimated that most of the people affected will be scientists and engineers if the war stops.

(Monthly Labour Review December, 1971 page 13.)

Once retrenchment starts the coloured people and persons coming from developing countries may be the first to be retrenched.

Can Drain be Stopped ?

In the present phase and the present system of education it is doubtful if drain of technical manpower can be stopped. When rich nations could not stop it, it is doubtful if a poor country can do so. It has already been pointed out that these migrants are lured by money, hence the drain of the technical personnel cannot be stopped. Developing countries are poor and they can't afford to give them so much money. When thousands of engineers are unemployed it will not be a wise policy to bring back scientists from foreign countries to be maintained at public cost. This would be sheer wastage of public money. When there are vacancies these may be advertised in the foreign press and residents abroad should be interviewed alongwith applicants living in India and in case they are found better than their counter parts in India they may be given a chance.

Remedies .

There are various reasons for the Brain drain. But the most important is money. As pointed out earlier some of the Doctors are working as Butchers Assts. which clearly shows that they have not gone outside for research or for some creative activities. Remedy for this unpatriotic act is that the Govt. of India should make a declaration that in future if they are turned out from America they should not claim the natural hospitality of India.

Secondly there should be a change in the methods of training and education in technical and medical subjects so that they may find employment in India and do some work in the self employed sector. The whole curriculum of Indian Universities is west oriented while our economic and industrial development is not of that level. Mr. Coomb has given an inte-

resting example in his book 'Crises of World Education'. In Uganda people were trained as pattern makers, a highly skilled carpentry trade but there was need of only box makers trs. Result was that such technicians could not find jobs.

Thirdly as Education Commission has pointed out that due to English medium of entrance examination and highly expensive education only such persons could get education whose parents belong to upper strata of society. They would like to remain unemployed rather than serve in the rural areas. Best way is to start sandwich courses or apprenticeship training of such persons who will come mostly from poor families and they would not like to remain idle or run away from the country,

(See Author's article : manpower development policy instrument of democratic

socialism : Education Quarterly October, 1971)

Further the medical colleges should be opened on Regional basis and admission to them should be limited to the residents of particular areas alone. It is really surprising that Delhi having a population of 4 million has 3 medical colleges. But Kumaun Division in U. P. having 10 million population has no medical college. The students of regional colleges will not feel reluctant to serve in the rural areas.

Migration Taxes :

Just we impose export duties, we should impose heavy migration taxes on those who want to leave the country to earn money. This will either discourage migration of critical manpower to other countries or the nation will be able to recover the costs involved in training them.



MOUNTAIN DIVISIONS OF INDIA

(From a Press Release by the Govt. of India)

An answer to the complex problem of defence in the Himalayan terrain has been found in the newly-raised Mountain Divisions which are specially tailored to the needs of mountain warfare.

Each of these Divisions is intended to be as self-contained as possible. The emphasis is on extreme mobility, increased fire-power and rigorous training for mental and physical fitness demanded of a soldier at high altitudes. They are equipped with animal transport and lighter vehicles, fewer and lighter pieces of artillery and automatic weapons.

Soon after the Chinese invasion, six additional Divisions were sanctioned for the Army. Of these, four were to be raised as Mountain Divisions and the remaining two as standard Infantry Divisions. Apart from the new Divisions, some of the existing ones were converted into Mountain Divisions.

The problems of defence in the high mountainous regions, with altitudes rising from 1600 to 6000 metres, are many. These are problems of human survival, mental isolation and loneliness, food and clothing; weapons and equipment; medical cover and casualty evacuation; communications and transport and the like. These problems must be understood in the context of the terrain and climate in which our troops have to operate. Congealing cold freezes lubricants in guns and machines; rarefied atmosphere makes bullets go awry; and soldiers find living and breathing at high altitudes strenuous till they are acclimatized.

To sustain troops under these adverse conditions, Mountain Divisions need special type of snow clothing, high altitude tents

wind-proof jackets, capes and coats, boots and socks particularly designed and manufactured for their durability, light weight and effectiveness under conditions of 20 to 40 degrees below zero temperature. Also required is food with high calorific value, nutritive yet palatable, easy to cook and light to carry. These requirements have been met through our ordnance factories and the Research and Development Organisation of the Ministry of Defence. Special non-freezing oils are used in machines and guns while the maintenance of their mechanical parts too is done with skilled care.

To meet the rapid expansion, Emergency Commissions in the Army were instituted in November 1962. Nearly, 10,000 officers were recruited to meet the needs of the Army. Courses of training were shortened and standards relaxed. Two special officers training schools were opened in Poona and Madras. In a short period, the Indian Army completed its expansion programme.

Permanent Regular Commission in the Army are offered for cadets trained in the National Defence Academy and the Indian Military Academy, Service personnel trained in the Army Cadet College and N. C. C. boys trained in the N. C. C. Officers Training units. Similarly, N. C. C. Officers who have completed nine months training in the N. C. C.

Academy at Porbandar are eligible for Permanent Regular Commissions.

Special list commission in the Army, introduced in 1953, utilised the services of Junior Commissioned Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers who have acquired

specialised knowledge in their respective trades and categories.

To facilitate the recruitment of engineer and medical officers, a University Entry Scheme has been evolved. Under this Scheme, Short Service Regular Commissions are granted to candidates studying in the final year of the degree classes of engineering and medical colleges. To select technical candidates, selection teams visit various engineering institutions in the country and candidates are interviewed by five mobile Services Selection Boards.

Engineering graduates are granted Provisional Short Service Regular Commissions in the rank of 2nd Lieutenant during their period of pre-commission training. On the successful completion of training, they are granted Short Service Regular Commissions and allowed an ante date of two years which counts for purpose of seniority, promotion and increments of pay. Those who have previous service to their credit under the Central or State Governments or public sector undertakings are given an additional ante-date up to a maximum of two years depending on the length and status of their service. The Short Service Regular Commission is granted for five years, extendable by two years.

Medical graduates granted Commissions have been allowed an ante-date up to a maximum of 6½ years for house appointments, post graduate qualifications and previous experience. Those medical specialists who are eligible for the maximum ante-date of 6½ years are taken directly into the Army medical Corps in the acting rank of Major.

Training is a continuous, persistent and uphill job. It takes months to prepare and prime a soldier carefully, methodically and scientifically. This is achieved by regimental

training centres through a strict schedule of training-drill, physical and weapon training, field-craft and outdoor exercises—which is intended to toughen the body, discipline the mind, educate the soldier in the three R's and make him proficient in the use of arms and weapons. Indeed, the metamorphosis of a young, raw recruit, after he has finished his training, is striking. Even when he has become a full-fledged soldier, his training does not stop. Training in the Army is a continuous process and the soldier is constantly trained for higher and better jobs. There are a number of long and short courses which he has to attend in addition to passing various tests and examinations for promotion.

Similarly, preparing a cadet to become an officer needs time, careful planning and attention. Their bodies and minds are trained to become strong and agile; leadership is cultivated in them and they are made to imbibe qualities of discipline and self-confidence. There is a lot to learn and for seventeen to eighteen years of his career as an officer till he attains the rank of Lt.-Colonel, an officer attends a number of courses, passes various promotion examinations and receives advanced training in different specialist schools.

In the light of experience gained in the Indo-Pak conflict during 1965, battle inoculation training has been introduced in the Army. This training, intended to make troops accustomed to the noises and shocks of war by simulating battle conditions as realistically as possible, has been imparted to all Army formations and units.

Additional courses of training have been introduced in the Army. The Infantry School, Mhow, has been bifurcated into an Infantry School which is now located at Belgaum, and a College of Combat. The College of Combat, apart from conducting the existing Junior Commanders Course and

Senior Officers Course, imparts instructions in a new course designated as "Higher Command Course".

The Infantry School has introduced a new course specially designed to help young infantry officers in the administration and tactical handling of rifle platoons in cooperation with other arms. Training is also given in commando operations. A tank technology course is being introduced in the Armoured Corps Centre and School at Ahmednagar. A Young Officers Course has been introduced for Short Service Commissioned Officers. Another new course is the Battalion Support Weapons course.

Training officers and jawans in high altitude and jungle warfare has assumed an added importance. The training capacity of the High Altitude Warfare School, which was opened in March 1962, has been stepped up. Jungle warfare training is also being given by mobile teams at different units of the Army at various locations. A new school to train Jawans in counter insurgency activities has been opened.

With the modernisation of the Army, it has been found necessary that the officers should have a better academic background.

To achieve this, rules for admission to the National Defence Academy and the syllabus of training at the Institution has been revised.

To improve arrangements for imparting education to JCOs, NCOs and ORs, a scheme of self-contained education centres was introduced in 1967. Thirteen such centres are functioning at present under qualified instructors of the Army Education Corps. The Army Education Corps School and Centre at Pachmarhi has been upgraded to the status of a College. The A. E. C. College now conducts courses for the B. A. Degree, Audio Visual and Fundamental education, library science, and Bachelor of Education examinations. Besides, it also conducts correspondence courses for training all ranks for the B. A. and M. A. degree examinations of Saugor University.

The various technical training instructions of the Army have also been upgraded. There is a College for training tele-communication engineers of the Corps of Signals and a College for training Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

A few selected officers are also sent abroad for advanced training in special subjects for which facilities do not exist in India.



PRICE SPIRAL

I. SATYA SUNDARAM

Members of parliament have recently mounted a scathing attack on the Government for its failure to arrest sky-rocketing prices of essential commodities. There is a growing awareness in the country at present that the problem of rising prices should be solved on a war-footing. No Government can remain a silent spectator of rising prices which only accelerate the pangs of poverty. It has been said that "the consumer is the forgotten factor in Indian economics".

It is true that inflation is an economic problem common to both developed and developing countries. But, the stresses and strains of inflation will be more severe in underdeveloped countries because a majority of the population in these countries lives below the poverty line.

The five-hour discussion foregoing even the lunch hour—in the Lok Sabha (August 10) on the problem of rising prices has attributed the "phenomenal rise in prices" to a number of factors—the large dose of deficit financing, failure on the industrial production side, faulty distribution system and lopsided development under the Five Year Plans. It was pointed out that the average price rise of essential commodities including cereals was about 15 per cent. There is no doubt that the abnormal rise in the prices of essential goods had placed a crushing burden on the common man.

The Government's plea that the present inflationary trends are partly due to "seasonal factors" and that they are a "global phenomenon" hardly convinces the people. The Government should exercise greater control over production and distribution of essential goods which directly affect the price level.

The present inflationary trends should largely be attributed to the Government's defective economic policies, or to be more precise, wrong economic priorities.

The current inflation should be attributed not to natural factors but to artificial factors like the excess money supply with the public, black-marketing in essential goods, black money in circulation, an unsatisfactory distribution system and low agricultural and industrial production. Drastic action on the part of the Government is urgently called for to lower the price line and stabilise it. While the green revolution in the agricultural sector largely benefitted the big landlords, monopolistic tendencies in the industrial sector have not been properly curbed, resulting in rise in prices of industrial products.

Slogans like "socialism" or "Garibi Hatao" do not deliver the goods. The plight of the ordinary man, even after 25 years of independence, is worsening. The common man wonders why he is starving in spite of the green revolution and land reforms. Politically too he is now more conscious—he has voted for a stable and strong Government, but still the solution to his urgent problems is nowhere in sight.

There has been an alarming decline in the standard of living of the people since 1949. The consumers price index had gone up from 100 in 1950 to 236 in 1972. The value of the rupee went down by half, while the earnings of agricultural workers continued to be at a low level. The tragedy however is that the Government has miserably failed to increase the "earning capacity" of the weaker sections of society. It has become crystal clear by

now that the rural people should not be made to depend solely on agriculture which cannot provide employment throughout the year. In our country agriculture is the main occupation not because it is profitable, but because alternative employment opportunities are not available. Industrial development has been tardy. It seems that the only way to ameliorate the economic conditions of our agricultural population (which quantitatively dominates the total population) is through the setting up of a number of small-scale and cottage industries in our villages.

Statistics which reveal the standard of living of rural population cause concern to all. Mr. R. D. Bhandare (Cong) had declared in the Lok Sabha that the average daily earning of workers and agricultural labour was Rs. 1.50 in Andhra Pradesh, Rs. 1.57 in Assam, Re 1 in Bihar, Rs 1.60 in Gujarat and Re 0.62 in Maharashtra. In the light of this, the plight of the labour-class can be better imagined than explained. The latest cost of living index showed a rise in the price of food articles by 25.4 per cent and in respect of manufactured items by 8 per cent. The present inflation has reached ominous proportions. What, then, are the possible causes for this?

A major factor largely responsible for chronic inflation in our economy is the enormous increase in the money supply in circulation coupled with deficit financing resorted to under plan periods. When the money supply is increased, without a corresponding increase in the production of consumer goods, prices are bound to increase due to enhanced purchasing power of the people. A situation of "too much money chasing too few goods" should be avoided not only in the interests of the consumers but in the interests of the economy itself.

The Union Finance Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, made a statement in the Lok Sabha

(August 4) on the decline in the purchasing power of the rupee. He admitted that the current purchasing power of the rupee is 42.4 per cent of what it was in 1949. However, the figure given by Mr. Chavan is far from the realities of consumer price levels, and it is perhaps based on certain wholesale price indices which have little relevance to the cost of living index. No wonder, the worst affected people, by this declining purchasing power of money (or to put it in another way, the rising price levels) are the middle income and wage earning groups.

A lion's share of the responsibility for the price spiral should be shouldered by the galloping growth in money circulation. For instance, in 1968-69, when the Gross National Product (G. N. P.) rose by only 2.5 per cent, the money supply went up by 8 per cent. In 1969-70, the G. N. P. rose by 5.2 per cent, while money supply increased by 10.5 per cent. In 1970-71, the G. N. P. rose by 4.7 per cent and money supply went up by 11.7 per cent.

During the financial year 1971-72 the economy has been put to great stresses and strains in view of war with Pakistan and the refugee burden. The money supply in that year increased by 12.7 per cent. The Government relied on the Reserve Bank to the extent of Rs. 654 crores to cover its deficit spending. The corresponding figure for 1970-71 was Rs. 584 crores.

The economy is likely to be confronted with chronic inflation so long as both the Centre and the States spend far in excess of their resources. Deficit spending is likely to continue in view of drought conditions in several states following failure of monsoons. Deficit financing can play a useful role in accelerating the pace of growth. But, in a developing economy like ours, it has serious limitations because production cannot be increased due to bottlenecks, particularly the dearth of capital.

In view of the deteriorating economic conditions, it has been estimated that deficit financing in the current year would be Rs 900 crores, while it was Rs 365 crores in 1970-71, and Rs 380 crores in 1971-72.

Though the last three years have witnessed good or at least satisfactory harvests, the general price level has gone up by 3.7 per cent in 1969-70, 5.5 per cent in 1970-71, and 4 per cent in 1971-72. It is strange to note that the record production of foodgrains (108 million tons) in 1971-72 had made no impact on the inflationary spiral.

While the money supply in circulation is on the increase, actual investment on developmental programmes had consistently fallen short of the targets set in the budget—by Rs 236 crores in 1969-70 and Rs 160 crores in 1970-71. Inadequate public investment has left many capital goods industries short of orders. It seems that the economy is in the grip of a vicious circle of low demand, low production, high costs and low investment. The industrial sector as a whole has failed to accelerate its capacity, while some industries are working at under-capacity level. The climate being not so congenial for healthy development, industrial growth may turn to be only about 3 per cent in 1971-72. The need of the hour is to speed up the industrial growth which has fallen to a low ebb in recent years. A continuous higher production both in agricultural and industrial sectors is the only guarantee to hold the price line.

While the population is increasing at 2.2 per cent per year (adding a net one million to the present population every month) there are serious shortfalls in the productions of even essential goods. During the decade of the sixties, food production has increased barely at the rate of two per cent in spite of the green revolution. There has been significant increase in the production of wheat, but this year the

situation has been changed. Wheat production is lagging behind at least by 2 million tons.

The common man is greatly worried about the increase of more than 10 per cent in the prices of essential goods like foodgrains and pulses in one year. Reports of drought in several parts of the country had their own effect in pushing up prices.

The CPI leader, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had suggested in the parliament some radical measures to meet the grave situation. He declared that the spurt in prices of essential commodities was a heavy blow to the already miserable living standards of the common man. He criticised the heavy dose of deficit financing resorted to by the Government. He demanded, among other things, state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains, pulses, sugar and edible oils, distribution of these goods as well as cheap cloth through Government controlled fair-price shops and nationalisation of sugar and cloth mills. A seizure of all stocks with the traders was also suggested by him.

There are certain artificial factors which are aggravating the situation. Ministers should not only advise consumers to consume less, but also do something about the "parallel economy" being run by the blackmarketeers and hoarders. There is an urgent need for better coordination between production and distribution of agricultural produce as well as industrial goods. One wonders why Banks were allowed to make "fantastic advances" to foodgrain dealers who are indulging in speculation, taking advantage of the drought conditions in several states. What is surprising is the "VIP treatment" being given to arrested hoarders.

Floods and droughts destroyed crops on a large-scale every year in one part of the country or another. This led to shortage in

output of foodgrains which in turn led to price rise. The solution to soaring prices partly lies in initiating measures to combat drought and floods effectively.

It was suggested that the number of fair price shops should be increased, more especially in the rural areas, where the distress was much more acute than in urban areas. The Food Corporation of India came in for sharp attack for its failure to operate the buffer stocks with a view to control the price line.

It is strange to note that while most people in our country live in villages, the slogan of a fair deal to the consumer is confined to only major towns. The Centre is seriously thinking of evolving a distribution system (in the public sector) which provides a link between the producers and consumers so that minimum supplies of essential articles can be ensured to weaker sections. Statutory controls over prices have failed to deliver the goods.

There is a plea for wage stabilisation alongside price stabilisation. While wages were high in some sectors, they are totally unrelated to rising cost of living in other sectors. Everything possible must be done to hold in check wages and incomes and stop the chain reaction between inflation and costs.

A war on black money has yet to take place. It is an open secret that people with black money often indulge in conspicuous consumption which inevitably pushes up the price level. The problem of price rise could not be tackled satisfactorily until and unless Government made "a fatal attack" on black money.

The best way to control the price line is to

build up an effective public distribution system for the supply of essential goods without which statutory controls can hardly work. There is a suggestion that industries producing essential consumer goods should be completely taken out of the private sector, and distribution of essential consumer goods should be taken up by the Government.

The Prime Minister is determined to check, to start with, the prices of essential goods through strict price control and opening of more fair price shops or both. Any talk to hold the price line is a myth until and unless the Government curtails deficit financing; diverts investment from the production of non-essential goods to essential goods and streamlines the administration of agencies that distribute consumer goods to the public.

Any pragmatic policy to arrest the inflationary trends in the economy should aim (a) to maximise production, especially that of consumer goods ; (b) to encourage savings and investment ; (c) to curb conspicuous consumption ; (d) to reduce unproductive public expenditure ; (e) to unearth and arrest proliferation of black money and (f) to link productivity and wages. This no doubt requires political courage and economic statesmanship. But, these are not wanting in our Prime Minister. The Government should carefully study the root cause of the problem of soaring prices and take practical steps to put the economy on a sound footing. Unless the problem of chronic inflation is tackled on a war-footing, it is not possible to keep the economy as well as the common man out of the woods.

Current Affairs

Saving the World from a World-War

Just as there are secret moves in many international centres of politics for organising forces for defensive as well as offensive purposes against other groups ; so are there open declarations of a desire to establish world peace on a firm and permanent, basis by international organisations which try to include all mutually antagonistic groups of nations in these wider and universal unions of nations. Quite often we find the same groups working for peace openly while they act secretly for developing their war-might for the realisation of their undeclared purposes of domination over other nations. The second world war took place, according to Russian experts, because the Western Nations ignored Russia's warnings regarding Hitler's ultimate intentions and allowed the Nazis to develop their might in the manner they did without organising a united front against Hitlerism. As a result of this negligence and the secretly harboured hope of the Western powers that Hitlerism and Communism will neutralise one another and leave the world in the hands of the Anglo-Americans, the second world war caused the death of 54 million persons and injury to 90 million persons of whom 28 million were crippled for life. The Warsaw treaty countries are even now trying to assure world peace by organising all nations of the world to come together for making a third world war impossible. This attempt was first made in July 1966 at Bucharest. The idea that a Conference should be held in which all nations should participate, was initiated at that time. In a declaration made at Prague in January 1972 the Warsaw treaty powers announced that European peace, security and

cooperation can be achieved if all nations accepted the principles of inviolability of frontiers, renunciation of force for settling disputes, disarmament and a policy of peaceful co-existence. The consultations between the nations of Europe and America will be arranged for in Helsinki in November 1972 with the idea that the conference between nations will come off in 1973.

China, of course, objects to such conferences among the various nations of Europe and America. Mao t'se Tung and his followers do not believe in the inviolability of the frontiers of the states created after the second world war. The Chinese think these borders should be readjusted. There are many highly placed persons in the USA and in the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and Italy who want to sabotage the idea of a conference for discussing details of arrangements for preventing any recrudescence of warlike preparations in Europe or America. They possibly think that Russia and her allies will be much better off with such assurances regarding making war impossible in Europe. The Chinese threat to Russia would be less real in such circumstances and there will be less chance of a war of global magnitude. But people who desire that the Chinese and the Russians should fight and, thus remove the communist threat to the capitalist world will continue their activities to keep alive the possibilities of a third world war.

Rising Prices

Rising Prices is a great stimulus to production where such increases are not associated with rising costs of production, shortage of raw materials and components and other conditions which interfere with normal

economic growth. The recent general rise in prices has been however closely associated with a general rise in costs of production. There has also been shortages of raw materials and components. On top of these there have been noticeable additions to the quantity of money in circulation. These inflationary conditions are continuing to remain in force and the people therefore are not expecting any great reductions in prices in the near future. The people of India are blaming the government for not taking any action to control the price rise. The government obviously cannot do much to reverse the process and are indulging in their customary attacks on those who may be contributory factors but not the basic cause of the price rise. Hoarders, black marketers, monopolists etc. are there always ; but they had been there even before the price rise commenced. The growth in currency circulation has been a highly potent factor in setting in motion the rise in prices and the Government are the only people who can put a stop to inflation and follow a deflationary policy. But are the Government ever going to try this out in action ?

One Month's Wages as a Bonus

There are many capital intensive industries in which the wages of workers form only a small part of the value added to materials through manufacturing, such industries, if they pay one month's wages as an extra payment, would be paying out a smaller percentage of their gross revenue in this way than would be the case with a labour intensive enterprise whose wages bill is of a much larger size compared to its gross revenue. In fact labour intensive concerns are usually much less affluent, and the two facts combine to make this new bonus imposition much harder on them than on other industries. There are many industries which have been paying an annual bonus to their workers which worked

out to a much higher percentage than 8.33 percent. To such industries this order would mean nothing. It will only add to the Government's fund if all sums more than 8.33 percent of the wages were paid into the provident fund of the workers. Generally speaking this advantage of the Government is being secured by sacrificing a large number of struggling entrepreneurs who will be ill able to pay 8.33 per cent more as a bonus to their workers. Some may shut down and that will increase unemployment. The Government usually go to the rich employers when they wish to do good to themselves or to the working class people. In this particular case many employers will be hit who are neither monopolists nor among the upper ten in point of wealth.

Uganda's Threat to Asians

President Idi Amin of Uganda is not particularly a lovable character. His background is of base henchmanship of British imperialists to begin with, unscrupulous opportunism to continue with and a gross arrogance added to tyrannical self-willed excesses to precede the fall of the curtain on an unsavoury and inglorious drama of upstartism. When he ordered all Asians to go out of his state recently he was unnecessarily crude in making his order sound like a threat to persons who were enemies of the state. In fact the Asians had been living peacefully in Uganda for long years and were as good or as bad as the Ugandans of African origin. They were by and large businessmen and Idi Amin was wanting to confiscate their businesses in order to run the same for the advantage of his own countrymen. Let us say he had every right to take these businesses away. But why try to treat the owners of those businesses as felons ? If Uganda were a State where private business was forbidden, one could see his point. But no, Uganda did

not make private business activities unlawful. Only Asians had to hand over their businesses to Idi Amin and get out of that State by November 1972 *on pain of death*. Yes, on pain of death. He has announced that the Ugandan military forces would be free to deal with the Asians after the dead line was crossed. Idi Amin is perhaps not quite sane. In any case he is heading for a sticky end.

A Cure for Overpopulation

Increase of population is usually the result of poverty, early marriage, an improvident outlook, lack of education and proper social organisation for control of inordinate growth of population. In India all the conditions are present which lead to great increase of population and the country is facing a population explosion unless something could be done which would really keep the birth rate down. The organisation that the government have set up is not actually doing much good, though there is a lot of propaganda to justify the existence of the government's family planning organisation. This propaganda does not help family planning among the people of India but makes the public think that government is doing everything possible for keeping the population of India down. The population goes on increasing and the conditions which will keep it down have not been created. Poverty is rampant, education is very much in short supply and there are no laws prohibiting marriage before the age of eighteen for girls and twenty one for men. What laws there are cannot be enforced due to the primitive outlook of the enforcers of law. Unmarried persons are taxed at a heavier rate than those who are married. Marriage is not prohibited

before a suitable minimum age among persons employed by government. There are no directives against supporting early marriage given out to government servants. There are thousands of public servants who get married, marry off their children and tolerate marriages in violation of the principle of opposing early marriage. If government would discourage the employment of persons who get married before the age of twenty four, also if government issue a directive to their employees regarding the unwisdom of encouraging early marriage and the government's disapproval of the conduct of those who marry off their sons and daughters before the age of twentyone and eighteen years, such action of the Govcrnment should yield fruit in the field of population control. On the otherhand if policemen marry off their daughters at the age of ten years and their sons when they are twelve years old, the outlook for family planing would be very grim indeed. If there is an enquiry by reliable persons one would soon find out the facts relating to age of marriage among government servants, their relations, members of legislatures and their relations too. In any case we donot think the government's family planning organisation is helping much to keep our population down. The money spent on this organisation would be better spent on general education. A well planned drive against early marriage and for discouraging marriage before a fairly high minimum age should be undertaken. Tax relief for unmarried persons should be introduced too. A system of old age pensions for unmarried men and women should also be tried out for discouraging marriage.

(Continued from page 264)

2. The cults of folk deities :

The nature of worship of the individual deity should be analysed very carefully to have a correct idea on the indigenous elements and also the later introduction of the foreign elements in it. Through the different phases of worship inter-caste and inter-communal relationship patterns are to be focussed.

3. The priests of the folk deities :

The traditional non-Brahman priests of the deities and their status in the socio-religious life of the region are the chief concern here. The roles played by the priests belonging to the low caste groups in the day to day life of the high caste people would reveal the socio-ritual status of the villages. The pattern of interactions of the Brahman, priests when present, and the non-Brahman priests and its impact on the life of the locality should be focussed.

4. The fairs and festivals :

The nature and types of fairs and festivals connected with the worship of the village deities and the behaviour pattern of the people in the common participation of these collective rituals are of special importance in the study of the social relationship of different kinds.

The whole study is to be conducted from the two aspects—one from the vast amount of oral traditional materials together with the direct observations from the actual field, and the other from valuable wealth of folk literatures that have already been collected and published by the scholars from the different disciplines. These materials are still waiting for proper scientific analysis which is the task of the anthropologists, specially who have devoted themselves to the study of folklore.

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ON SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIES IN GUJRAT : DISTRICTWISE ANALYSIS

DHAN RAJ VEENA AND C. R. PATEL

This study is an effort to examine the widely held view that since the formation of a separate state in May, 1960 ; Gujarat has made rapid progress towards industrialization at district-level over a period of time (1960-66).

For the purpose of the present study, Part-I summarises the general concepts, discusses the particular methods of calculation and mode of analysis adopted in the study ; Part-II presents the results of the analysis and comments upon them ; and Part-III suggests a number of general conclusions and indicates the major qualifications which must be attached to the analysis.

PART—I

Although, for analysing the industrial structure of Gujarat-State according to each industry,¹ growth pattern of industrialization of the state² and growth of industrialization of Gujarat in comparison to other states of India³ ; much have been written by economists or economic experts. But there is still considerable scope to see and analyse the structure of industrialization of Gujarat state at district level and to provide some suggestions in regional or district-wise disparity for maximum balanced growth, optimum adjustment between the choice of techniques of production to increase the maximum productivities of labour and capital can be optimized and also suggest to analyse the structure of each industry at district level in Gujarat for an effective adoption of rapid progress towards industrialization.

For this study, the year 1960 has been chosen due to being the first year of the formation of Gujarat in a state form in India and

1966 due to latest availability of district-wise data, and on the other hand, this period also indicates the various changes in industrial structure at district level in the third five year plan. The data on employed persons, productive capital, factories, gross output and net value added to output have been taken from Annual Survey of Industries in India (ASI) of various years and localities of Industries in Gujarat. Monograph No. 10 which is published by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Ahmedabad, the Government of Gujarat (1969). This study has been analysed on the basis of data of two years under the view of comparison through the major economic indicators of industrial development e.g. employment, productive capital, factories gross out put and net value added to output, which are widely accepted indicators of industrialization in India.

In dynamic variables, for measuring the output capital ratio data on value added to output (V) and total employed capital (C) have been taken and is denoted by V/C and for output—labour ratio, data on total employed persons (L) and value added to output have been taken and is denoted here by V/L .

For measuring the capital—labour ratio and labour—capital ratio, the data on employed capital and employed persons have been taken and denoted by C/L for Capital-labour ratio and L/C for labour-capital ratio.

For measuring the profitability or return over capital, data on gross output (O) and net value added to output have been taken and it is denoted here by $(V/O \times 100)$.

PART-II

1. Industrial Structure :

In the case of Gujarat state and its share in structure of industrialization in all states of India relative position can be seen in Table No. 1 which shows that Gujarat occupies third rank after Maharashtra and West Bengal upto 1960. But in 1965 share of productive capital and value added by manufacture of Tamil Nadu are higher than Gujarat, therefore, Tamil Nadu occupied third rank instead of Gujarat. More-over Table No. 1 shows the clear picture of the extent of industrialization in Gujarat over the period of time 1960 to 1965. In relative term, the percentage share of economic indicators of industrialization in Gujarat to the percentage of all states of India, the figures of economic indicators show that there is declined in levels of these indicators or in the level of industrialization. But in absolute terms,

Gujarat has made some progress towards industrialization over a period of time.^{4 5}

In the district-wise industrial structure of Gujarat, the degree of industrialization of Ahmedabad is the highest (in % share) in all economic indicators during the period 1960-1966, but the position declined (in % share) in 1966 compared to 1960. Except the indicator of employed persons, all indicators have increasing value in absolute term which can be seen in Table No. 2 The position of Banaskantha, Kutch, Panchmahals, etc. are very far relatively from other more industrialized districts, e. g. Ahmedabad, Baroda, Bulsar, Surat, etc.

In the comparison of higher and lower levels of concentration of industrialization in major districts, it can be said that Ahmedabad Baroda, Surat, Bulsar, Kaira and Jamnagar districts are more industrialized than other remaining thirteen districts which can be seen in the following tabular form :

Sl. No.	Indicators	Years		Districts
		1960	1966	
(A) Higher Value :				
1. Employed persons	80%	79%	Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat,	
2. Productive capital	82%	85%	Bulsar, Kaira and Jamnagar.	
3. Factories	65%	68%		
4. Gross Output	84%	82%		
5. Net Value added by Manufacture	88%	86%		
(B) Lower Value :				
1. Employed persons	20%	21%	Bhavnagar, Amreli, Junagadh,	
2. Productive capital	18%	15%	Kutch, Rajkot, Surendranagar,	
3. Factories	35%	32%	Banaskantha, Mehsana, Gandhi	
4. Gross Output	16%	18%	nagar, Sabarkantha, Broach,	
5. Net Value added by Manufacture	12%	14%	Panchmahals & Dangs.	

This table shows that the concentration of industrialization in higher value holding districts is higher than lower value holding districts, which indicates the vast disparity or imbalances among districts of Gujarat. Moreover, districtwise industrial structure of Gujarat can be seen in Table No. 2.

Table No. 3 shows the district-wise industrial growth of Gujarat. Baroda (145.48), has the highest growth in employment whereas Surat (67.16) has the lowest growth in employment, in productive capital ; the highest growth can be noted in Baroda (616.63) and the lowest in

Bhavnagar (72.69 : decline) ; in factories, the highest rank can be given to Rajkot (205.66) and the lowest to Amreli (800.0 : decline) ; in gross output Amreli (421.37) has the highest and Surat (97.46 : decline) has the lowest value and is net value added by manufacture ; Junagadh (369.7) has the highest and Surat (67.02 : decline) has the lowest value.

Sr. No. Characteristics (in 1966 over 1960)

1. V/C & V/L increase
2. V/C & V/L decrease
3. V/C increase but V/L decrease
4. V/C decrease but V/L increase

The highest productivity of capital can be seen in Ahmedabad (0.6879) and lowest in Amreli (0.0681) in 1960 ; while in 1966, the highest productivity is noted in Bhavnagar (0.7632) and the lowest in Amreli (0.0545). The position of average district is declined from 0.5929 to 0.4428. In other words, it is declined at the index of 76.37. The highest output-capital ratio (V/C) shows the highest productivity of capital. And, it also can be said that an effective utilization of technological changes are there.⁶

In the case of productivity of labour, the highest position can be seen in Jamnagar (4545.13) and the lowest in Kutch (887.48) in 1960, and in 1966, the highest position is

Sr. No. Composition (1966 over 1960)

1. C/L increases, but L/C decreases
2. C/L decreases, but L/C increases

2. Productivity :

The productivity aspect of the extent of industrialization has been examined through the productivities of the labour and capital which are measured by net value added output labour ratio (V/L) and net value added output—capital ratio (V/C). The following tabular form shows the major components in this contain :

Districts
Bhavnagar, Surendranagar, Sabarkantha and Panchmahals.
Mehsana and Surat.
Jamnagar.
Ahmedabad, Amreli, Junagadh, Kutch, Rajkot, Kaira, Baroda, Broach, and over all Gujarat.

found in Bulsar (6856.27) and the lowest in Sabarkantha (1240.13). The average position of Gujarat increased from 3150.15 to 4613.57 which is at the index of 148.58. The highest output-labour ratio (V/L) in the particular districts shows the highest productivity of labour. In this context district-wise pattern of capital and labour productivities can be seen Tacle No. 4.

3. Techniques of Production :

One other aspect of industrialization is the techniques of production. It can be measured by labour-capital ratio (L/C) and/or capital-labour ratio (C/L). The following composition can be seen in the following tabular form in this connection :

Districts
Ahmedabad, Amreli, Junagadh, Jamnagar, Kutch, Rajkot, Surendranagar, Mehsana Kaira, Puncmahals, Baroda, Broach, Surat and over all Gujarat.

Bhavnagar & Sabarkantha.

In 1960, per worker capital (C/L) is found the highest in Amreli district (16578.20) and the lowest in Broach (2100.49) and; in 1966 again Amreli (27089.30) stood in the top rank and Broach (2806.64) in the lowest. The overall position of Gujarat increased from 5237.61 to 10418.70 which is at the index of 178.02. The highest growth-index for per worker capital found in Baroda (423.29) and the lowest in Bhavnagar (73.1), decline.

Those districts which have relatively higher value of per worker capital, they can be accounted in the technique of capital intensive and those having comparatively lower value of per worker capital, they can be accounted in the technique of labour intensive. In this regard, Amreli is the highest capital intensive and Broach is the highest labour intensive in both periods of time.

The growth-index of Baroda district shows the highest position of increasing capital intensive and of Bhavnagar shows the highest position of increasing labour intensive over a period of time. These results also can be referred to by the labour capital ratio (L-C) which is already in the Table No. 5.

4. Profitability

Here we have also analysed profitability or return over capital ($V/O \times 100$).

In 1960, the highest value of profitability is found in Baroda (37.33) and the lowest in Sabarkantha (8.62) and; in 1966, the highest value is noted in Amreli (70.22) and the lowest in Sabarkantha (9.92). The growth index of profitability found at the highest rank in Amreli (396.11) and the lowest in Rajkot (57.82 : decline).

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Moreover, the index of increasing position of profitability is found in Amreli, Junagadh, Jamnagar, Surendranagar, Sabarkantha and Broach, and of decreasing position is found in Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Kutch, Rajkot Mehsana, Kaira, Panchmahals, Baroda, Surat (due to separate formation of Bulsar) and over all Gujarat.

Conclusions and Implications :

The following major conclusions and implications can be drawn from this study :

- (1) There is lack of proper extent and balanced spread of industrialization at state and district levels. In comparison with the other states of India, Gujarat came down, while in absolute term it can be accounted as one of the progressive states of India in point of industrialization. Further, there is vast disparity among the districts of Gujarat.
- (2) The productivity of capital is decreasing and of labour is increasing, which shows the result of an effective adoption of technological changes in favour of labour productivity at district level.
- (3) Gujarat can be considered to be more capital intensive than labour intensive at district level.
- (4) The profitability or return over capital is decreasing in most of the districts.

- (5) It is a known fact that the industrial structure of the state has considerable need of diversification in context of industries as well as at district level.

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Table—1 : Industrial Structure of Gujarat State (1960-65)*

Sr. No.	Productive Indicators	Units	YEAR					
			1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
1.	Productive Capital	Rs. in Crores	148 (7.40)	188 (7.94)	254 (7.38)	317 (7.80)	341 (6.47)	395 (6.27)
2.	Persons employed	Nos. '000	282 (9.71)	308 (10.09)	310 (9.48)	309 (8.97)	325 (8.53)	339 (8.56)
3.	Gross value of output	Rs. in Crores	270 (8.57)	323 (8.75)	351 (8.41)	390 (8.12)	465 (8.27)	518 (8.07)
4.	Net value added by manufacture	Rs. in Crores	88 (10.18)	101 (10.20)	97 (8.71)	109 (8.39)	119 (7.91)	142 (8.43)

* Figures in brackets indicate the percentage share to all India total of productive capital, employment, gross output and net value added by manufacture for Gujarat State from 1960 to 1965.

- Sources : i) 'Annual Survey of Industries in India' (1960 to 1965) published by the Govt. of India, Central Statistical Organization, Calcutta.
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Table—2 : Districtwise Industrial structure of Gujarat (1960 & 1966)

Sr. No.	District	Employment (in nos.)		Productive Capital (in Rs.'000)		Factories (in nos.)		Gross Output (in Rs. '000)		Net value added by manufacture(inRs'000)	
		1950	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Ahmedabad	155144 (54.91)	151463 (48.74)	773965 (49.60)	1035412 (31.98)	195 (26.03)	270 (24.93)	1385781 (51.23)	2332280 (41.98)	504860 (57.56)	657059 (45.83)	
2. Bhavnagar	9827 (3.48)	9758 (3.14)	54785 (3.70)	39824 (1.23)	30 (4.01)	37 (3.42)	106158 (0.23)	206672 (3.72)	25928 (2.95)	30394 (2.12)	
3. Amreli	974 (0.34)	1243 (0.40)	16147 (1.09)	33672 (1.04)	5 (0.67)	4 (0.37)	6197 (0.23)	26112 (0.50)	1099 (0.13)	18351 (1.28)	
4. Junagadh	5083 (1.80)	7023 (2.26)	28842 (1.95)	11376 (3.44)	25 (3.34)	31 (2.86)	67705 (2.50)	210005 (3.78)	11789 (1.34)	43584 (3.00)	
5. Jamnagar	9084 (3.22)	9789 (3.15)	104349 (7.05)	213363 (6.59)	21 (2.80)	40 (3.69)	174194 (6.44)	350564 (6.31)	41288 (4.71)	123441 (8.61)	
6. Kutch	2924 (1.03)	2672 (0.86)	9571 (0.65)	301100 (0.93)	14 (1.87)	16 (1.48)	7234 (0.27)	25001 (0.45)	2595 (0.29)	6552 (0.45)	
7. Rajkot	5979 (2.12)	7862 (2.53)	22188 (1.50)	71553 (2.21)	30 (4.01)	62 (5.73)	43396 (1.60)	175004 (3.15)	11686 (1.33)	27240 (1.90)	
8. Surendranagar	7092 (2.51)	10224 (3.29)	31749 (2.15)	48889 (1.51)	32 (4.28)	56 (5.17)	37681 (1.39)	73891 (1.83)	9063 (1.03)	24516 (1.71)	
9. Banaskantha ¹	—	124 (0.04)	—	648 (0.02)	—	3 (0.28)	—	2222 (0.04)	—	430 (0.03)	
10. Mehsana	11687 (4.14)	12213 (3.93)	56071 (3.79)	93893 (2.90)	27 (3.60)	36 (3.32)	101664 (3.76)	141115 (2.54)	30730 (3.50)	29104 (2.07)	

.....Contd.

¹ Details of 1960 are included in Mehsana District.

(Contd. Table—2)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11. Gandhinagar ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. Sabarkantha	2510 [0.89]	2890 [0.93]	8717 [0.59]	9389 [0.29]	33 [4.41]	33 [3.05]	29697 [1.10]	36112 [0.65]	2560 [0.29]	3584 [0.25]		
13. Kaira	12546 [4.44]	16190 [5.21]	57420 [3.88]	217249 [6.71]	54 [7.21]	91 [8.40]	146215 [5.40]	379454 [6.83]	35826 [4.09]	68244 [4.76]		
14. Panchmahals	4732 [1.67]	4320 [1.39]	25563 [1.73]	24930 [0.77]	16 [2.14]	18 [1.66]	32044 [1.18]	53334 [0.96]	8667 [0.99]	12616 [0.88]		
15. Baroda	24288 [8.60]	35333 [11.37]	118039 [7.98]	726860 [22.45]	91 [12.15]	166 [15.33]	247306 [9.14]	884466 [15.95]	92312 [10.52]	208458 [14.54]		
16. Broach	5065 [1.79]	6806 [2.19]	10639 [0.72]	19102 [0.59]	42 [6.54]	47 [4.34]	34621 [1.28]	33890 [0.61]	6456 [0.74]	10896 [0.76]		
17. Surat	25588 [9.06]	17185 [5.53]	201499 [13.62]	220810 [6.82]	127 [16.95]	120 [11.08]	585585 [10.56]	278340 [5.01]	92419 [10.53]	61936 [4.32]		
18. Bulsar ³	—	15662 [5.04]	—	340605 [10.52]	—	53 [4.89]	—	347331 [6.25]	—	107383 [7.49]		
19. Dangs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ALL DISTRICTS	282523 (100.00)	310757 (100.00)	147944 (100.00)	3237685 (100.00)	749 (100.00)	1083 (100.00)	2705475 (100.00)	55553893 (100.00)	877278 (100.00)	1433688 (100.00)		

² Details of 1960 and 1966 are included in Mehsana district.³ Details of 1960 are combined with Surat District..

Sources. As of Table No. I.

Table- 3 : Districtwise Industrial Growth of Gujarat

Sr. No.	District	Employ- ment	Productive Capital	Index of Industrial Growth in 1966 (1960=100)		(1960 & 1966) Net value added by manufacture
				Factories	Gross output	
1	Ahmedabad	97.63	141.07	138.46	168.30	130.15
2.	Bhavnagar	99.21	72.69	123.33	194.68	117.68
3.	Amreli	127.62	208.53	80.00	421.37	116.61
4.	Junagadh	138.17	386.16	124.00	310.18	369.70
5.	Jamnagar	107.76	204.47	190.45	201.25	298.98
6.	Kutch	91.38	314.59	114.29	345.60	248.63
7.	Rajkot	131.49	322.49	206.66	403.27	233.10
8.	Surendranagar	144.16	153.99	175.00	196.10	270.51
9.	Banaskantha ¹	—	—			
10.	Mehsana	104.50	167.45	153.33	138.81	94.71
11.	Gandhinagar ²	—	—			
12.	Sabarkantha	115.14	107.70	100.00	121.60	140.00
13.	Kaira	129.05	378.34	168.52	259.51	190.49
14.	Panchmahals	91.29	97.52	112.50	167.06	145.56
15.	Baroda	145.48	616.63	182.41	357.64	225.82
16.	Broach	134.37	179.52	95.92	97.89	168.76
17.	Surat	67.16	109.58	94.49	97.46	67.02
18.	Bulsar ³	—	—			
19.	Dangs	—	—			
ALL DISTRICTS		109.99	218.79	144.59	205.36	163.24

Notes : As of Table No. 2

Sources : As of Table No. 1

Table—4 : Capital and Labour Productivities (1960 & 1966)

Sr. No.	District	Net value added (V/C) Output — capital			Net value added (V/L) Output—Labour ratio		
				Index of 1966 over 60 (1960=100)			Index of 1966 over 60 (1960=100)
		1960	1966		1960	1966	
1.	Ahmedabad	0.6879	0.6346	92.25	3254.13	4338.08	133.30
2.	Bhavnagar	0.4733	0.7632	161.25	2638.44	3114.77	118.05
3.	Amreli	0.0681	0.0545	80.03	1128.36	1476.34	130.84
4.	Junagadh	0.4087	0.3913	95.74	2319.29	6205.89	267.57
5.	Jamnagar	0.3957	0.5785	146.20	4545.13	1261.01	27.74
6.	Kutch	0.2711	0.2143	79.04	887.48	2414.67	272.08
7.	Rajkot	0.5266	0.3807	72.29	1954.50	3464.76	177.27
8.	Surendranagar	0.2864	0.5015	175.10	1277.91	2397.88	187.67
9.	Banaskantha ¹	—	0.6636	—	—	3467.74	—
10.	Mehsana	0.5481	0.4000	72.98	2629.41	2383.03	90.63
11.	Gandhinagar ²	—	—	—	—	—	—
12.	Sabarkantha	0.2937	0.3817	129.96	1019.92	1240.13	121.59
13.	Kaira	0.6239	0.3141	50.34	2855.57	4215.19	147.61
14.	Panchmahals	0.3390	0.5060	149.26	1831.57	2920.37	159.45
15.	Baroda	0.4909	0.2868	58.42	3800.72	5899.81	155.23
16.	Broach	0.6068	0.5704	93.69	1274.62	1600.94	125.60
17.	Bulsar ³	—	0.3153	—	—	6856.27	—
18.	Surat	0.4587	0.2800	61.04	3611.81	3604.07	99.79
19.	Dangs	—	—	—	—	—	—
ALL DISTRICTS		0.5929	0.4428	76.37	3105.15	4613.57	148.5

Notes : As of Table No. 2

Sources : As of Table No. 1

Table—5 : Labour Capital Intensive (1960 and 1966)

Sr. No.	Districts	Capital — Labour Ratio (C/L)			Labour — Capital Ratio (L/C)		
		Index of 1966 over 60 (1960=100)			Index of 1966 over 60 (1966=100)		
		1960	1966		1960	1966	
1.	Ahmedabad	4730.86	6836.07	144.50	0.0001698	0.0001436	84.57
2.	Bhavnagar	5574.94	4081.16	73.91	0.0001793	0.0002450	136.64
3.	Amreli	16578.02	27089.30	163.40	0.0000603	0.0000369	61.19
4.	Junagadh	5674.21	15858.74	279.49	0.0001762	0.0000631	35.92
5.	Jamnagar	11487.12	21796.20	189.74	0.0000071	0.0000459	52.69
6.	Kutch	3273.26	11268.71	344.26	0.0003055	0.0000887	29.03
7.	Rajkot	3710.99	9101.12	245.25	0.0002695	0.0001099	40.78
8.	Surendranagar	4476.73	4781.79	106.81	0.0002234	0.0002091	93.58
9.	Banaskantha	—	5225.81	—	—	0.0001914	—
10.	Mehsana	4797.72	7687.95	160.24	0.0002084	0.0001301	62.43
11.	Gandhinagar	—	—	—	—	—	—
12.	Sabarkantha	3472.91	3248.78	93.55	0.0002819	0.0003078	106.91
13.	Kaira	4576.76	13418.72	293.18	0.0002185	0.0000145	34.09
14.	Panchmahals	5402.16	5770.83	106.83	0.0001847	0.0001733	93.83
15.	Baroda	4859.97	20571.70	423.29	0.0002058	0.0000486	23.62
16.	Broach	2100.49	2806.64	133.67	0.0004761	0.0003363	75.48
17.	Surat	7874.45	12848.99	163.16	0.0001269	0.0000778	61.31
18.	Bulsar	—	21728.07	—	—	0.0000459	—
19.	Dangs	—	—	—	—	—	—
ALL DISTRICTS		5237.61	10418.70	198.92	0.0001909	0.0000959	50.23

Table—6 : Profitabilitr or Return over Capital (1960 and 1966)

Sr. No.	District	Return over Capital (V/O) $\times 100$		
		1960 (%)	1966 (%)	Index of
				1966 over 1960 (1960 = 100)
1.	Ahmedabad	36.43	28.17	77.33
2.	Bhavnagar	24.42	14.71	60.24
3.	Amreli	17.74	70.27	396.11
4.	Junagadh	17.41	20.75	119.19
5.	Jamnagar	23.70	35.21	148.55
6.	Kutch	35.87	25.81	72.51
7.	Rajkot	26.93	15.57	57.82
8.	Surendranagar	24.05	33.18	137.96
9.	Banaskantha	—	19.35	—
10.	Mehsana	30.23	20.62	68.21
11.	Gandhinagar	—	—	—
12.	Sabarkantha	8.62	9.92	115.08
13.	Kaira	24.50	17.98	73.39
14.	Panchmahals	27.05	23.65	87.43
15.	Baroda	37.33	23.57	63.14
16.	Broach	18.65	32.15	172.39
17.	Surat	32.36	22.25	68.76
18.	Bulsar	—	30.93	—
19.	Dang	—	—	—
ALL DISTRICTS		32.39	25.81	79.68

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Early Sanskritists and Dravidian

Dr. H. G. Narahari, M.A., M. Litt., Ph. D. of the Department of linguistics, Deccan College, Poona read a paper at the All-India Conference of Dravidian Linguists at Trivandram in June 1971. This was published in *The Aryan Path* of September 1972, from which the following excerpts are taken :

Ancient India¹ divided the brahmans known in those times into two main groups, Panca-Gauda and Panca-Dravida ; the latter name makes a very wide use of the term Dravida, as under its head come the Gurjara, Maharastra, Karnata Andhra, and Dravida brahmans; the last of these five groups includes the brahmans in Kerala as well as in Tamilnad. These are the people who speak languages of the now well-known Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families : Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, and Malayalam.

It must be this extensive use of the word Dravida that must have inspired our old Sanskrit scholars to believe that the Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan languages of the present day, also came into being through a modification of the mother language, Sanskrit.² The idea appears to be that "from Sanskrit some kind of Prakrit evolved," comparable with the other Prakrit that we know of like Sauraseni, Magadhi, and Maharastri, and from this Prakrit the various Dravidian languages have sprung.³ Prakritih samskritam tata agatam prakrtam is the dictum. The Prakritakalpataru⁴ of Rama Tarkavagisa calls this a vibhasa and brings under it the Dravida, the Utkali, and three other languages. The Sahityadarpana⁵ of Visvanatha calls the Prakrit the Dravidi which is current among Dravidas (dravidi dravidadisu).

Further, in olden times it was common to believe that "the language of the sacred books of the religion" was also "the oldest of all the languages and the mother of all speech."⁶ As the Jews seem to have "piously believed that all the languages of the world were derived from Hebrew, which was the language used by Jehovah in heaven" as the Buddhist believed that Magadhi was the root language (mulabhasa) in which people of the primeval age conversed, as the early Jains held that the Prakrit of the Jaina canon was "the basic language on which Sanskrit and the rest stood", so was the belief rise among the Hindus of old that Sanskrit, the language of the gods (devabhasa), was the "source of all languages". Even at the present day this view has not become wholly obsolete, and countless old-fashioned and orthodox pandits believe in the Sanskrit origin of the Dravidian languages, only these languages are just five in number Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tulu. No dialects or non-literary languages are included in this group as is done in modern linguistics.

It is not at all a wonder that our traditional scholars, even in the fourteenth century A.D., did not know that Dravidian and Sanskrit do not form the same family of languages. The conception of "linguistic families" is a very modern one, and the Dravidian, as an independent family of languages, was established just a little over a century ago.⁷ The first man ever to have an inkling in this respect was William Carey (1816), the Baptist missionary linguist of Serampore in Bengal. About the same time Francis W. Ellis, who worked in South India,⁸ included, in the family called by him the

"dialects of South India," Kodagu and Malto among the traditional five languages of the family. Rasmus Kristian Rask, the Danish philologist, had noted, during his world tour in 1824, two distinct types of languages in India, the Indic (north Indian languages) and the Dakanic (South Indian languages). A Krishnamacharya from Srirangapattana in Mysore State had also noticed, about the same time, differences between the Southern and Indo-Aryan languages. B. H. Hodgson (1847) combined both the Munda and the Dravidian languages under the common head "Dravidian." The credit for distinguishing between these two families belongs to the famous Vedic scholar, F. Max Muller (1854). The first man to use "Dravidian" as a term for the family was Robert A. Caldwell, who published in 1856 the first edition of the Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or the South Indian Family of Languages.

It must be very refreshing in this connection to note that there were at least two famous Sanskrit scholars in ancient India, Kumarila Bhatta (c. seventh century A.D.), a great Mimamsaka, and Jayantabhatta (c. A.D. 890), a great Naiyayika, who seem to have been aware that Sanskrit is not the mother of all the languages in India and that the Dravidian languages like Tamil belong to another family which is quite different from Indo-Aryan.

In so far as the former of these two writers is concerned the relevant text is the *Tantravarttika*, a sort of commentary on the *Bhasya* of Sabaravamin on the Mimamsa aphorisms of Jaimini. The context is a disquisition on the meaning of words. Kumarila raises up "an interesting question : It happens that, even in the Veda, there are a number of words which are not given any specific meaning therein but which are used by the non-Aryans (Mlecchas) in a definite sense.

The question is whether this meaning is to be adopted by the Aryans also, and the answer of Kumarila is in the affirmative. These words are Pika, Nema, Sata, Tamarasa and the like.

In a similar context Jayantabhatta points out that the same word has different meanings in different regions ; for instance, the Sanskrit caura is used by the Southerners (daksinatyā) in the sense of cooked rice (*odana*). The word daksinatyā here refers to the speakers of what we now call the Tamil-Malayalam group of languages who use the word soru or coru in this connection.

1. Dr. S. K. Chatterji (Dravidian, Anna-malai University, 1965, p. 3) says that "these names Pancadravida and Pancagauda would appear to have been first used during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., if not earlier."
2. For fuller details, see H. G. Narahari, *The Aryan Path*, April 1970, pp. 177 ff.
3. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 5.
4. Cited by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, II. 46.
5. VI. 162 ; Kane places this writer on Poetics between A.D. 1300 and 1384.
6. Chatterji, op. cit., pp. 4ff. for full details.
7. For more details, see H. G. Narahari, loc. cit., p. 177.
8. Ibid., pp. 175 ff.
9. *Tantravarttika* on *Sabarabhasya*, I. 3. 5. (*Anandasrama Sanskrit Series*, 1929, pp. 244 ff.); for a fuller study of this topic, see H. G. Narahari, *Poona Orientalist*, October 1940, Vol. v. pp. 56 ff.

Shortest Session of the Congress

J. N. Sahni, at one time editor of the *The Hindustan Times* and of the *Indian News Chronicle*, who also became Secretary General of the All India Newspapers' Editors Conference on many occasions and represented

India in the Delegation to the U. N. General Assembly from 1957 to 1961, writes for the Press Information Bureau Government of India about the April 1932 Session of the Indian National Congress held at Delhi :

Even in the archives of the Indian National Congress the record of its briefest and yet most historic session is scrappy.

This Session was held in Delhi in the April of 1932. It lasted a little over forty-five minutes. It resulted in the arrest of all the office bearers, more than 600 of the delegates, and 2,000 and more spectators. A thousand or more seeking arrest were repeatedly beaten off out of the police vans because of lack of space in prison, and an open-air barbed wire stockade was specially constructed for the occasion.

In the early part of 1932, after the return of Mahatma Gandhi from attending the second Round Table Conference in London, for the first time in its forty-seven years of existence the Indian National Congress was declared an unlawful body. Mahatma Gandhi himself was arrested, along with the then President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Working Committee decided to renew nation-wide civil disobedience.

Ordinances

Apart from declaring the Indian National Congress and all its associate bodies unlawful, Government imposed as many as nineteen ordinances, muzzling the press, making membership of the Congress a penal offence, forbidding anyone preventing a Government servant from the discharge of his duties, making parents responsible for offences by their minor wards, and subjecting areas where any political offences occurred to joint penal fines.

Within a few months more than a hundred thousand had been sent to prison, most Congress offices had been taken possession of, Congress funds in banks had been confiscated,

several newspaper presses had been shut down and a general reign of terror had been let loose.

The Congress still continued to defy the Government ban. Each Congress President nominated his successor before arrest and Congress Working Committees followed one after the other. Sardar Vallabhbhai had been followed by Dr. Ansari, Khaliquzzaman and Maulana Azad, who had all been arrested. Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad were in prison in Delhi. Finally, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who always wavered between Congress extremist and legislative liberalism was nominated as Congress President.

Meanwhile the annual session of the Indian National Congress was scheduled to be held on the 9th of April. The holding of it became the responsibility of Pandit Malaviya. In March, his son Govind Malaviya came to Delhi, and informed me that I had been nominated General Secretary, and that I and the Congress leaders in Delhi were to make preparations for holding the annual session in defiance of the Government ban. It was a responsibility none of us could shirk. It was decided that a formal announcement would be delayed till all the secret preparations had been completed. While the preparations had to be secret, the defiance had to be open.

After the official announcement was made, I expected that I and other office bearers would be arrested. This, however, did not happen. By keeping us out, and under very close surveillance, the police hoped to know of the preparations and to forestall them. A week before the session all persons holding tickets to Delhi, and looking like Congressmen were taken off the trains and interrogated or arrested.

In the Fort area, in the Municipal gardens opposite the Clock Tower in Chandni Chowk, and along the Jamuna thousands of policemen were encamped. At strategic places outside

the city military pickets with armoured cars were stationed. A thorough watch was kept in the city to trace Congressmen who had gone underground.

While the date of the session in Delhi had been announced, we kept the venue where the session was to be held, secret. We started making preparations of sorts in the open space around the Jama Masjid, which we declared to associates would be most suitable for an evening session, since even ordinarily more than 10,000 people collected in the area at evening time.

As a second preference we discussed the advantages of the Jamuna bank, for a morning session where four to five thousand people always gathered for a morning bath. We started collecting wooden *takhts* from the *pujaris* and large planks to improvise a platform.

A third place we optioned would be a spacious park in Kashmiri Gate, where some of the colleges were then located, and where students could easily congregate at any time.

Meanwhile delegates began to arrive in small batches from the contact stations. Some came as members of village marriage parties specially arranged for the purpose. Quite a few were smuggled in hay carts. From across the Jamuna every morning, as part of the milk line, they would wade the river with pitchers on their head which instead of milk were full of lime and water.

As they arrived they were guided to pre-arranged billets in private houses and dharamsalas in the city streets. These secret arrangements worked successfully. The police felt more than confident that few if any outside delegates could have entered the city. In fact delegates had come not only from the Punjab and the United Provinces, but from Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and far off Coimbatore.

Meanwhile the Sikhs arranged a mammoth congregation at the Gurdwara Sisganj near the Central Police Station, in celebration of one of their festivals. On the morning of April 9 the police had cleared up the area around Jama Masjid and had assembled in great force at the Jamuna bank and the Railway bridge.

The police around the Gurdwara were taken by surprise, when near nine o'clock, the time for the arrival of the Congress President, the entire congregation of a few thousands decided to go in procession to the Railway bridge to receive Pt. Malaviya. A big posse of police naturally followed the congregation, not knowing whether it was a legal or illegal gathering. In the camp in the Municipal Gardens not a policeman was to be seen. The entire force had been concentrated at the Kashmiri Gate, the Jamuna bridge and the Jama Masjid.

As soon as word was brought that Pandit Malaviya had been arrested, Congress delegates wearing their badges, giving their names and their city, emerged from out of the city streets, converging into the large square around the Clock Tower. The number of official delegates present was more than 800. Local members of the Reception Committee numbered another eight hundred.

A police van casually passing by was the first to learn that the annual session was being held at the Clock Tower.

As the word went round hundreds of policemen rushed to Chandni Chowk. A large number of people had already been arrested at the Jamuna bridge. The police were in such confusion not knowing which was more illegal, the crowd at the Jamuna bridge or the audience at the Clock Tower! Lorries were blindly filled with whoever offered to be arrested.

There seemed no dearth of volunteers.

After a few thousand had been arrested, the number seeking arrest went on swelling till all the barracks, and open yard in the jail, and a stockade of barbed wire that had been quickly improvised were chock-full. Finally the police resorted to a mass lathi charge, beating up all and sundry to clear Chandni Chowk of the congregating crowds.

The large number of Congress supporters who were not officials or Delegates were soon released as the Government found it impossible to look after so many prisoners. The delegates and office bearers were kept in prison for some time. So were the members of the Reception Committee.

Half-a-Century of Progress in USSR

The Information Branch of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta published in English an account of the progress made by the USSR in various fields during the last fifty years. The original appeared in *Pravda* on September 2, 1972. We are reproducing certain portions of their English version :

In the Soviet Union there are more than 100 nations and nationalities. Although the world's first socialist state had to live through the grim years of the Civil War and intervention, losing upwards of 20,000,000 people during the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet population keeps steadily growing.

Late in 1922 the population of the USSR was 136,100,000, and by mid-1972 it increased to 247,500,000. An appreciable population growth is typical of all the Union Republics, of all the nations and nationalities.

The conversion of the country from an agrarian into a mighty industrial power finds expression in the growth of factory and office workers as well as the increasing share of urban dwellers. In 1922 the number of wage and salary earners was 6,200,000, the figure reaching 94,900,000 this year. In the year when the USSR was formed only 22,000,000

or 16 per cent of the population, lived in the towns. Today there are 143,800,000 town-dwellers, whose share in the overall number of the population has increased to 58 per cent. Between 1926 and 1972 as many as 976 towns appeared, the number of urban-type communities going up by 2,272.

The national wealth of the USSR now amounts to over 1,000,000,000,000 roubles.

In 1922 the Soviet country's share in world industrial production amounted to about one per cent. Now it has reached one-fifth.

In 1971 our country produced more than 75 per cent of the US level of industrial output. The gap between the levels of industrial production of the USSR and the USA has been reduced by six times, as compared to 1913.

At present Soviet agriculture is represented by 32,300 collective farms and 15,500 state farms. These are large mechanised socialist enterprises. For example, last year an average collective farm had 6,200 hectares of arable land, 63 tractors (in terms of 15-hp units), 1,332 head of cattle and about two million roubles of indivisible funds in the form of fixed and circulating assets.

Machinery has been employed in the fields and on farms on an ever larger scale. It has lightened the work done by the farmer, increasing its productivity. Annual labour productivity in the USSR's farming as a whole increased 440 per cent in 1971, as compared with the pre-revolutionary period, hourly labour productivity going up more than six times. Such jobs as ploughing, the sowing of grain and cotton crops, sugar beet, and the harvesting of cereals and silo crops are now fully mechanised. Sixty-four per cent of dairy farming in collective farms and state farms has been switched over to mechanical milking, 71 per cent of cattle farms and 83 per cent of pig farms have been provided with water supply systems.

The progress in agriculture and animal breeding has made it possible to substantially increase agricultural production and the procurement of agricultural produce. In 1971 the gross output of agricultural produce increased 4.8 times, as compared with 1922.

Scientific progress in all Soviet republics is determined, to a large extent, by the opening of more research establishments and the training of more specialists in different fields. Before the revolution, Russia had 298 establishments of this kind, and in 1971 the number was 5,307, including 2,648 research institutes and their branches. There were 11,600 scientific workers in pre-revolutionary Russia, and today the Soviet Union has 1,002,900, or a quarter of the world's number. Each constituent republic has its academy of sciences.

The Soviet economy has a high rate of scientific and technological progress. The number of newly designed machines, apparatuses and instruments rose from 4,345 between 1951 and 1955 to 12,902 in the period between 1956 and 1960, 23,178 between 1961 and 1965, and 21,272 between 1966 and 1970. As many as 3,873 types of machines, apparatuses and instruments were designed in 1971.

Together with the rapid growth of productive forces and the rise in the material standards of the Soviet peoples, their culture, socialist in content and national in form, has also blossomed. If prior to the Revolution nearly three-fourths of the population were illiterate, and many nations had no written languages of their own, now the Soviet Union is a country of complete literacy. By the beginning of the 1971-72 academic year 80.2 million attended one or another educational establishment.

Within a historically short period, the Republics of Central Asia have covered gigantic road from backwardness to progress as members of the fraternal family of Soviet

people. Thus, in 1971 compared with 1922, the industrial output of the Uzbek Republic grew by 228 fold, that of the Kirghiz Republic by 381 fold, of the Tajik Republic by 500 fold and the Turkmen Republic by 130 fold. An enormous programme of industrial construction has been realized in Kazakhstan where capital investments grew from 8 million roubles in 1922 to 5,615 million roubles in 1971. Many industrial branches have sprung up there. Last year the republic's industrial output was the 558-fold of that in 1922.

Environment Cleaning in USSR

Keith Bush writing in *Problems of Communism* describes the environmental problems faced by the USSR. India is a very large country and is developing. India's environmental problems are increasing in their intensity and spread. It is therefore of advantage to India to study what is going on in other lands so that this country can avoid many pitfalls by such examination of the conditions prevailing elsewhere. We reproduce some portions from the article referred to :

The USSR has not escaped the environmental problems to which all industrializing nations have fallen prey. The incidence and scale of environmental disruption (ED) in the Soviet Union have been diligently chronicled in a number of Western studies. Insofar as the extent and overall intensity of pollution can be quantified, most observers would agree that the natural resources of the USSR have not been affected to the same degree as those of many advanced Western countries.

The most serious environmental issue facing the Soviet Union is how to protect and utilize its relatively scarce and unfavorably distributed fresh-water supplies. With some 16 percent of the world's land mass, the Soviet Union has only 11 percent of world fresh-water supplies, and only 12 percent of this is available to the densely populated

regions of European Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. By the end of the century, the urban population will have increased to an estimated 216 million (compared with 143 million today), and per capita consumption of fresh water in the cities will have leaped 100 to 150 percent—to about 500 liters a day. Thus, markedly sharper demands will be made on the supply of fresh water. Yet this precious resource faces diversion and depletion through grandiose land-improvement schemes and massive new industrial uses, and degradation by industrial and sewage pollution.

The most spectacular of the land-improvement projects contemplate diverting some of the north-ward flow of the great Siberian rivers to irrigate dry regions of Kazakhstan and Central Asia to the South. Soviet and Western specialists have called for fuller prior scientific investigation of the possible ecological and climatic consequences of such colossal gambles with nature's water balance—possible melting of part of the Arctic ice-cap, disruption of the climate of the Northern Hemisphere, and major shifts in rainfall patterns because of evaporation from millions of irrigated hectares. Yet, work is already under way to pump water from the Irtysh River to Karaganda, and surveying is being done for a canal to divert water from the junction of the Tobol and Irtysh Rivers to the Aral Lowlands and thence to desert regions of the Kazakh, Uzbek and Turkmen republics.

The Soviet Union's industrial sector also makes immense and growing demands on fresh-water supplies. The quantity required for Siberian industry alone in 1968 was estimated at 150 million cubic meters a day. With Siberian industrial output scheduled to grow some 500 percent during the next 10-to-15 years, an amount equal to all of the water carried by the Yenisei and Ob Rivers will be needed unless radically new processes for

recycling and reusing water are devised and installed.

In addition, the existing water resources of the USSR are being degraded by widely documented practices allowing the introduction of untreated or inadequately treated industrial effluents and sewage. One of the most dramatic results has been the drop in the sturgeon catch from the Caspian Sea (from some 50,000 tons annually in the 17th century to a current annual catch of less than 10,000 tons), caused at least in part by an annual seepage of 65,000 tons of oil—twice the load of the Torrey Canyon, which spilled its cargo of petroleum into the English Channel in 1967—into Baku Bay each year.

Although they have yet to reach the level of pollution of, say, the Rhine or the Mississippi, the great rivers of Russia are becoming increasingly affected. This is particularly true of the Volga, which alone carries half of the country's industrial effluents into the Caspian Sea. Sewage facilities in the Soviet Union are often still primitive. A volume on the order of 25 cubic kilometers of untreated water is introduced each year into open sewers. Until the mid-1960's, some 300,000 to 400,000 cubic meters of raw sewage was flushed each day into the Moskva River. This has reportedly been stopped, and virtually all domestic sewage is now purified. But the discharge of untreated industrial waste water into this river flowing through the Soviet capital is expected to continue until 1976.

An increasingly common hazard, shared by the Soviet Union with other agricultural countries, is the pollution of lakes and rivers by agricultural chemicals. This can occur through drainage, but one of the worst cases of pollution occurred when dust storms blew fertilizer mixed with topsoil off the land in Krasnodar Kray into the Sea of Azov. On the other hand the USSR has so far been spared the disruption of water supplies caused

by massive infusions of household detergents in the West.

The air over Soviet cities would appear to be less burdened with emissions stemming from private cars, public transportation, domestic heating, and refuse disposal. Nevertheless, it is appreciably degraded by truck exhausts and by industrial pollution, as may be confirmed by visitors to any of the major industrial cities. In Leningrad, for example, the brightness of daylight is reported to be little more than half of that in surrounding areas because of industrial haze aggravated by the use of low-grade fuel. The chemicalization drive of the 1960's contributed greatly to air pollution: a prominent example is the notorious "foxtail" of chemical smoke from the Shchokino combine, which has threatened the forest at nearby Yasnaya Polyana.

In the quest for quick means to neutralize industrial emissions, some Soviet engineers have taken a wrong track in suggesting construction of factory chimneys higher than the Eiffel Tower, or one that will emit smoke in a spiral into the upper atmosphere. Perhaps these engineers should be reminded of the old adage that "what goes up....." as well as a host of other, more recent adages about the unity of man's environment.

The horrifying vision of Western man standing knee-deep in his own refuse, conjured up by the environmentalists, may not become reality, but the battle against indestructible plastic bags, nonrecyclable cans and the "no deposit, no return" bottle has only just started. Soviet man has so far been spared this penalty of consumerism owing to the backwardness of the light and food industries and neglect of packaging technology. The bulk of the Soviet housewife's food purchases are still unwrapped as late as 1970, it was reported that less than 7 percent of flour, sugar and butter sold in Ukrainian state retail stores was sold in a packaged form, although it is promised that by

1975 the share of packaged foodstuffs in all-Union sales will rise to 60-65 percent. The adoption of self-service stores and, more recently, of Western supermarkets (*universamy*) has obliged the foreign trade organizations to order packaging technology from Eastern and Western Europe, and there is no evidence to suggest that ecological considerations played any part in their selection.

Another potential threat to modern man's environment is noise pollution. Soviet urban dwellers may still experience less noise from automobiles, jet airplaues, and neighbors' stereophonic phonographs and tape recorders than do their Western counterparts; yet Soviet bus and truck drivers seem to exult in the noise-generating capability of their vehicles, and owners of private vehicles persist in warming their automobile engines periodically during cold winter nights despite the contrary advice of motoring journals and the complaints of ground-floor residents. Western observers have also noted a surprisingly high noise level at Soviet workplaces. Furthermore, in constructing millions of new apartments, the Soviet planners have been understandably preoccupied with quantity rather than quality, and while occupancy of a private apartment, after a lifetime of communal living, is a consumer benefit far outweighing such minor desiderata as doors and windows that fit or acoustically insulated walls and ceilings, the absence of adequate soundproofing does contribute to a noisy environment. Soviet awareness of the existence of a noise pollution problem and of its detrimental effects on the human organism is evidenced by creation of a National Anti-Noise Committee in September 1969, and by the recent campaign to speed up the production and sale of earplugs. In addition, the Chief Public Health Officer of Moscow has promised to retain trolley buses in the capital and to see that residential blocks are located away from busy thoroughfares and public buildings.



Rhythm

Sculptor—DEVI PRASAD ROYCHOWDHURI

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NOTES

National Management of Steel Factories

The Ministry of Steel published their production figures for saleable steel output during the first six months of the current financial year ended September 1972. These figures show that Bhilai produced during the half year a total of 830000 tonnes of saleable steel, Rourkela 333000 tonnes and Durgapur only 193000 tonnes. The private sector plant of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. showed no improvement in production but the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. improved to some extent. The Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. requires replacements and reconditioning of machinery and according to knowledgeable persons, the fall in its production had been caused by non-compliance of Government in providing necessary finances in time to the private managers of the company. The Government are now managing the company and making arrangements for these replacements and repairs. Durgapur obviously had no such difficulties and its low production could only be explained by mismanagement or non-cooperation of workers. We do not know what steps Government would take to rectify

the state of affairs at Durgapur. We presume the work of rehabilitation of Durgapur would not be very easy ; for had it been so, the position would not have remained so bad for such a long time. Government experts of management will have full opportunities for proving their ability in the field of management.

Implications of Management at National Level

The Nation's economy has grown and taken shape for the proper functioning of the various branches of government. Defence services, maintenance of law and order, administration of justice, tax collection, arranging for communications, medical services, education, irrigation, generation of power and the organisation of railways, posts, telegraphs, telephones, broadcasting etc. etc. constitute the work of government and require expenditure of large sums of money, employment of vast numbers of men and women and the setting up of great installations of buildings, machinery and plant. The persons who run the government make rules, regulations, laws and

introduce intricate systems of issuing licences, permits and filling up of forms in order to abide by their orders relating to controls of an economic variety. These different activities of the bureaucrats do not always prove to be of advantage to the nation's economy. A careful study of the implications of the rules regulations, licences, permits, quotas etc. would show that on the whole these could only hamper the free progress of the economy. Enquiry would bring to light long lists of closed private ateliers and small scale industries due to lack of supply of essential components some of which were of foreign origin. So that, though government managed to save their foreign exchange resources and certain materials which were in short supply by their restrictive policy of economic management one can not say that such management was gainful either for the nation or for the industries or persons who came to be involved in such economic arrangements. No doubt certain persons, groups of businessmen and sections of the populations of certain zones where industries developed due to preferential treatment by government induced through influence and favouritism. But from the national economic point of view if ten men gain at the cost of losses suffered by one hundred persons and the losses outweigh the gains substantially, the economic significance of the arrangements could not be advantageous for the people of India as a whole. So when Mr. Chavan says that the present economic crisis was the result of shortfalls in the production of steel, fertilizers and chemicals, aggravated by shortage of power ; he is correct in so far as these shortfalls are contributing largely to intensify the economic crisis. But his statement does not complete the picture. The basic fact of our problems of unemployment and underemployment cannot be side stepped. One cannot also overlook the realities of illicit transactions of the Black Market and the extortionate

system of taxation which induces people to go into such deals. The facts of the troubles that now beset India's economy are connected with the mistakes that Indian politicians have made during the last twentyfive years. These mistakes cannot be remedied by increased production of steel, fertilizers and chemicals, nor by power generation. The people of India have ceased to be production minded due to heavy taxation, the system of licences, permits and controls and the government's desire to take over economic establishments for bureaucratic management and state ownership. The matter of ceilings of property and land also comes into the picture. These will interfere with formation of capital and effecting savings by the people.

China's Tibet

When in 1951 the Chinese armies invaded Tibet in mass formation, drove out the theocratic ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, and about 150000 monks and their entourage ; the whole world saw that sizeable military operation and no one thought that it was anything but an act of forcible occupation of an independent country by a communist power claiming to have political suzerainty over the territory it invaded and occupied. This alleged suzerainty is supposed to be of Chinese imperial origin dating back to the Ming dynasty of Chinese emperors. The communist republic of China is called a peoples republic. Whether the peoples of China could rebelliously overthrow other Chinese governments (the nationalist government setup by Gen. Chiang Kai Shek) and whether even after many revolutions and rebellions the ancient imperial suzerainty of the Mings could be assumed to have survived in Tibet, where from 1700 A. D. to 1951 A. D. no Chinese officials ever exercised any suzerain powers ; is a point of international law which has not yet been adjudged by competent judges of proper standing. Now that the Chinese have

become members of the UNO the matter can be considered by persons authorised by that body so that China does not have to make allegations against India relating to granting asylum to the Dalai Lama nor the world public think ill of the Chinese for bringing a free country under subjugation by conquest. In India most people think that the Dalai Lama was the lawful ruler of the Tibetans and that he was chased out by the Chinese army with a view to establish a communist government there which the people of Tibet did not desire to establish. The Tibetan language is not Chinese, the Tibetan script is alphabetical and closely akin to the Brahmi script of India from which Bengali, Oriya, Burmese and many other scripts have evolved, and the Tibetans are Mahayana Buddhists in religion and not Confucian, Taoist or anything else that is Chinese. The suzerainty that the Chinese claimed over Tibet was only theoretical. They also claimed similar suzerainty over Nepal, Korea, Mongolia, Japan and many other lands which they have not chosen to invade and occupy. Tibet was occupied because that brought them on the border of India and opened up possibilities of making inroads into territories loosely held by India and some small Himalayan States. If one gave credence to Chinese claims of overlordship one may hand over the whole of Asia to China. But no such overlordship ever functioned in practice. Chinese accusations, therefore, that India has instigated rebellion by the Tibetan is utterly false. One can rather say that the Chinese have supplied arms and given military training to the underground Nagas and other rebels who have tried to overthrow the Indian government over the Tribal areas of Eastern India. This has been proved time and again by arms captured from the rebels. The Chinese, therefore should not try to uphold virtues which they themselves do not possess, that is the virtue of showing due respect to

the political rights of other nations. China is forever instigating rebellion in other countries and, even attempting invasions whenever and wherever she finds that safe and easy to carry out. In fact China is even now occupying large areas of Indian territory with the help of Pakistan as well as by unilateral acts of aggression.

USA Elects a President

The peoples of the United States of America will be electing their President for another four years on the 7th of November 1972. Richard M. Nixon who is President of the USA now is offering himself for reelection. He is being opposed by the Democratic nominee George S. McGovern. Richard M. Nixon has been very active during his term in office. He moved about in all the 50 states of his country and tried his hand at improving matters whenever and wherever he found any opportunities. He did not leave the outside world untouched. He went from country to country through 24 national territories and that made him traverse 480000 kilometres. His purpose in these political tours was creation of better understanding with other nations. A state of antagonism existed between his country and Russia. The same sort of lack of fellowship also pervaded Sino-American relations. Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow reduced the tension and made it easier to hold discussions even though that did not readily dissolve all misunderstanding or remove the points of disagreement. Richard Nixon never refused to listen to the other point of view. He was ever ready to learn and his presence always opened new doors, even if he decided to shut a few quite definitely. He did not believe in surrendering but he was a great believer in making peace if he could do so honourably. That was his policy also in solving internal problems. Nixon may not be an apostle of peace but he is not a war mon-

gering destroyer of international peace and friendship. George S. McGovern the Democrat who is challenging Richard M. Nixon is just fifty years old. He is the son of Reverend Joseph McGovern, a minister of religion, and he acquired his moral outlook from his father. He likes to know whether a thing is right or wrong and believes in following what he considers right. He has been a critic of Nixon's habit of not confiding in the public and promises to let the public know more about what would be happening next, if he got elected. He says he will try to solve the country's internal problems and would cut down military expenditure as far as possible without destroying the country's defence potential. He would guarantee employment to all who are able to work but cannot get jobs. People will also receive a guaranteed income. Such promises no doubt point to heavier taxation which is not something that people desire and his radicalism may lose some votes to McGovern.

As far as one can judge things, McGovern's chances of success against Nixon are not very good, but elections always have their surprises. Nixon's victory in the last election was not at all a certainty but he won. McGovern too may achieve the impossible.

Largest Purchase of Wheat in History

The USSR normally produces the greatest quantity of wheat among all wheat producers of the world. In 1971-72 the USSR faced the worst drought of the century and lost about 25 per cent of her normal crop i. e. about 20 million tons out of a normal yield of 80 m. tons. The USSR therefore had to buy wheat from the USA, Canada, Australia, France, West Germany, Roumania, and Sweden. The largest supplies came from the USA. The quantity was more than 10 million tons and the value of it came to 750 crores of rupees. There are many countries which buy wheat

from the USA. Japan has been the biggest buyer for many years. When the Soviet wheat purchase took place, the Japanese had to be reassured that her supplies will be continued. Other buyers included the Peoples' Republic of China and India. China recently purchased 400000 tons of American wheat. The Soviet purchase created a boost in wheat prices throughout the world and all buyers had to face a price rise which normally followed the tremendous transaction. America, of course, holds great stocks of wheat and this gigantic sale did not in any manner lower these stocks to a dangerous level. She still had large stocks in hand and could plan domestic and export supplies in a normal fashion. This wheat deal also shows up how the world can now-a-days handle famines by importing wheat from surplus stockists. There are always some countries with surplus stocks and they come to the rescue of countries which face shortages.

Question of Languages

The Assamese are carrying on attempts to force their language upon all citizens of the state of Assam, knowing full well that many of them are not Assamese speaking by race. The Indian constitution protects all minorities from this type of persecution and all linguistic minorities have a right to use their own mother tongue for purposes of education and in the field of exercising their rights of citizenship. But the Assamese speaking people of Assam think otherwise. They insist that all persons who are citizens of the state of Assam must use the Assamese language for school and college education, as well as in law courts, local self-governing bodies and in matters connected with franchise. The minorities of Assam consider this insistence upon the exclusive use of the Assamese language as a denial of their constitutional rights, and rightly too. Nowhere in India have these been

such barbarous attacks made on the minorities over the language question as in Assam. Some areas of Assam have already been separated from that state and converted to independent units. The Bengali minority area of Cachar should also be taken out of Assam and joined to Tripura or West Bengal. If that is not done the minority languages must be made parallel state languages of Assam and the Assamese speaking peoples made to pay heavy punitive taxes in order to make good the losses inflicted upon the minorities by the majority groups of Assamese speaking citizens. Much will depend on the central government's handling of the language question in Assam. If the anti-social elements are duly suppressed without any compromise and the laws for preventive detention of undesirable persons imposed fairly and forcefully, normal conditions will soon return to Assam.

Loans for Economic Planning

The ancient Indian exponent of hedonism, Charvak, had given a recipe for intelligent enjoyment of life. He said "Rinom Krittwa Ghritam Pivet" i. e. one should continue to consume clarified butter even by borrowing money. Modern experts in Public Finance have taken to heart this lesson given by Rishi Charvak. They borrow money for continued consumption of Dalda Vanaspati as well as for following many similar non-health giving pursuits. Charvak's dictates at least assured the development of good health in the consumer by their use of Ghritam in their diet. The modern borrowers of money spend the borrowed funds in such non-profit-yielding undertakings that their vast borrowings leave only a grand residue of liabilities in the shape of interest and sinking fund dues. Our financial experts borrowed about 6000 crores of money from foreign countries. If these borrowings had yielded a normal 10 percent return and added to our foreign exchange

earnings through increased exports our resources of foreign exchange might have been 500/600 crores more than what we earn now. But our development of productive establishments appears to have gone the wrong way and we are not so well off after our astronomical raising of foreign loans. We are now having to pay about 600 crores in foreign money in interest and repayments of capital every year. We are doing this by fresh receipts of foreign aid or by raising fresh loans. This year we are receiving about 800 crores of foreign aid out of which only about 150/200 crores will be available for budget expenses ; the balance will be utilised for payment of interest and instalments of capital repayments on past borrowings. Had we been less lavish in our past investments in not so gainful economic projects, we might have come nearer to a balanced Profit and Loss account.

Widow's Pension in India

In western countries social security measures include widows' pensions, though women have a better economic position in the advanced countries due to their wider participation in productive work and their recognition by the state as workers. There are many women in the developed countries, of course, who are dependants of their husbands and who face indigence if their husbands die without making adequate provisions for their and their children's maintenance. The social security measures in these countries therefore provide for widow's pensions with additional payments for minor children. There have been discussions about modifying these pension schemes as affecting women who earn large amounts by their own work and are therefore not dependent on their husbands ; but nothing has been actually done on full scale to change the provisions of Widows' Pensions schemes. In India the position is more or less the same as it had been in the past. Women

are mainly the dependants of their husbands and have to be supported by other relations in case of the death of their husbands. We have no social security arrangements in India although we spend much time and energy in announcing our attachment to socialistic institutions. Our socialism has so far specialised in "taking" rather than in "giving". The only persons who gain anything by these takings are the bureaucrats who get sinecure or other kinds of jobs when socialistic urges become active in our government. But we are waiting to see real socialism grow healthy roots in India in place of the state capitalistic economic ventures that are now becoming common with our bureaucratic planners who are allegedly trying to build a socialist pattern of society. In a country where sixty percent or more of the working population have no employment or only part-time and seasonal employment; where eighty million houses have yet remained unbuilt and where there are no social security arrangements of any kind whatsoever, socialism no doubt is a misnomer when applied to acts of nationalisation of commercial, financial, industrial and other economic establishments.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose died on the 15th of October. He was suffering from Cancer and was being treated at a South Calcutta Nursing home. He was 72 years old at the time of his death. Professor Bose was a scholar of international standing in the field of anthropology. He was a former director of the Anthropological Survey of India and an adviser to the Government of India on tribal matters. He was a valued member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Banigya Sahitya Parishad. A true lover of humanity Professor Bose remained a bachelor all his life and devoted himself entirely to the service of mankind. He was a trusted follower of

Mahatma Gandhi and accompanied him in 1946 to Noakhali. He passed his B. Sc. with honours in 1922 and his M. Sc. thereafter. He was a Research Fellow of the Calcutta University in the department of Anthropology in 1929-30. He left his academic work in 1930 to join the salt movement of Mahatma Gandhi. He rejoined the University first as Lecturer in 1938 and then as a Reader in the Science College in 1940. He worked for many years as director of the Anthropological Survey of India and retired in 1964. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose was a writer of recognised merit and contributed to the intellectual wealth of the nation by writing several learned treatises. He also wrote many articles and monographs which were published in well known scientific and popular journals. His book "My Days with Gandhiji" is a documentary treatise of great historical value.

China—Japan Entente (?)

Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan and the Chinese Premier Chu-en-Lai had a meeting recently in which they discussed Sino-Japanese relations at great length. It was reported that this meeting settled all differences of opinion and clashing of interests of the two nations in a manner that was highly satisfactory for both parties. It was not the preliminary of a treaty or alliance in the making; but the world press gave it a coverage that was due only to treaties of friendship and mutual aid. Japan, it is reported has agreed to make good all the losses that China had suffered as a result of Japanese aggression. This is a general statement which may mean a lot or not so much. Japan will also do her best to bring about understanding in Korea, that is between the two Koreas. Japan will also support China's claims on Taiwan, though it has not been made clear how exactly Japan will do so. The Chinese

will in any case try to regain control over Taiwan and she may not need any assistance from any nation to do so. Japanese inaction when China proceeds to occupy Taiwan will no doubt be helpful. Japan wants to engage in trade with China and she will gain tremendously if the Chinese allow her to buy and sell freely in mainland China. Japan can not and will not oppose Chinese action in any part of South East Asia so long as China keeps away from Japan and her neighbouring islands. Korea, Vietnam, Taiwan or even Hongkong may become very closely associated with communist China without endangering Japan's position in the Pacific. China's friendship would mean much to Japan for she wants large markets very badly since she lost some markets in other countries. The overtures to China are no doubt largely inspired by hopes of increased trade with that country.

Shri Jay Prakash Narayan Reforms Dacoits

Many Dacoits have surrendered to the police when called upon to do so by Shri Jay Prakash Narayan. This is indeed a great achievement as it establishes the victory of virtue over vice and light over darkness. These Dacoits are very harmful to the moral foundation of Indian society ; but more harmful are our profiteers, black marketeers goalas who water our milk supply and food adulterators at all levels. Shri Jay Prakash Narayan should take up these anti-social groups one by one and wean them over from immorality to honest service for the good of society. If the goalas could be induced to stop watering milk, it would do no end of good to the infants of India. Thousands of them die because the milk vendors mix contaminated water with their milk. The Chambal Dacoits do not kill babies. The goalas are socially more harmful. There are other anti-social traders, people who mix leather shavings and used leaves with tea, earth with cement,

perished food articles with fresh stocks and so on who endanger human life and damage the health of the nation. There have been instances in which spurious medicines have been sold to people by dishonest medicine dealers. Grocers abound in India who give short weight and charge exorbitant rates of interest to poor people who buy things on credit. The number of dealers who cheat on quality would be countless. It is therefore quite unnecessary for Shri Jay Prakash Narayan to go all the way out to the ravines of Madhya Pradesh to look for persons who need moral awakening. Such people are crowding the bazars and khatals of the big cities of the country and can be contacted without any difficulty.

Peace in Vietnam

President Nixon wants peace in Vietnam so that his election agents can present him before the USA as an apostle of peace. With all the intensive bombing that the US air force has carried out in Vietnam very recently, it would be difficult for the doves of peace to find free air space in South-East Asia to fly about in. But then Dr. Kissinger is there to cover up all external signs of conflict in a convincing manner at least for the days that are crucial for election propaganda. President Thicue thinks that there are attempts being made to impose peace only on certain areas of Vietnam. He says there must be peace everywhere in Indo-China and not merely in show areas of South Vietnam. He also thinks that the North Vietnamese will try to work their way into all parts of Vietnam to establish forms of communist government everywhere to suit their ideological preferences. Hanoi would be making use of Dr. Kissinger to put up a front that will dupe the people of South Vietnam into a belief that they have all the rights and freedoms of a totally free country, while, in fact, they will provide free access everywhere

to communist agents of North Vietnam to carry on their propaganda and infiltration. Dr. Kissinger will play his own game to suit his own purpose. President Thieu has his own ideas too of what his powers should be after the ceasefire and the restoration of peaceful conditions. In fact only Dr. Kissinger would be interested in the setting up of make believe conditions of peace in Vietnam ; for that would help his master President Nixon to win his election. The North Vietnamese have no desire for peace for they want to spread communism everywhere. The South Vietnamese may set up their own type of a free communist government ; but they will not merge with North Vietnam, nor accept the North Vietnamese as their dictators. Peace, therefore, in Vietnam is not a simple matter. Even as we write US B52 bombers are carrying out innumerable bombing raids in places in South Vietnam where they think there are concentrations of communist troops and their supply dumps. South Vietnam therefore is full of communist agents, infiltrators and fifth column. President Thieu therefore wants a political settlement with North Vietnam before agreeing to a cease fire. He thinks North Vietnam will not stop its propaganda and encroachments in South Vietnam even if a cease fire is imposed, and a cease fire without an undertaking to pull out all communist agents and guerillas will be very dangerous for the safety of the South Vietnamese state.

Population Control in West Bengal

Women in West Bengal have become more and more conscious of the importance and advantage of population control, which is evidenced by the progress of family planning in the district of Midnapur which is a backward district. The mass tubectomy camps in Midnapur are very successful and women in large numbers attend these camps as they have begun to realise that

they can only have a higher standard of living provided they did not have large numbers of children. Ninety per cent of the women who attend these camps are village women and their family earnings are in the region of Rs. 300 per month. On analysis one finds that women after reaching thirty years in age do not desire to have any more children. In Midnapur over fifty percent of marriages take place when the girls are below fifteen years in age. Child bearing commences when these girls are about twenty years old. Many had children in fair numbers and the spacing between the children would be about two years. That is, a woman in that region of West Bengal would have about five or six children by the time she reached the age of thirty years. The best method of effecting population control would have been increasing the minimum age of marriage for girls to twenty years ; but that was not done by the Government of India. The age of marriage for men too should have been made twenty two years. If one goes to the backward states of India one would still find girls and boys being married off when they are ten years old or less. There is also the question of education. In Midnapur seventy five percent of the husbands are educated in a manner of speaking but the wives have large numbers of illiterates among them. The percentage of literacy among married women in Midnapur would be less than forty per cent. What applies to a backward district of a progressive state applies much more strongly in the case of the backward states. We have repeatedly said that the minimum age of marriage should be increased to twenty and twenty two for women and men and any legislation enacted to achieve this must be enforced and not just left to decorate the pages of our law books. If a survey is made of all government servant's families in the backward states, facts will be found which will astound our social reformers.

Of course we have not yet found out whether socialism can be introduced in this ancient land without social reform. People who act contrary to the basic principles civilisation and human progress without flinching can never be trusted to give active shape to our programs of Economic Rationalism. That is why our socialism is progressively getting limited to bureaucratically controlled forms of state capitalism. True socialism aims at the greatest good of the greatest number and tries to establish the highest standards in health, education, proper living, brotherhood and fellowship. Child marriage contradicts the ideals of healthy existence and should be prohibited if society has to progress properly. Social reform therefore prepares the ground for socialism.

Raja Rammohun Roy's Houses

The house that Raja Rammohun Roy lived in stands in Amherst Street, Calcutta, in an environment of dirt, crowded bustees and unsightly heaps of scrap iron. The house itself is perhaps not occupied by the dealers of scrap iron ; but as no steps have been taken to maintain it properly and to use it for housing some department of the Calcutta University, as was decided some years ago, one has to be in constant fear lest the government of West Bengal forget all their good intentions and begin to act in a manner which is keeping with their habitual practice of doing little that should be done to honour the great men of the country. Another house that used to be the garden house of Raja Rammohun Roy has been occupied by the police for long decades. Even during British days one objected to this but nothing was done to remove the police from the house that was associated with the memory of the great Raja. This house too must be released from police occupation and used for some purpose that has an intellectual, moral or

spiritual significance. The Raja was the initiator of modern progress in India and the nation must show honour to him in a manner that is commensurate with his intellectual, moral and spiritual eminence. He was the first Indian in modern times who expounded the inner meaning and value of nationalism, humanism, brotherhood of nations, women's freedom, scientific education, the freedoms that men have a right to demand and rationalism in all spheres of thought and behaviour. India has not yet realised many of the ideals set up by him and Indians will benefit greatly if they tried to understand even to-day what Raja Rammohun Roy tried to teach them nearly two hundred years ago.

A Critic of Raja Rammohun Roy

Dr. R. C. Mazumdar is 84 years old. He is, in a sense, past the age when he could tilt against those who considered his views unworthy of an intellectual of his position. Yet his fanatical efforts to prove Raja Rammohun Roy a lesser man than his admirers consider him to be, forces people to criticise Dr. Mazumdar in order to put him back in his place as an opinionated propagator of partisan view points rather than accept him as a hard working seeker after truth. People who have studied the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy have been many and they were mostly persons of the highest intellectual standing. Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham, Max Muller, Sylvain Levi, C. F. Andrews, Brajendra Nath Seal, Jadunath Sarkar, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda and many others have testified to the greatness and the achievements of the Raja. Some have compared him to Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle and others to the great Rishis and to saintly reformers like Sri Chaitanya. In the face of these facts, if Dr. Mazumdar parades his anti-Rammohun views by an uncalled for display of prejudices, one has to say that Dr. Mazumdar was moved

by emotions not engendered by any great urge to establish truth but by his superstitious preferences for the irrational orthodoxy of his intellectual predecessors who in the early years of the nineteenth century opposed Rammohun Roy and other Indian social reformers with a view to maintain a decadent social order which persisted in supporting child marriage, untouchability, infanticide, suppression of women, burning of widows, separation of castes and backwardness in many fields of life. Rammohun Roy was a vastly learned man who was well versed in court practice, legal procedure, high level negotiations and was a master of dialectics, debating and pamphleteering. His propaganda against *suttee* led to its abolition by a law enacted by Lord William Bentinck. All glory to Bentinck who had the courage to defy the British Policy of non-interference and ignore the appeals made by orthodox champions of *suttee*. Yet without Rammohun Bentinck could never have acted in the manner he did. The Raja was the leader of the supporters of Bentinck's legislation. He also took a lead in getting the appeal to the British parliament rejected, which he could do easily as he was in England at the time of the consideration of the appeal. Raja Rammohun Roy had warned Lord Bentinck that there would be strong opposition to any legislation that he might be contemplating and Bentinck had to face that opposition. But Rammohun Roy's able counter propaganda and his visit to England assured the successful implementation of the law against *suttee*.

Raja Rammohun Roy's constant efforts to introduce Western type of scientific education in India eventually changed the system of education in this country. His efforts in this field began many years before the coming of foreign teachers who did much to develop English education. He did not however try to do away with Sanskritic studies, rather he

tried to revive peoples' interest in the ancient books of philosophy, theology and metaphysics. He took up the work of developing a healthy style of prose in Bengali by translating the *Upanishads* into the Bengali and by writing in Bengali against *suttee*, idolatry and other subjects. His style of Bengali prose later influenced Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore. These are all facts known to most educated persons in Bengal. If some people try to propagate contrary views about the great Raja one has to explain such efforts as being the outcome of feelings having no basis in facts or reason. Many people had harboured anti-Rammohun feelings in the past when they tried to protect their conservative ideas against Rammohun's onslaughts of rationality. But almost all people in India now accept Rammohun Roy's social ideals. But there are pockets of anti-Rammohun thoughts which are an irrational inheritance from the nineteenth century conservatives. These critics of the Raja usually allow their conclusions to precede their arguments when they try to prove that the Raja did not have anything to do with the abolition *Suttee* or that he was not the great and outstanding precursor of the eminent Bengali prose writers of post Rammohun days. These critics would try to prove that the evolution of modern Indian civilisation depended solely on British officials and the missionaries and hardly on the great reformers led by Raja Rammohun Roy. They forget that no nation can reform its social order by means of externally imposed laws and ideas. The urge to remove its social evils and to reform its cultural outlook must come from within. Foreign officials and missionaries can never help a nation to achieve its renaissance. The clash of cultures that inevitably arises whenever foreigners try to bring about changes in a nation's life, thoughts and behaviour; destroys all whole hearted urges to go forward. The regeneration of India became possible because Raja Rammohun Roy took a lead in the work of reform. A careful study of his life and work leads to no other conclusion.

A NOVEL ON THE DISORGANIZATION OF THE BENGALI MIDDLE CLASS

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Bimal Mitra's concern in his fifth major novel *Pati Param Guru* is with the disorganization of the Bengali middle class. It is written in the same epic mould in which he had cast the earlier four novels on the Bengali middle class : *Begum Mary Biswas* ; *Saheb Bibi Ghulam* ; *Kadi Diye Kinlam* ; and *Ekak Dashak Shatak*. It is as readable as the other writings of Mitra. Indeed the present writer could not leave the volume *Pati Param Guru* until he had come to the last page.

The title of the novel calls for some comment. Literally the phrase, which is known to every educated Bengali, means, "the husband is the best guide" (for a wife). Perhaps many might take the title seriously with its literal meaning and may not feel like reading the book, considering it to be a rehash of the old formula of establishing the supremacy of the husband. In giving this title Mitra has taken a risk—calculatedly, a reader of the volume would conclude. As in the case of *Saheb Bibi Ghulam* and *Kadi Diye Kinlam*, he has chosen to use a popular phrase to convey a more profound message than the phrase has carried so far. In the sarcastic use to which Mitra has put the term *Pati Param Guru* it has no concern with the relationship between the husband and the wife (which its traditional meaning conveys). The phrase now conveys the growing hold of the moneybag over the course of development in India. *Pati* in Bimal Mitra's sense is the

poonjipati (the owner of capital). Incidentally it is of considerable sociological interest that a highly successful writer like Bimal Mitra, whose standard of living is far removed from that of the average member of the lower middle class, Bengali, should continue to be concerned, as he is definitely in his latest novel, with the fate of the lower middle class Bengali. His concern is not antagonistic disdainful, or condescending, but is highly sympathetic although analytical, and conveys a sense of the writer's participation—at the intellectual level in the travails and tribulations of that miserable existence. This is Mitra's forte. In this he is the true successor to Sarat Chandra Chatterji, the great Bengali novelist, whose birth centenary is due in three years time.

The hero of the novel, Surendranath Sanyal embodies the hesitation and infirmities characteristic of the lower middle class youth in Bengal. His aspirations and strivings are utterly limited—on the surface at any rate. He is easily dominated by the three girls with whom he comes into contact and the other men and the woman *Mamani*, Labanya Mayee with whose life story the novel opens. Such a hero could hardly sustain a story spreading over more than eight hundred pages unless he possessed some other inherent quality. What takes Bengali lower middle class is his unspoken yearning for becoming worthwhile—not through possession

of wealth or women or domination over others—by his being there. No doubt, such an ambition is extremely difficult to fulfil. The important point is that as a writer Mitra has, nevertheless, cast his hero in this particular mould and has successfully woven a story running to more than eight hundred pages.

Why does he do so? An examination of this question is utterly relevant for a true understanding of Mitra's striving as a writer indeed, his philosophy. For Mitra is not a hack writer who writes for money or fame alone. The outstanding fact is that with all his extraordinary capacity to use the Bengali language to describe the physical passion of men and women, Mitra has consistently and deliberately sought to minimise the description of sexual acts which is becoming increasingly fashionable with most writers. He represents the assurance that indulging in obscenity is not necessarily the condition for popularity as a writer—in Bengali and, so far as Mitra is one of the most translated authors, in the other Indian languages. Like other great writers Mitra writes out of an urge to convey a message. That message is that the end of human existence does not lie in possession of material wealth or power but that the destiny of man is to attain a higher existence based on a higher morality and a more sincere recognition of one's own obligations—to others, but more to one's own self. It may appear pretty idealistic which it is no doubt. But in its delineation in the hands of Mitra it becomes the most potent revolutionary force. Thus in the present novel it is this element which brings about the downfall of the apparently impregnable Congress leader minister Punyasloka Roy and his satellite Prajesh Sen. It is the awareness of this aspect of life that transforms the society girl Pamili

into a rebel against sham and hypocrisy and political corruption. It is this awareness that turns a most ordinary refugee girl Tulu into a lovable martyr. It is this awareness, again, that marks out Surendranath as the hero of the novel in the real sense of the term.

Mitra writes in a non-partisan manner and with malice towards none. As he is describing the life in Calcutta in the middle of the fifties (eight years after Independence and the Partition of Bengal) the Congress Party, which was then in power in West Bengal and was the object of considerable public criticism at the time, naturally comes in for considerable adverse comment. But Mitra is not an anti-Congress partisan but a social commentator. Therefore his political criticism, while being entirely valid, passes the strict literary test. Since the Communist Party was gaining public sympathy in West Bengal in those days as a possible alternative to the Congress the party and the communist movement find favourable mention. Yet the internal weaknesses of the anti-Congress movement, which made non-sense of the defeat of the Congress in the West Bengal in 1967 and 1969, did not escape the discerning eyes of the writer. Following Mitra one could foresee the eventual defeat of the Congress Party in West Bengal as well as of the impotence of the anti-Congress combine which had never bothered to formulate a positive programme. This is history writing at its best.

Mitra's awareness of the utter vulnerability of man makes him free from malice. He possesses the insight that the results of an action may not necessarily coincide with the intention and therefore one need not be absolutely condemned on the basis of his intention. In the novel the hero's maternal uncle Bhupati Bhaduri is found scheming to make his nephew Surendranath heir to the

property of the ageing Labanyamayee in whose employment Bhupati works. Yet in all this scheming Bhupati is not very much moved by consideration of his own well-being. To him the fruition of his scheme to make his nephew the heir is an end in itself. He is not bothered as to what would or should happen after that. As Bhupati is thwarted by his own nephew among others, the tragic aspect of his life becomes apparent. No one is surprised that his scheming fails, if the manner of its wrecking cannot but surprise many. Similarly in Mitra's depiction of the character of Punyasloka Roy, the Congress politician minister, one sees the utter vulnerability of man before the forces of life. At the moment of crisis Punyasloka Babu finds that the very factors which had once caused his eminence were bringing about his ruination including isolation from his own children. While the reader begins by wishing Punyasloka Babu's defeat, when the defeat becomes a fact it is far from clear whether there is reason for any particular happiness over the event. Such is the dialectics of life.

Pati Param Guru vividly portrays the disorganization of the Bengali middle class. Unlike in other countries, the expectation of the emergence of a Bengali capitalist class did not materialize in Bengal. The breakup of the feudal order thus created a vacuum in the Bengali social life pushing the Bengalis down the precipice of social and economic decline which was further accentuated by the Partition of Bengal which gave rise to the phenomenon of millions of people becoming refugees. All the competition in Bengali society is confined to sharing the spoils of the denuded feudal order (as is to be found in this novel in the abnormalities of Sukhada and the machinations of Bhupati Bhaduri) or of sharing the crumbs thrown by the non-Bengali capitalists (exemplified by the rela-

tionship between the minister Punyasloka Roy and the industrialist Goenka of the novel). In either event the gain is bound to be merely notional as it turns out to be in the story. The continued disorganization of the Bengali society is inescapable under the circumstances and apart from forming part of the fiction is as much a fact of real life. Mitra's analysis is of great sociological import.

Mitra has followed his now-familiar technique of flashback in unfolding the story. With an extraordinary deftness he has asked the reader to go through 803 pages to be relieved of the suspense of the failure of the marriage and Labanyamayee (hinted on page 26 and explained on page 829). I did not like being kept on suspense for so long. Nevertheless with all my dissatisfaction I read on till the end—such is the compelling hold of Mitra on his readers.

I became conscious of the fact, while going through *Pati Param Guru*, that, as in the novels of Saratchandra Chatterji, in Bimal Mitra's novels also the active characters are female rather than male. Of the five principal characters in the novel under discussion—Labanyamayee, Bhupati Bhadury, Sukhada, Pamili and Surendranath—four might be considered active. Except for Bhupati the other three active characters are all women. True Labanyamayee does not do much on her own, nevertheless everything revolves round her. Sukhada and Pamili seem to differ from each other very much. Pamili is highly educated and sophisticated driving her own car and mixing with men and women with great ease, while Sukhada is illiterate and very much a woman of the household. But basically they represent the same trait and exhaust themselves in the unsuccessful search for happiness. Both of them are in great need of emotional sustenance, which they do not find, and suffer from self-

destruction proneness. Pamili actually commits physical suicide ; Sukhada does not die physically, but her living is more pathetic than death. In her own way each exerts a profound influence on Surendra to whom both of them seem to be attracted almost in the same way. In the case of Pamili the attraction is a little more spelt out (though by no means adequately) than in the case of Sukhada.

The interesting question is : why some of the most powerful writers in Bengal find the women more active as agents of history than men ? No doubt in the Bengali culture woman has a very exalted position which has survived centuries of social degradation of

women. The mother cult is but one expression of this acknowledgement of feminine greatness in Bengal. In modern times real life—where girl students are often found to surpass boy students in serious examination—also seems to underline the active role of women, although the extremely meagre political representation of women in the West Bengal Assembly does not bear out any such idea. Perhaps the continued failure of the Bengali male to provide an acceptable socio-economic-political framework to enable the Bengalis to live in peace prompts the writers to search for agents of social change in women.

Pati Param Guru is a great novel with a worthwhile theme written in the most readable Bengali.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN SOCIALISTIC PLANNING

B. C. NIMKAR

Prevalent labour-unrest in the large-size public and private projects and chronic maladies of under-utilisation of the productive capacity, declining level of output and efficiency of personnel in capital-complex industries leading to recurrent losses, failure of planning and cost-control, deterioration in output and quality are the positive indicator for the necessity of radical review of the whole concept of industrial relations with a view to evolve a more rational adjustment of "Man in his needs, abilities and aspirations" to the conditions of "enterprise in its economic restraints, resources and limitations. Aggressive unions which emerged during the late 19th century with centralised power of collective bargaining and declared objective of protecting and promoting the vocational

interests through direct negotiations and pressure tactics, had a full relevance in the context of 'laissez faire' society in which the employers were dominated by the institutional conservatism which resisted all progressive changes and in which wage-cut constituted the essence of competitive price-mechanism. The intricate cross-currents of actions and reactions, in that context, settled several business forces such as : the level of income and production, labour and capital employment, at different balancing points affecting the national economy. The object of this essay is to examine the organisational behaviour-patterns in the newly emerging socialistic context and also to consider the areas in which and the extent to which the traditional bargaining strategies can be

operative and effective in consonance with the aspirations of the suppressed labour class and equally restrictive obligations of the developing economy.

Wage Determinants and Conditions of Employment

For locating the areas of problems and mal-adjustment, and also to stress the new concepts, it is desirable to compare the context areas of competitive economy and socialist-economy. In a competitive-free-economy, the factors of wage-determination derive size and strength from the four fundamental situations :

- A. The level of employment—At a full level of employment in a country, the collective bargaining power of the organised labour is very high due to increased demand and availability of alternate employment but in the underdeveloped economy where cheap labour is easily available, equitable and just working-conditions are maintained by the employees through their organisational strength and collective bargaining.
- B. Level of income and distribution-pattern —Wage-structure as a whole is related to the national level of income depending upon the skill and efficiency needed in a particular establishment.
- C. Organisational strength and collective bargaining power of the unions.
- D. Financial strength, size and profitability of the employing unit, political climate and extent to which legislative enactments are biased in favour of the working class.

Many experts have opined that the traditional pressure strategy loses much of the relevance when placed into the context of socialistic-goals oriented society where the government is bound to the expansion of Public Sector, and take care of the labour welfare and other amenities even at the risk of

incurring losses. A deeper analysis confronts us with the perplexing dilemma that the government often prove more sensitive to pressure techniques than to logical necessities ; and on the other hand bargaining of those in a better and stronger position often claims so large a share of resources that it becomes so at the cost of those who are in a weak bargaining position. A comparative study of the wage-structures of the industrial labours and teachers would illustrate the areas of imbalance, anomalies and distortions caused by it. Under the present personnel management, the channels of communications between the workman and the management are so diffused and defunct that strikes are not always called upon to remedy any fundamental injustice at the end of a long drawn-out process of negotiations concluding in a dead-lock but under scepticism, misapprehensions strength assessment so common among the warring camps engaged in guerilla warfare. As a matter of fact, in a socialistic orbit, there is no fundamental antagonism between the workman's aspirations and managerial ambitions ; the root cause lies in the chaotic character and inadequacy of personnel management with blocked channels of communications.

Present State—an Analysis

Present machinery of industrial relations is rather dull, stagnant and un-alive to its real task ; kept alive by occasional wage-commissions, adhoc committees and adhoc solutions. It encourages guerilla warfare instead of an orderly system of negotiations, and generates agreement to secure some concessions or to exploit a temporary situation rather than to evolve a long term strategy of collective bargaining culminating into cohesive and more organic pattern of industrial relations. Now a days, negotiations carried at different levels, not necessarily co-related for so-called settlement of issues, lead to short lived truce

rather than to a lasting industrial peace. The whole system in its intricacies has to be stream-lined in favour of more responsible organisations and an effective forum has to be provided for sorting out grievances with the introduction of greater participation of the unions in some of the managerial decisions through a better system of consultation and co-ordination.

The present static and incoherent channels of industrial relations needs be replaced by the planned system based on the following minimum essentials—

1. A well organised effective machinery for processing grievances including wage-disputes, disciplinary actions and other matters pertaining to the working conditions. A confidence inspiring machinery would require adequate representation of the employees, employers, Government and a few professional experts. Present system of strength-exhibition should be replaced by permanent negotiation stage for discussion and settlement.
2. Such a framework will minimise the necessity of coercive actions, hence legislative measures will have to be evolved which might impose adequate restraints on the arbitrary show-downs and unfair practices.
3. The present chaotic organisations of

the unions and mushroom growth of conflicting unions surviving only through inter-union-rivalry should be replaced by national level unions formed by a system of affiliations, and cohesive norms for recognition of only one union in one establishment should be formulated.

Much of the disruptions in the essential services, enormous loss in the productive capacity of the nation, wastage of man-days, failure of planning and declining profitability are the direct results of inefficient personnel management which in the absence of rational regulating system make the working class indisciplined in some industries and exploited in some other establishments because the organisational behaviour pattern of the employees is left free to take its size and shape from the organisational strength of the unions. This aspect, in fact in the changed context of the modern times needs more urgent thinking than do production planning and investment patterns. Many of the industrial problems and recurring losses are due to inefficient handling of these issues by the management who are content with the appointment of a personnel officer whose functions only divide the employees and the employers into hostile and warring camps. This changed context calls for an expanded role of the Government machinery as a co-ordinating and legislative power.



WHAT LED TO 'OATENIZATION' IN PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

D. N. BANERJEE

I

During the last few years I have read various accounts of what led to an assault on professor E. F. Oaten in 1916 in Presidency College, Calcutta, popularly known as "Oatenization". All these accounts appear to have suffered from one great defect: they were based upon second-hand or third-hand sources of information and even on hearsay. There is no reference to the sequence of events in these accounts and they often misrepresented facts. The object of this article is to state, with reference to the sequence of events what ultimately led to the unfortunate assault on professor Oaten of Presidency College. (It may be noted here that Mr E. F. Oaten was professor of History in Presidency College at that time.) As I was the first person to be assaulted by him, I can state with some precision what led to the unfortunate events of January-February of 1916. I am now 77 and may pass away any day. I have, therefore, decided to put on record here the sequence of occurrences of those days. Some personal references to my own self are unavoidable in this record. I sincerely hope that I shall be pardoned by the reader for this.

II

I shall now briefly refer to the sequence of events that ultimately led to the unfortunate assault on Professor Oaten. One day in January, 1916, we had a class (the Third-year B. A. Class as it was called in our time) in English in Room No. 1 of the second floor of Presidency College at 1 p. m. Professor Rabinra Nath Ghosh who later on became Principal of Ripon College (now Surendra-

nath College), Calcutta, was to have taken this class. He, however, did not come to the class. There were about eighty students in our class. As Professor Ghosh did not come to the class, the bulk of our fellow-students came out of the room and naturally were making noise in the corridor in front of the room. Three or four of us who had come to Presidency College from mofussil areas were reading something at a corner of the room. Professor Oaten was then taking a class in History in Room No. 3 of the second-floor. As the noise made by our fellow-students in the corridor was disturbing his class, he came to the students who had been making noise and asked them to go inside our class. The students did not really obey him. He came twice again and peremptorily asked the students to go inside our class and not to make any noise. After this at about 1-30 p. m. our teacher Professor Ghosh came to our class and declared that he would not take his class that day. He also asked us to leave the class. Thereafter he himself left the class. Then a ticklish question arose. A European Professor had previously asked us not to come out of our class. An Indian Professor had asked us to leave the class and go away. As before, we three or four mofussil students sat on in the place where we had been before. The bulk of the students who had been making noise in the corridor came to us and appealed to our nationalist sentiments, saying that it was our duty to respect the wishes of our Indian Professor. I would call this bulk of the students "Calcutta-Bhowanipur group of students." I asked them whether they were

prepared to follow me if I left the class and went away. They said that they would. Thereupon I left the class. Now we could not go to the stair-case for going to the ground-floor except through the corridor in front of the room when Professor Oaten was taking his class. As I came to the front of the door of the room, Professor Oaten came to me and asked me why I had left our room (No.1). I replied that our Professor Ghosh had dismissed our class and asked us to go away. At a distance of about ten feet from me a class-fellow of mine, Bibhuti Banerjee (now deceased), was coming. He was a son, as far as I remember, of the Government Pleader of Puri, Orissa. Unlike myself he was very stoutly built. Professor Oaten went to him and ordered him to go back to our class with a push. He remained standing. A funny thing was that the bulk of the students whom I have called "the Calcutta-Bhowanipur group of students" and who had actually been making noise so long, were standing still at a distance of about twenty feet from where Bibhuti was standing. That is to say, they remained where they had stood before in front of our class. They did not go forward. They had been witnessing what had been happening to me and Bibhuti. Professor Oaten came back to me from where Bibhuti stood and ordered me again to go back to my class. As I was arguing with him, he put his right hand on my neck and forced me towards my class, inquiring why I had not obeyed his order. He also warned me that if I was a scholarship-holder, he would see to it that my scholarship was forfeited. Now I was really a scholarship-holder. This scholarship enabled me to come to Presidency College from Serampore College, with a view to prosecuting my higher studies. Professor Oaten's warning unnerved me and I stepped back towards our class (i.e., Room No.1).

These incidents created a commotion in the college. Some senior students of the college formed a Council of Action and this Council decided upon a general strike in Presidency College from the next day. I may mention here incidentally that Professor Oaten had previously incurred the displeasure of some students of the college by some adverse remarks allegedly made by him against the character of the Indian people, in the course of his speech at the Anniversary of Ward V of the Eden Hindu Hostel. (I may mention here that in our time—I do not know the practice now—the Eden Hindu Hostel was divided into Five Wards and each Ward used to celebrate an annual function called its Anniversary. The present inmates of the Ward used to invite to this function ex-students of the Ward and some distinguished guests. Professor Oaten had been a guest at the Anniversary of Ward V, preceding the incidents I have mentioned above and had made the allegation noted before.)

From the next day a general strike began at Presidency College. Principal James of the college naturally got alarmed and sent for Bibhuti and myself to see him in his office. We went to him. In most endearing terms he appealed to us to forgive and forget what had happened on the previous day. Among other things, he said that Professor Oaten had to keep awake the whole of the previous night guarding the ramparts of Fort William. It may be borne in mind in this connection that the First World War had then been going on. Under an instruction of the Council of Action we insisted, however, that Professor Oaten must offer an unconditional apology to us for his conduct. Principal James could not agree to this and the matter ended there. While the strike was going on on that day—and it involved about a thousand students—Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. Aditya Prasad Mukherjee

and some other teachers of our college came to the Hindu Hostel ground and addressed the students. Dr. Ray had carried in his right hand a branch of the lemon plant which had grown near the Presidency College library. Addressing the students he stated, among other things, that he had come with an "olive branch of peace" and that he hoped that the students would respect his wishes. He requested them to call off the strike. Just at this moment when the students had been hesitating as to what they should do, a mischievous instinct possessed me and I shouted that they should consider before they decided on anything that Professor Oaten had put his right hand round my neck and pushed me towards my class. As a result, the students declared that there could be no compromise till Professor Oaten had offered an unconditional apology for his conduct. Thereupon Dr. Ray and his colleagues left the Hindu Hostel. The strike continued on till the next day.

On the second day of the strike—as there had been a lot of adverse Press criticism on that day over the question of strike—Mr. K. C. Dey, I. C. S., Secretary, Education Department, Government of Bengal, came to Presidency College and had a talk with principal James. After some time Mr. Dey left the college.

Presumably, as a result of this talk Professor Oaten sent for Bibhuti and myself to see him in his office room in Presidency College. Accordingly, Bibhuti and I, along with one or two other students, went to his office. It was at about 5 p. m. Just at this moment Subhash—I mean Subhash Chandra Bose—came to the place of our meeting with Professor Oaten. (Subhash was a student of our class. On the day, however, I was assaulted Subhash was absent from the class. As far

as I remember, he was attending a prize-distribution ceremony at Hare School, Calcutta, within the precincts of Presidency College.) After some preliminary conversation Professor Oaten suggested a formula for a compromise between him and us. It was to the following effect :-

"Professor Oaten is very sorry for having laid 'a violent hand' on the neck of Debendra Nath Banerjee (i. e., myself) and for having pushed Bibhuti Banerjee.

"We students are vary sorry for having repeatedly disregarded Professor Oaten's request to remain inside our class and for having made noise in the corridor in front of the class."

A very cordial atmosphere prevailed in the meeting. After it was over, we accompanied Professor Oaten down to the tram line on the College Street and bade him good-bye with three cheers of "Hip Hip Hurray". After all we were young students. Thus ended the first phase of the trouble at Presidency College in January-February of 1916.

III

I shall now pass on to the second phase of the trouble at Presidency College in January-February of 1916.

After the general strike ended, things became normal from the day following the strike. As the whole trouble was due to a noise in the corridor, Principal James now issued an order to the effect that no student should loiter in any corridor of the first and the second floor of Presidency College in between the end of the second bell at the end of a period and the last bell terminating the period. For about a month everything passed off quite peacefully. One day in February, 1916, however, we were having after 1 p. m. an Honours class in Economics with Professor J. C. Coyajee, in a room of the first floor on the road-side of

Presidency College. It so happened that Professor Oaten was taking a class in History at the same time in the room next to ours. We heard a noise. We came to learn later on that a student of the First year B. A. Class whose name, as far as I remember now, was Kamal, was walking along the corridor by the side of Professor Oaten's room. There was an allegation that Professor Oaten came out of his room and rebuked the student for having disobeyed the order of the Principal referred to before. Further, it was alleged that he slapped the student on one of his checks. I cannot say how far this allegation was true. At any rate it created a commotion in the college and the whole matter was reported to the Council of Action mentioned before. The Council of Action decided this time that there should be no strike in the college over this matter but a "physical strike" on Professor Oaten.

Those who have seen the staircase to the first-floor of Presidency College may have noticed that after a few steps from the ground-floor there is a fairly wide rectangular space before the next flight of steps leading to the first-floor begins. This may kindly be borne in mind by the reader in connection with what follows now.

In the last period (between 3 and 4 p. m.) on the day Kamal was alleged to have been slapped by Professor Oaten, we were having a class on Political Theory with Professor R. N. Gilchrist in Room No.1 on the second-floor of Presidency College. Professor Gilchrist asked me to read a passage from Leacock's *Elements of Political Science*, presumably, with a view to its discussion later on. Whils I was reading the passage we heard a noise from the staircase side of the college. Prof. Gilchrist scented some danger. He ran out of the class towards the staircase. We waited for some time in the class. As, however, he did not return to the class, we also dispersed and went back to our respective

residences. I came back to my room in Ward I of the Hindu Hostel. What I heard from certain fellow-boarders including one or two who had actually taken part in the assault on Professor Oaten, was as follows.

Some time after 3 p. m. Professor Oaten was going down to the ground-floor from the first-floor of the college. As soon as he reached the rectangular space, a senior student who had been presumably following him from the first-floor, pushed him down from behind. Thus attacked professor Oaten lost his balance and rolled down the steps on to the ground-floor. There a group of students had been waiting. As soon as Professor Oaten reached the ground-floor, he was beaten rather mercilessly by some members of the group. The whole incident did not take more than one or two minutes. After this the members of the group fled away. Now this created a good deal of noise and commotion throughout the college. Principal James and some other Professors of the college came to the spot where Professor Oaten had been lying down. He was bleeding through his nose. Steps were taken for his removal for medical treatment.

Now Principal James had an old *chopras* (beater). He was very lean and thin and short in stature. He used to live in the small room adjoining the College Street gate of Presidency College. Somehow he had happened to see the assault on Professor Oaten on the ground-floor. Principal James asked him whether he could recognise any of the group. The *chopras* said that he could recognise only two of the assailants. He said that a short-statured, but well-built, student was there. He meant Ananga Mohan Dam. He added that another young man, tall in height but very fair in complexion, was there. He meant Subhash Chandra Bose. On a further inquiry by Principal James he said that all those Babus had fled towards the Baker

laboratory. Principal James suspected that the assailants must have gone to the Hindu Hostel. Accordingly he came to the Hindu Hostel with some of his colleagues and went from Ward to Ward. He found nothing abnormal in the Hostel and, therefore, left it with his colleagues. What had actually happened was rather interesting. There were in our time two attached bath-rooms in each of the five Wards of the Hostel. The assailants had taken refuge in these attached bath-rooms and bolted them from inside. This was nothing unusual in the afternoon in the Hostel in which there were about 250 inmates. After Principal James had left the Hostel, the assailants came out of the bath-rooms and dispersed.

I am not concerned in this article with what subsequently happened. Briefly speaking the assault on Professor Oaten was followed by the expulsion from Presidency College of Ananga Mohan Dam and Subhash Chandra Bose, by the appointment of a Commission by the Government of Bengal for inquiring into the affairs of Presidency College, the resignation by Principal James of the Principalship of the College as a protest against the composition of the Commission of Inquiry and the

appointment of Mr. W. C. Wordsworth as the Principal of the college.

IV

Before I conclude this article I should like to pay a tribute to Principal H. R. James. Although as Principal he had to take some administrative measures for the restoration of discipline in the college during the months of January and February, 1916, he was otherwise a very kind-hearted and sympathetic Principal and was always anxious for ensuring the welfare of his students. One example will be sufficient for establishing this. In our time the police used to raid the Hindu Hostel very frequently, as a centre for revolutionary activities. But an unwritten custom was followed by the police authorities in this connection. They would first inform the Principal before they actually raided the Hostel. As soon as Principal James was informed by the police of an intended raid, he would confidentially communicate the information to the Hostel authorities for necessary action. This meant a good deal when the First World War was going on. He did not like the idea that any of his students should be put to any trouble by the police. We students used to appreciate this very much.



EMERGENCE OF BANGLA DESH

N. S. GEHLOT

The events in Asia have been so fluid that the shape of things has rapidly changed here. One of the most important changes has been the emergence of Bangla Desh as an independent State. The events relating to the refusal of former President, Yahya Khan to transfer political power to the people of Bengali race,¹ the Sino-Pak-American Axis² and the Indo Soviet Treaty³ and finally the Indo-Pak conflict in December 1971 led to the birth of Bangla Desh as a sovereign country on the Indian sub-continent.

The emergence of Bangla Desh in international scene has its own implications which would greatly affect Asian politics.

One of the major changes as the result of the birth of Bangla Desh, is power equation in South Asia.⁴ Prior to this event, the Foreign Policies of super-powers were primarily based on Indo-Pak hostility on territorial and religious grounds, although India wanted (wants) to solve her disputes with Pakistan peacefully, the super powers never allowed to foster this sort of understanding among the rulers of Pakistan. They adopted an attitude of no war-no peace for this region for their vested interests. As a result of this the area became an arena of big power politics. With the result, the Sino-American detente took shape in Asia in order to checkmate the rising influence of the Soviet Union.

In the context of the emergence of Bangla Desh these aforesaid position, however, would no longer prevail now. The super powers will have to change their foreign policies in the Indian sub-continent where three countries

viz. India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh, now exist.

In this changed situation, India's relations with Bangla Desh would be more friendly than that of other countries of South Asia.⁵ Its reason is explicit. Since the revolution started in Bangla Desh, the Govt. of India expressed its sympathy with the Liberation Movement of the Mukhti Bahini and the Indian forces ultimately fought jointly with the Mukhti Bahini for the freedom of Bangla Desh. Moreover, the geographical economic and cultural relations would refresh our cordial ties with Bangla Desh.

Bangla Desh, of course, is a newly formed country which would positively require all sort of assistance and aid from the Government of India. Besides this, about two-third of the territory of Bangla Desh is connected with the Indian territory, hence, it would require the protection of its territory through the Govt. of India. Moreover, both the countries believe in secular and democratic set-up. All these common interests—would preserve the viable friendship and cordial ties between India and Bangla Desh.

At the same time the transportation between Manipur and Assam and Bangla Desh, the railway links, the direct steamer services between West Bengal and Bangla Desh, which ended after the war in 1965, would start again. There is hope to reopen Dhubri island in Assam.⁶ There is possibility of renewing the jobs of 22,000 people who lost the same as a result of delinking the relations between India and former East Pakistan. The cyclone

and flood control of Brahmaputra which have been haunting the Bengali people would be tackled with the joint support of the Governments of India and Bangla Desh.⁷ Further the cordial ties with Bangla Desh would allow Assam to export tea, oil, coal and other commodities to Bangla Desh.

In brief, the relations between India and Bangla Desh would be more cordial and friendly than with other neighbouring countries. The trade relations, common political and democratic institutions, mutual understanding and defence strategy would not allow one of these to cut their relations off.

Now the question arises whether or not the Govt. of Bangla Desh would be an Indian puppet. Mr. France G. Hutchins is of the view that the Bengalis are happy to accept the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi as "a midwife".⁸ The purpose of the new country is to acquire "Secularism", on Indian model. The Bengali race loves the motherland and mother language more than the Islamic concept. In short, this factor would sustain the friendship between Bangla Desh and India. But this new friendship and understanding between the two countries would be anathema to a number of international forces and they would try to sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion between the two. Hence both the countries need vigilance and clear understanding to maintain their friendly relations for future years.

It is obvious in this shifting scene the joint efforts of Bangla Desh and India would be a factor in deciding the fate of the Indian sub-continent. The recent confrontation between India and Pakistan and the subsequent victory of India have demonstrated that India is also an effective power in Asia, if not a world power. Here it should be made clear that in this equation, the role of the Soviet Union would be an important factor in pre-

serving security and peace in the sub-continent.

It has already been pointed out that the victory of India in the Indo-Pak war has disturbed the balance of power. As a result of this change, our ties with Nepal and Ceylon would again be more friendly than ever before, for China, before the rise of Bangla Desh, used to counter the influence of India⁹ in those lands. But this cannot be repeated now. The trade relations and geographical location would compel them to revive ties with Bangla Desh. Nepal would like to get report facilities from Bangla Desh. This would be possible only through Indian territory. Moreover, the antagonist attitude of Pakistan Govt. against Hinduism also displeased the people of Nepal who have faith in the Hindu religion. Nepal and Ceylon, however, would try to understand the reality of the changing situation of our time.

But at the same time the progress of the sub-continent would be very difficult in the forthcoming years. The U. S. as well as China would never like to see the development of the influence of the Soviet Union¹⁰ and India.¹¹ The joint communique issued after the talk of Chau and Nixon explicitly reveals that both the leaders are more concerned about the happenings in the Indian sub-continent than about the events of Indo-China. The joint statement further makes it clear that Washington and Peking would like to check the rising influence of India. To achieve this purpose they would try to woo Pakistan again.

Under this change, it is calculated that in the forthcoming period the idea of collective security suggested by the Soviet Govt. in 1969, would be a political reality for maintaining peace and security of the South East Asian region.

Another change in the attitude of the

members of the U. N. about the "Kashmir issue" is also possible. The Kashmir dispute undoubtedly has been also a factor of big-power rivalry since 1947.¹² The strong plea of the allies of Pakistan was the Muslim majority in Kashmir. But the rise of Bangla Desh has justified the fact that the principle of self-determination decides the fate of a country, not the communal factor. In this respect, a communal argument can not be applied to the Kashmir dispute. In fact the birth of Bangla Desh has been a great setback for Muslim-communal nationalism which was given a political shape by the Late Jinnah in 1947. In other words, Territorial and Linguistic Nationalism has over ruled communal nationalism in Bangla Desh.

As a matter of fact, Kashmir has been an integral part of the country. It can not now be treated as a separate entity. There are some people who contend that the people of Kashmir may also raise their voice for self-determination-like those of Bangla Desh. But they forget that the revolution of Bangla Desh was not merely a Bengali Revolution.¹³ It was a revolution for equality, justice and democratic rights. As for the people of Kashmir, they have been using all along the democratic rights and privileges enshrined in our constitution. Moreover, The geographical links, common traditions, freedom of language and the democratic safeguards are the factors which keep our unity and solidarity fully assured. The people of Nagaland and Kashmir also have geographical and historical links with India. So the example of Bangla Desh cannot be compared with Kashmir or Nagaland,¹⁴ as Bangla Desh was a part of Pakistan which denied all democratic and human rights to its people.

Apart from these factors, the factor of secularism has been an important one. Kashmir during the last twenty four years has

been "a bastion of Indian democracy".¹⁵ In fact, the emergence of Bangla Desh is a victory for our late leaders who wanted to establish a secular concept in international relations.

Anyhow, the emergence of Bangla Desh has shaken the very foundation of Pak-Islam solidarity, on the grounds of which the Arab world actively supported the policy that West Pakistan followed during the Bangla Desh crisis.¹⁶ They have still not changed their attitude towards the new reality. The cracks in pan-Islamic unity were also visible to us when the Afro-Asian solidarity conference met in Cairo in Jan. 1972,¹⁷ where Pakistan failed to boost her policy for general Islamic acceptance.

In the final assessment, it is obvious that the emergence of Bangla Desh is an event of great significance in Asia. It has not only disturbed the equation of power but also raised the image of India abroad as a power to reckon with. In this shifting scene, so long as India remains in the process of developing into a power, it needs the friendship of either the US or the USSR. But in the present situation the Govt. of India prefers the co-operation and friendship of the Soviet Union. But this is not enough. It is self-evident that Japan will play an increasingly important role in shaping the new power balance in Asia.¹⁸ Japan is the third economic power in the World next to the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. Hence it is necessary that the Govt. of India should readjust its relations with Japan for achieving self-sufficiency in the economic field.

Another important factor which is of equal potency in the changing context, is the idea of forming a commonwealth of independent nations in Asia.¹⁹ If Britain, can readjust itself with the E. C. M., countries ; India I think, would not face any insurmountable difficulties in making a combine with her

neighbouring countries ; although there would be some hurdles in its way.

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3. Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1971, pp.41-42.
4. Sisir Gupta, "Impact of Bangla Desh" Economic political weekly, (Bombay), Vol. I, Jan. 1. 1972, p. 15.
5. Ibid-See also Mainstream, Vol. X, No. 17, Dec. 25, 1971 p. 13
6. The Times of India, Jan. 11, 1972.
7. Main-stream, Op. Cit. p. 20
8. The Atlantic, (Boston, USA) Vol. 229, No. 2, Feb. 1972, p. 26.
9. Economic Political Weekly, Vol. 7, No. 8, Feb. 19 1972, pp. 471-73.
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12. Sharma, S. P., "Indian's Boundary and Territorial Disputes" Vikas Publications (Delhi) 1971, p. 124.

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13. Hamid Dalwai—"The Meaning of Bangla Desh',. Quest, No. 71, July-Aug., 1971, p. 10
14. The secularist, the bulletin of the Indian Secular Society (Bombay) No. 10, Nov. 1971, p. 38.
15. Sadiq, G. M. "Kashmir ; Bastion of Democracy" Mainstream, Vol. X, No. 16, Dec. 18, 1971, p. 12
- Alongwith the Kashmir dispute, the disputes over the territory of Nadia District in West Bengal and the Fenny river in Tripura and others would also be no more a headache for the Govt. of India. (See Sharma S. P., Op. Cit. p. 120)
16. Pande, N. K., "Bangla Desh and the Arabs" The Hindustan Times, Dec., 24, 1971, p. 9
(See Young Indian, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 to 4, Dec., 1971, p. 37)
17. The Times of India, Jan. 12, 1972.
18. See Seminar, (ed. by Romesh Thapar, Delhi) No. 149, Annual Issue, Jan. 1972, p. 34.
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HINDUSTHANI MUSIC IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

SHRI B. C. DEVA

1947 marked the turning point in Indian history, bringing in its wake many changes. The main and immediate gain was political independence ; but this also meant a social and economic breakthrough. As a matter of fact, it is this socio-economic factor that has affected our cultural patterns not excluding the field of music.

Independence gave our musicians a feeling of 'belonging'. For a couple of centuries from the 17th, it was either a feeling of being alien in one's own land or fighting and protesting to be free. Indeed, this 'protest' created a sense of pride and a wish to re-establish old values. We saw Raja Sourindramohan Tagore, Paluska, Bhatkhande, Deval and many others trying to open up new lines in north Indian music. It was Rabindranath Tagore, who in the early years of this century, created his celestial music, drawing inspiration from the classical and the folk traditions of his native soil.

Much of such activity was not only not encouraged by the then rulers but was even thwarted by non-recognition. Some princely states like Baroda, Rampur and Gwalior, of course, helped the promotion of music. But, by and large, it was a struggle, in spite of the support from William Jones, Fox-strangways, Popley and such other foreign lovers of our music.

With the coming of political independence, it no more was a question of survival but one of fostering a rich tradition. To preserve the treasures handed down as our legacy and to create an atmosphere for growth was the task before us. The results, in the main, have been satisfactory, though one cannot honestly say

that everything is all right. Today Indian music is heard and heard with respect in almost all countries of the world ; men and women are coming to us from far away lands to study our music. An Indian was elected Chairman of the International Music Council a few years ago. The various International Cultural Agreements have enabled us to take our music to distant countries. All this could not have been dreamt of a quarter of a century ago.

While we can take pride for attempts at 'preserving' our traditions, it would be worthwhile to understand what our tradition is and what the 'preservation' of this implies. One part of Indian culture which has largely remained unaffected by accelerated currents of changes are the tribal pockets. Once upon a time our music—Hindustani as well as Karnatak—had their origins here. This music has preserved itself. But times are moving very fast and tribal belts are being drawn into the vortex of industrialization. Nothing can be done --and need it be done-- to 'preserve' this area of music except recording it before it is too late, which quite a few Akadernis and the All India Radio have done.

When we talk of Hindustani music, we mean the art music of northern India—from Kashmir down to some areas of Karnatak, Gujarat to Assam. What has been the traditions of this music ? We know that the invasion of Aryans must have also brought into this land the music of the Vedas, at least the ritualistic chanting which is assumed by many scholars to be the source of Indian music. A certain commonness obtained in Indian

music till about the 13th century when a strong central Asian current again flowed in. As a matter of fact, many think that Indian music—art music—bifurcated into Hindustani and Karnatak from then on. Various practices and theories have come and gone. The **prabandha** gave place to **dhrupad**; and the latter has been pushed into the background by **khayal**. Many old instruments like harps have disappeared from the musical scene and new ones—the **sitaar**, for instance—have come to the fore. In the face of such dynamism what does tradition imply?

Again, with the coming of Independence an economic and social change has taken place. This brought in greater means of communication and there has been greater exchange of ideas. For example, Hindustani music has borrowed and adopted many **ragas** from the Karnatak system; **sargam** singing is a gift to Hindustani music from the south.

The advent of political independence also brought in a mutation in the form of Government, for, the older feudal hegemony yielded to a republican state. The patronage extended to music by the **rajas** and **maharajas** gradually decreased and today it is non-existent. Even the temples and monasteries are not now as active in supporting musicians. The onus therefore fell on the people's government.

The Government had to discharge this responsibility of not only preserving the musical tradition but helping it to grow. The major areas which have been active are those of dissemination, preservation, research and education. The biggest organization in the dissemination of music is All India Radio. It has nearly twenty-five stations broadcasting or relaying Hindustani music. It has on its staff—as advisers and programmers—musicians of talent. A very productive step the Government took was the establishment of Akademis for music—one in almost every state and a

Central Akademi. The functions of these have not been broadcasting but in building up archives of taped music. The Central Akademi has, for instance, its own studios where maestros are recorded, preserving their music for posterity. Disc libraries and book libraries are other sections for collecting source material for research. A number of institutions teaching Hindustani music have been financially assisted by these Akademis, thus taking on a big burden. The help given to scholars for publishing books and awarding prizes have also been a great fillip. Besides, the President of India honours, on the recommendation of the Central Sangeet Nat. Akademi, annually one Hindustani vocalist and one Hindustani instrumentalist.

It is with such changing horizon that tradition and its preservation have to be placed in their proper perspective.

I, for one, feel that tradition has two facets : the spirit and the technique or form. The characteristic of our tradition is its capacity to absorb from incoming cultures and make them its own ; to give them an 'Indianness'. This spirit has been kept alive in all walks of life. In the case of Hindustani music, into which many alien strains have crept in, the essentials have remained. The aesthetic approach is still Indian. So are the **raga** form and **tala** structure. Take, for instance, the **raga Hamsadhwani**, taken over from Karnatak music. It is rendered in a typically Hindustani style. Again, the border lines between **gharanas** are slowly dissolving ; but new ones being born ; a striking example is that of Amir Khan. It is this spirit of resilience and growth that is the essence of our culture.

The technique and form like the **dhrupad** and **khayal** have been sustained with changes of differing degrees, mainly because of the **guru-sishya parampara** that even now obtains in Hindustani music. But for this system, the

art would have been at the mercy of every whiff of change and blown off its feet long ago. The gurus and ustads have preserved for us these ever creative sources. Whatever be the outer form the inner inspiration remains undying from generations to generations.

The field of musical education has witnessed an enormous growth. Within the past quarter of a century facilities in this direction have increased to considerable proportion. Besides private schools, many of which are assisted by the state and Central Akademis and Governments, music as an elective or an optional subject is available, in principle, in all state

school examinations. It is even compulsory, specially for girls, in many states where Hindustani music is taught.

Universities have not lagged behind. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a couple of them teaching the subject. But Hindustani music is today offered in at least forty Universities. Some have departments devoted to this art while some run full-fledged faculties. There is one University which has been set up to teach only Hindustani music.

A new impetus, then, is in the air and properly channelised will further the spirit and form of the art.

CAN AN IMMORTAL LANGUAGE DIE ?

S. KRISHNA BHATTA

"Oh ! Samskrit ! It is a *dead language*. Why do you worry about it?".....Such are the comments which generally fall upon our ears when we just make mention of its name. Does it really deserve the sobriquet 'Dead Language' or is our line of thinking defective ? Or have we made a very poor collection of facts about the language ? A language is labelled 'Dead' when it is not spoken, read and/or written and in the case of which only occasional reference work is done in a library. But, in the case of Samskrit, factors are many which go to prove the current vigorous life of the language.

Unlike Latin and Greek in Europe, Samskrit holds a unique position in our

country as a rich language embedded in her culture. It has become a part and parcel of Indian life. So much mingled it is with the entire nervous system of the country that any attempt, direct or indirect, to drive it away from our land of ancient culture and civilization, would convert the country culturally into a 'waste land', and we cannot do away with it after assimilating its thought-content. Though actually spoken occasionally by a minority, it is in active use in a number of forms. Temples and other centres of religious and cultural functions almost reverberate with the sweet music of Samskrit hymns throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Further, writing in Samskrit is still going

on. In addition to the works produced during the past few centuries, we find publication of many journals such as Samskrita-Pratibha, Samvit, Madhuravani, etc., (Thanks to the enterprising venture of the Editor, a Samskrit daily has been started recently in Mysore City.) The rich language lives also in Vakyarthasabhas (Debates), recitations, the Antyakshari and other literary competitions held occasionally.

Moreover, people who treat Samskrit as a different language, will really wonder when they come to know that more than three-fourths of the words of many of our modern Indian languages are Samskrit. Further, recent researches throw light upon the use of Samskrit in some of the other countries also in different forms. In fact in recent years it is the western scholars like Maxmueller, Wilson, Macdonell, Keith and Winternitz who made a deep study of Samskrit and significantly added their learning to the Indian contribution.

The credit of including Samskrit in the eighth schedule of our constitution goes to its far-sighted framers. In fact, there has been support from many leaders including the late Dr. Kajju to make it—of course, in its simplified form—the lingua franca of India. This may not be very far from a practical suggestion when we see numerous Samskrit words brought into use in Central Government and other offices in the name of Hindi.

In the light of all these facts, shall we pose the question again? Is Samskrit a 'dead' language? Does it not demand a thorough rethinking from those who brand it so? Really speaking, the phrase 'rich literatures of the World' immediately brings before our mind two names, viz., Samskrit and English, one for ancient thoughts and the other for the modern. It is in our hands to make use of so perfect a language as Samskrit in fully expressing modern thoughts also.

In ancient India, the study of Samskrit was limited to some classes in Society. Added to this, the method of teaching consisted only of making pupils memorise the rules of grammar, etc., at all stages of Samskrit studies. And when modern methods came to be adopted in the teaching of English and modern Indian languages, people began to look at Samskrit studies with awe and mystery from a distance. Thus, a sense of separatism has developed among the masses, though Samskrit has without their knowledge, entered into their blood and become a main ingredient of their thoughts.

Some practical suggestions are made to popularise the use of Samskrit in our schools and colleges.

1. First and foremost is the suggestion that Samskrit should be taught as a complementary language under 'Regional Language' in schools and colleges in the country and not as a separate language. This can be done by prescribing one Samskrit text out of 4 or 5 which one is expected to study under 'Regional language': also if there should be one question paper of eight questions in a regional language, at least two should be from the Samskrit text.

Such a compulsory course can enable everybody to have at least an elementary knowledge of Samskrit and also to know and use Samskrit words correctly in their language (in fact, many do not know that they use Samskrit words). Further, by treating Samskrit as a part and parcel of the Regional languages (except in the case of a very few), there will be no room for so much hue and cry in the name of 'too much burden on the young minds'. Besides, this step perpetuates the learning of Samskrit even by the generations to come, as each section would be able to impart a working knowledge of the language to the others.

Of course, the arrangement of having Sanskrit as an elective subject also in schools and in the Honours and M. A. courses should continue for the benefit of those who are specially interested in an intensive study of it.

2. More centres of training and research should be started to invent new methods of teaching in addition to the old ones. Teachers should be trained to make harmonious blend of both the methods. Direct method of teaching in Sanskrit should be adopted as far as possible. New text books are to be produced in order to apply these principles and introduce modern topics also in Sanskrit. The hands of institutions like Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and of other individual scholars that are engaged in such useful activities, should be strengthened at all costs by the Government.

3. Governments, both the Central and State, should take practical steps to encourage writing, publication and sale of books and journals in Sanskrit, and also production of dramatic performances and films in simple

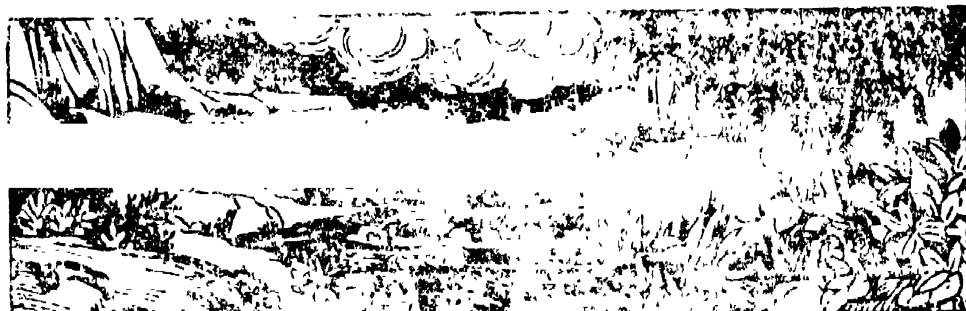
Sanskrit mostly on current topics. Besides, collection, preservation and publication of rare manuscripts and also tape recording of recitations should be given all importance.

4. There should be a daily news broadcast in Sanskrit from All India Radio. Debates, recitations and other literary competitions, State and Inter-state, should be arranged frequently. Closer contact should be developed with lovers of Sanskrit in other countries.

5. National memorials of great personalities like Kalidasa should be established on the pattern of Stratford-on-Avon.

6. Needless to mention that Government's financial aid to put these into action, should be very liberal.

Even with all hurdles in her way of progress Sanskrit is sure to win greater popularity among Indians and also amidst scholars in the other countries. And in the words of Prof. H. H. Wilson, "Sanskrit shall continue to exist till the Ganga and the Godavari flow"—'Yavad Gangacha Godacha, Tavadevahi Samskritam'.



IN SEARCH OF A DIALOGUE

SAJAL BASU

The process of International Stabilisation' has given rise to a new dilemma amongst the Marxists, both in the communist and the non-communist world. With the tremendous developments in technology and nuclear science and its effects, the monistic faith of the Marxist thinkers seem to be shaken. The remoteness of a communist take over in West European countries, even in some underdeveloped Asian countries, has led the Marxists thinkers to change their erstwhile rigid ideological commitments so as to function effectively within the framework of social and political institutions in these countries. At this stage when the world is seemingly divided into competitive spheres of influence of two to five big powers, the chances of a sudden fundamental change or revolution in the existing systems of status quo are remote. Business interests, have got a primacy over ideology and ideology as such has been interpreted as expediency demands.

The evolution of capitalism into a technocratic industrial complex, fettered by state intervention and organised movements, have necessitated the addition of new dimension to the Marxian approach to the objective world. The functioning of the collective systems has also failed to secure a position for the individual in disseminating his human faculties, as Marx envisaged. After the 20th Congress of Soviet Communist Party, the problems that were never allowed to be discussed or talked out, began to excite the reason of the intelligentsia. Question of freedom and disalienation came to the foreground and even

orthodox Marxists had to admit the failure of the system to attain these objectives.

During the sixties leading communist intellectuals viz. Roger Garaudy, Adam Schaff, Ernest Fischer, Leszek Kolakowski intended on concentrating in the humanistic content of Marxism. A new approach to the individual's position, vis-a-vis the system, was taken, to provide the individual's option or choice between alternatives within the framework of Marxian Dialectics. The political exigency of implementing peaceful coexistence also required a de novo approach towards individual freedom. Existentialist approach and concern over the questions of freedom and disalienation also led the communist intellectuals to review the position.

Marxist-Christian dialogue was initiated at the onset of this position. Though it goes back to the early 30's and 40's when the French communists made common cause with the Catholics' resistance movement, the present phase officially began with Pope John XIII's encyclical pacem in Paris, 1963. Before that in 1960 Roger Garaudy on his own initiated dialogues with Christians that were qualitatively different from old discussions of exchanging abuse and condemnation. But the unbridgeable gap between the two views—a religion based on transcendental beliefs, and a monistic faith which regarded these beliefs to be opium for the masses, have to be resolved so that a meaningful basis of such a dialogue can be attained. Marx's propounding of religion as opium, which is a fundamental form of alienation, and as Lenin said, 'religion

is a spiritual Vodka in which the slaves of capital drown their human shape and their claim to decent life.' stands as a barricade against any fruitful dialogue. The Marxist intellectuals, taking the scope of ideological fragmentation of the communist world on various issues, began to interpret the opium theory in a new approach. Pointing out the objective limitations of Marx's propounding about religion at a time of unhindered bourgeois exploitation and the unholy alliance of church and state to maintain status quo, they gave stress for a changed approach to his theory in this post-industrial situation when different socio-political institutions including Marxism-Leninism have compelled the church to change its stance about the objective world. So the Neo-Marxist Intellectuals avoided a straight out repudiation of the opium theory as that would lead to question the fundamentals of Marx-Lenin's thought. Instead they have pursued a round about way by pinpointing on the positive functions that religion might play in bringing a change into the objective world. To hold out their points they take help directly from Marx : "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people".

From this standpoint of Marx on religion the Neo-Marxists could easily now give a new orientation to the historical dynamism of this concept of religion as also being the protest against the real distress. The promoters of the dialogue find point in regarding religion as a historical phenomenon subject to change under the laws of historical progression, which under different objective realities of the post-industrial era, might exhibit a totally different character. As such they draw out the positive content of opium theory by maintaining that

'religion not only reflected distress but also protested its cause'. To substantiate this they take help of Engels' interpretation of apocalyptic Christianity possessing marked socialist content as evidenced in the heretical religious movements of the middle ages, manifestations of the Lutheran and Calvinist reform movements. So the Neo-Marxists assail that no doctrinal obstacles exist in holding a dialogue with the Christians. But the Christians must not justify or perpetuate the status quo in the name of other-worldly emancipation, on the contrary the revolutionary content of 'protest' against existing conditions must be given primacy.

The Christian thinkers on the other hand agree with the Neo-Marxist standpoint of the protesting content of religion, though they do not agree to the Marxian way of imposing revolutionism on religion. Christian concern for justice, love and concept of individual responsibility has to be reconciled with Marxist concern for exterminating the original sin—private property. Again Marxian position of atheism as the beginning and outset of communism and its inherent materialist content have to be made amenable to Christian position in order to initiate a fruitful dialogue. This integral element in class struggle and materialist worldviews was again being substantiated by Lenin who wrote to Gorky : "God is (historically and socially) first of all a complex of ideas endangered by the ignorance of mankind..... ideas which perpetuate this ignorance and blunt the class struggle." Still before the seizure of power Lenin also assured that "everyone must be perfectly free not only to belong to any religion he pleases but he must be free to preach his religion." The Neo-Marxists have successfully utilised such dualistic and dynamic stand as envisaged in different sayings of Engels and Lenin, and seek the positive function that

religion might play in changing the world. Christians also are flexible enough to accept the significance of class struggle as a driving force in eliminating injustices. A group of theologians even went to the extent of viewing Marxian atheism as an elan vital for the creation of a new world rather than being the central theme of Marxism. Hence the dialogue promoters have endeavoured to reconcile Christian Humanism and Marxist Humanism as a means of providing a framework within which the restoration of a human world would become possible.

In this way a coincidence of Christian emphasis of this worldly affair and Marxism towards a sociological pursuit for changing this world, have to be linked up by resurging a new humanistic approach. The basic question of freedom, which both the views consider to be the ultimate aim, has to be lifted from the realm of attaining it through love and justice or the Marxist way through elimination of classes do not seem to have any program on which the dialogue promoters can find a basis. The Neo-Marxists' interpretation of freedom as being the highest degree of the individual's fulfilment through self creation has not been extended to any communist country even in theoretical consideration. All attempts of reinterpretation have been made by communists of non-ruling states and as such its humanistic principle about individual rights is bound within theoretical discussions only. Not to speak of the Soviet Union where official theoreticians demand more atheistic propaganda, and the theoreticians with humanistic approach have been either purged or blacked out by the communist parties in European countries. (Garaudy

and Schaff are examples.) The contrasting stance of the communist parties in and out of power regarding religion was evidenced in the famous polemics between Italian and Soviet theoreticians. The Italian ideologues who are engaged in a dialogue with Christians held that Soviet position of intensified Atheistic propaganda has got no relevancy in today's world. Religion as a brake on scientific progress and as opposed to the principles of the moral codes of communism presents this stand of Leonid Illichev, Soviet Party's prominent theoretician which has been refuted by the Italian theoretician Prof. Lucio Padice. He has refused to agree to the conventional argument regarding individual's alienation in communist societies as being due to capitalistic residue still existing in Soviet society, the resulting estrangement of the individual is due to Soviet citizens superimposed predicament and "Certain opinions which one cannot express or cannot fully express or can only express by giving up certain rights."

The present Marxist-Christian dialogue is the logical outcome of the Neo-Marxists' attempt to resurge the humanistic content in Marx. The frank admission of the Neo-Marxists that so called Marxist-Leninist institutions have failed to solve the problem of alienation and freedom and that the Christians' realisation of the necessity to get rid of mythology and other worldly affairs and turning religion into an active means of salvation, these aspects of eastwhile opposing world views, have made them to seek for a dialogue so as to find a way towards disalienation. But the age old dogmas of Marxists and the prejudiced notions of the Christians are to be destroyed and only then any meaningful dialogue between them can lead to a more fruitful outcome.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN DOLDRUMS

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

We are seeing almost daily in a number of newspapers published from various quarters of the country, reports of staggering losses, mismanagement, inefficiency, corruption, nepotism, favouritism and a number of other malpractices and evils of the public sector undertakings in India. The public sector undertakings of India have in fact become symbols of mismanagement and inefficiency. The A.I.C.C. sessions held recently at Simla raised a lot of stormy and fierce controversies, abundance of sermonising, unleashing of the philosophy of socialism, nationalisation, public ownership, exploitation of the common people by the private sector and the benefits that will flow from the public sector units to the national economy in general and the consumer class of the public in particular. Any sane person will brush aside all the meaningless talks, empty slogans, dialectical exercises in the philosophy, rationale and logic of public ownership etc. immediately, as almost every literate person, many even of the illiterate masses, are fully aware of the awfully bad performance of the public sector undertakings in India during the last twenty years of our history of economic development and planning which synchronises with the saga of the expansion of the public sector by leaps and bounds. At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan (i.e. April 1951) there were only five units with total capital investment of Rs. 29 crores. The number of public sector undertakings shot up to 21 with a total capital investment of Rs. 81 crores by the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan (April, 1956). By the time we had completed our Second Five Year Plan and launched the Third Five Year Plan, the

number of public sector units increased to 48, with a total capital investment of Rs. 953 crores. By the end of the Third Five Year Plan we had 74 units with a capital investment of Rs. 2415 crores in the public sector. According to the latest available figures (as on 31.3.1970) there are at present 91 units with a total capital investment of Rs. 4301 crores. If we include the investment on the departmental and commercial undertakings also, the figures of capital investment in the public sector will shoot up to Rs. 5336.4 crores.

The history of the public sector in India has been a history of a series of heavy losses, serious failures of management, administration and organisation too. Most of the public sector units are running at a loss, for the last several years almost uninterruptedly. An analysis of the performance of the public sector undertakings in 1970-71 revealed that 21 public sector units out of 91 are incurring losses. While the total number of units incurring losses in 1965-66 was 6, in the year 1969-70, the number of public sector units showing losses increased to 26. With the passage of time, the number of public sector undertakings running at a loss also gradually increased. The Heavy Engineering Corporation with a total capital investment of Rs. 250 crores has accumulated losses of Rs. 76 crores on the debit side of its Profit and Losses Appropriation Account. The Hindustan Steel Limited has incurred a loss of 11.39 crores during the year 1970-71. The Neyveli Lignite Corporation incurred a loss of Rs. 10.45 crores and the Mining and Allied Metals Corporation Rs. 6.10 crores during the year 1970-71. The Heavy Electricals, Bhopal, has to its debit,

accumulated losses of Rs. 50 crores during its ten years of existence, i.e., at the rate of Rs. 5 crores of losses per annum. The Hindustan Steel is expected to produce a loss of Rs. 40 crores as against the expected profit of Rs. 8 crores for the year under review. The serious deterioration of the resource position of the public sector undertakings can be very easily understood by the fact of their actual contribution of Rs. 1229 crores as against an anticipated amount Rs. 2029 crores. Of course there are a few honourable exceptions in this galaxy of losing concerns in the public sector, viz., the Indian Oil Corporation which earned Rs. 20.13 crores in profits, the Shipping Corporation with a profit of Rs. 6.11 crores and the Oil and Natural Gas Commission with a profit of Rs. 5.38 crores during the year 1970-71. But they form a microscopic minority in this great flock of black sheep. It will be indeed rather amusing in this context to read some of the statements of the Union Minister for Industrial Development Mr. Moinul Hauq Chaudhury who reportedly said, during one of his press conferences at Hyderabad held on 19th October, 1971 that it is wrong to view the public industries from the point of view of losses or profits. They are to fulfil a vital role in the interest of the national economy and also of the consumers. If the performance of the public sector undertakings is not to be measured and judged by profits, losses, production, contribution to the exchequer, price levels, gains and output ratios to the capital investment, then what else is to be taken as the yardstick of measurement of their performance? Let the Minister for the industrial development think loudly and reveal to the public, what vital role he and the public sector units under his administrative control will play in the national economy, when he is not ready to recognise their faults which are so manifest. I think wisdom shall yet dawn

on the Minister for Industrial Development and the management of the public sector undertakings in India. Equally amusing were the statements of Mr. C. Subramanyam at the A.I.C.C. sessions at Simla when he said, "We have diagnosed the disease of the public sector. We know even the medicine which has to be administered, but unfortunately we are not administering it. So no Commission is required for the purpose of identifying the remedies. For that purpose what is needed is an Action Committee which will take various decisions and probe and make the Government implement its decisions." We, let Mr. Subramanyam disclose to the public frankly, what was that which prevented the hierarchy of the ruling party, the coterie of top ranking administrators, managers, and secretaries, etc., from administering the medicine, when all of them knew the diagnosis and the remedies. Is it not an outright admission by a responsible minister of the Union Government, that knowing fully well the symptoms of the diseases of the public sector, the diagnosis, and the remedies as well, the government was quietly unwilling, hesitant, reluctant, indolent, indifferent, irresponsible and callous in administering the remedies for curing the chronic ills of these patients who have been ailing from their birth up to now without the slightest break, interruption or pause. Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, Minister for Steel and Mines in the Union Government had also given expression to the same sort of brutal frankness at Simla that "the Government was not ignorant of the problems facing the public sector." He further appealed to the delegates at the Simla A.I.C.C. that "the judgement of the public sector management should be by the performance than by looking at each individual decision or action. There could not be a perfect manager without mistakes." Mr. Subramanyam, Mr. Moinul Hauq Chaudhury

and Mr. Mohan Kumarmangalam tried their best to mislead the public on their judgement of the public sector undertakings. The crying need of the hour is not any more action committees on decisions (which are not capable of being implemented) nor probes, sermons, slogans, eulogising on the innumerable and invaluable benefits that will flow from the public ownership to the national economy and to the consumers. Empty promises, inquiries, speeches, philosophising etc., will not work but strong action, for implementation of the decisions already taken and the immediate enforcement of the suggestions, recommendations, expert advice, remedial measures etc. for the improvement of the performance of that sector, provided from time to time by a number of experts like Professor J. K. Galbraith Dr. A. D. Gorwala, must be taken. There has already been a plethora of committees, and suggestions. What is needed today is not words, but deeds. It is action and not action committees and promises that the public want. There is no dearth of suggestions and recommendations for the improvement of the performance of the public sector undertakings in India. We must have a very clear understanding of their multifarious problems, shortcomings, drawbacks, obstacles, weaknesses and deficiencies. Unless we have a correct diagnosis of the disease, we cannot prescribe any appropriate medicine.

The public sector enterprises are confronted with as many problems as the number of hairs on our head. Anybody will indeed be flabbergasted when once we start counting the deficiencies, failures, weaknesses, and irregularities of the public enterprises. We must have the needed patience, courage, determination, and the will to face the challenge with all boldness and thrash out all the issues with a sense of realistic and dynamic approach and not harbour any desire to shield the weak-

nesses with slogan mongering, sermonising and perverse arguments. The following is an illustrative list of the weakness of the public enterprises in India (note carefully that it is not an exhaustive list which is virtually an impossible task to prepare), responsible for their continued losses, ever increasing costs, inefficiency, and mismanagement.

Lack of adequate delegation of powers within the enterprises; high production costs; too frequent mechanical and processing difficulties; too frequent breakdowns of machines due to lack of adequate attention being paid by properly skilled and experienced persons in positions of responsibility; defects in the selection of personnel, their training, placing in proper jobs and in securing maximum work from them. Lack of proper planning (right from the erection stage to the distribution of the production) which is a precondition for the success of any enterprise; lack of adequate incentives in raising the labour productivity and improving the quality of goods and services; absence of adequate research and development work, both quantitatively and qualitatively; prevalence of rampant corruption, nepotism, favouritism, inefficiency, irresponsibility and lack of zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the officers at the helm of affairs in the units; wide spread bureaucratic red tapism; unusual delays in planning and implementation of plans, absence of adequate and sound scientific checks, pull and application of strains and stresses from powerful Governmental departments, Ministers, and politicians; too frequent industrial unrest due to the absence of cordial, happy, harmonious and peaceful relations between management and labour; absence of a well organised and scientifically based, proper time and motion study, job evaluation and job description systems; absence of incentives, market research, modern, scientific and upto-

date marketing techniques, processes and methods, etc.; too much dependence on foreign consultants, technicians, and experts, etc. for conducting feasibility study, preparation of detailed project reports, etc.; in the completion of the projects, due to long time being taken at various preliminary stages; failure to start ancillary and auxiliary industries simultaneously or immediately after a project goes into production; scanty attention given to the preparation of the time schedule; frequent revision of project estimates, upsetting all the calculations about the profitability of the concerns; and the tendency to expand even before the undertaking has reached the rated capacity, causing delays and also making it difficult to judge the profitability of the original units.

The principal forces which give strength and vitality to the private sector are initiative, enterprise, profit motive, competition and decentralised administration. Unfortunately, in the management of the public sector undertakings in India we find all these forces working at their lowest ebb. Sound industrial relations are the crux of the problem. Paradoxically enough many of the state enterprises are plagued by labour unrest all along the year, nay right from their inception to the present stage of development. There is also a criminal waste by unnecessary locking up of surplus stocks and capital in many of the public enterprises in India.

Managerial incompetence; absence of adequate efforts to evolve a specialised cadre to man the public enterprises; technical bungling; faulty production planning; chronic shortages of essential inputs; too frequent and a chronic type of paucity of power and other faults; transport bottlenecks; political interference; failure to carry out preventive maintenance and the consequent inability of several plants to work at their rated capacity;

the flitting in and out of the deputationists who continue to hold a lien on their parent services; virtual mockery of recruitment policies throwing all canons of personnel management to the winds; terrible frustration of the young, brilliant and highly qualified foreign returned officers in the public sector units for lack of opportunities to come up in competition with the older men, deputationists, and the blue-eyed boys of the ministers, top ranking civil servants of the union and state Governments and the bosses of the ruling party at the Centre and in the States; the defective policies of promotions to higher cadres on the basis of seniority, overlooking all consideration of merit in several public enterprises; absence of clear cut, accepted and laid down criteria; lack of support from the bureaucracy in the Central Secretariat to the managers of the public enterprises; niggardly nature of emoluments offered by several public sector undertakings in comparison to those offered by the private sector; undue interference of Ministers and officials in the day to day administration of the public enterprises; too much or rather relatively excessive criticism by the members of parliament and other responsible official and non-official members of the Government committees and the political parties; even on small matters, lack of sense of commitment and missionary zeal on the part of the officers; "inadequacy of the beliefs of the managers in the concept of the public sector enterprises"; faulty designing of the plants; maintenance of large inventories and excessive labour force; the too slow working of the decision making machinery and the invariable delays in taking important decisions; and the absence of special machinery to establish a close liaison between the undertaking and its consumers and to win and maintain the good will and confidence of the general public.

The All India Congress Committee at its

recent sessions at Simla adopted a non-official resolution moved by Sri. Krishan Kant, one of the active Young Turks, of course with slight amendments, to appoint a high power committee to examine the role and manner in which the public enterprises are to function, and make suitable recommendations for improving the management, personnel, and pricing policies, workers' participation and incentives to be offered to the staff, etc. The Political Affairs Committee of Union Cabinet resolved immediately to set up a High Power Committee accordingly. It will be, of course, foolish on our part to expect any thorough overhaul of the working of the public enterprises in the immediate future. It will be rather stupid, if not over optimistic on the part of anybody to anticipate any drastic changes in the functioning, organisation and the management of the public enterprises of India, merely because a High Power Committee is being appointed by Government of India. Our past experience in this regard will convincingly substantiate our above statements. There is absolutely no novelty in the appointment of committees to examine the problems of public enterprises and to make suitable recommendations. As stated in an earlier part of this paper, there was no paucity of resolutions, sermons, preachings, recommendations, suggestions by a number of experts and committees in the past also. I wonder whether any really meaningful purpose will be served by the appointment of one more High Power Committee. It may at the most add one more item to our intellectual exercises in futility and will remain as another show piece of the grand farce of dilatory tactics and a game of evasion of facing the problems and challenges of the public enterprises we are confronted with daily. The Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi and the Finance Minister Mr. Y. B. Chavan and a number of prominent leaders of the

congress party (N) also contribute their share in the grand drama of condemning the private sector, dubbing it as a devil and eulogising the virtues of the public sector and presenting it as a faultless angel, if not a demi god. The three musketeers of the Union Cabinet employed all their energies, wits, talents and skill in explaining to the delegates, at the Simla session of the A.I.C.C., as to why most of our public sector giants have been in the red year after year. Instead of trying to come to grips with urgent problems of the Public enterprises, these pious Ministers resorted to all kinds of gimmicks in defending the white elephants of our national economy. Let us pray to the Almighty that wise counsels should prevail upon our omniscient Ministers. Let us not be too pessimistic. Let us hope for a bright future for our modern temples of independent India and its economic planning. Let the high power committee to be appointed soon by the Government of India conduct a thorough probe into the whole range of the functions, working, organisation ; constitutional set up : rules and regulations, principles, procedures and practices ; traditions and conventions ; channels of communication ; machinery of consultation and conciliation between labour and management, the public and management and the Ministers and civil servants, etc., etc. The probe should be continued into purchases, sales, financial control, administration and management ; the appointments, recruitment ; promotion and training of the staff ; autonomy ; parliamentary control ; decision making processes ; maintenance of the plant and equipment and foreign collaborations and consultancy services.

The High Power Committee on public enterprises will be capable of rendering any worthwhile service only under the following conditions :—

1. It should not be packed with old and retired civil servants and defeated politicians.

2. The committee should under no circumstances employ any sort of dilatory tactics, evasion of the main issues etc. in doing its work.

3. It should submit its report within a short period, say, within six months, so as to enable the Government to go ahead with its determined programme of improvement of the performance of the public enterprises without any slow motion movements to miss the ultimate objectives.

4. The Government of India should have the courage and determination to implement all the worthwhile recommendations and suggestions of the committee and to place before the public the whole report of all discussions without any fear or favour, brushing aside all political considerations.

5. Every decision and measure taken in this regard should be based purely on economic consideration and in the larger interests of the performance of the public enterprises setting aside totally all matters of personal favours, prejudices and bias, etc., and if necessary, to remove many of the top men who haved caused the damage.

Let us not be overswayed by the prophecies of gloom, frustration, despair and darkness of the right reactionaries, traditionists and other critics. Let us hope for a bright future

and let our public enterprises fulfil their lofty objectives, goals, aims, purposes, and ideals. That should 1. maximise the rate of economic growth ; 2. provide increased opportunities for gainful employment of the people and improve their living and working conditions ; 3. reduce the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth and usher in a socialist society ; 4. prevent the formation of monopolies and the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few and disperse the industrial activity over a wider area and in different sectors of the economy ; 5. fill up the serious gaps in the economy and provide the much needed resources to the national exchequer ; 6. bring about a planned dispersal of new industries in backward areas and earn foreign exchange resources through exports of their products ; 7. and establish better relationships between the operating management and their staff.

It is true tha. the public sector as a whole has failed to play the role envisaged for it and it is so obvious a fact that it hardly needs any lengthy exposition to understand the intensity and size of that failure. But it has its part to play nevertheless in the nation's economy and it must be cured of its faults and fitted into its proper place to achieve the objectives for which it was created. Its failure cannot be accepted as an incurable economic malaise. It can be and must be cured.



RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE BHAUMAKARAS OF ORISSA

BISWARUP DAS

The religious condition of Orissa under the Bhaumakaras who ruled from the middle of the second quarter of the 8th century A. D. to the end of the first quarter of the 10th century A. D.,¹ form an interesting topic for a student of Orissa history. In the Bhauma age religion played a vital role in politics. A brief general picture of the times from contemporary sources should serve as a comparatively authentic commentary on the efficiency of the religious policy of the period. We shall follow the observations and discuss the position of religion vis-a-vis politics in this age. The records of the period depict a people still creative and lively, who welcome diversity and non-conformity and who under a liberal government enjoyed freedom of religion.

It is known from the Neulpur plate of Subhakara I that the first three Kings of the Bhaumakara dynasty were ardent Buddhists.² It is clear from their epithets. The first King Ksemankara is called *Paramopasaka* or devout worshipper (of Buddha), his son Sivakara I, the second King, is styled as *Paramatathagata* or devout worshipper of Tathagata, and his grandson Subhakara I, the third King, is styled as *Paramasaugata* or devout Buddhist.

The controversy over the origin of Bhaumakaras has now to some extent been solved, and it has been shown that the Bhaumas of Orissa hailed from Assam.³ Pt. B. Misra opines that the Bhaumas of Assam professed Saivism whereas those of Orissa followed Buddhism.⁴ This change of religion from Saivism to Buddhism can be explained if we try to understand the religious condition of Orissa at that time. Buddhism was the predominant religion of Orissa in the early part of

the 7th century A. D. It is stated in the life of Yuan Chwang that Harsa assigned the revenue of 80 large towns of Orissa to the Buddhist monk Jayasena, who declined the offer.⁵ It is also stated in it that after the subjugation of Kangoda, Harsa returned to Orissa where he was approached by some priests of Hinayana, who denounced the doctrine of Mahayana and who urged upon him to convene a conference to decide the superiority of either Hinayana or Mahayana.⁶ The tremendous influence exercised by Buddhism continued to remain in Orissa till the early part of the 8th century A. D., since we do not know from the existing records any change in the religious condition of Orissa during this interval of a century. Moreover, Taranath, who has vividly described the state of Buddhism during the 8th century A. D. says that Udiyana (identified with Orissa) was one of the two chief centres of Tantrik Buddhism, the other being Nalanda. In this period Tantrik cult profoundly influenced Buddhism. Ksemankara, alien as he was to Orissa, would not have been acceptable to the people of Orissa had he not given up his ancestral faith (Saivism) in favour of one (Tantrik Buddhism) that had already been adopted by the bulk of the population of Orissa. Taranath has mentioned that Luipada or Luipa, the head of a line of Tantrik teacher-initiated the Kings of Odivisa (Orissa), Darika, into Tantrik rites.⁷ Luipa was one of the 84 monks of Tantrik Buddhism who had great influence in Bengal, Assam and Orissa.⁸ The identity of the kings of the accounts of Taranath cannot be properly established.

For example, Mahapala, a King of Western parts of India, has not yet been identified.¹⁰ Similarly the identity of Darika, the king of Orissa, has not yet been revealed. It is just possible that Darika was known as Ksemankara after his conversion to Buddhism. Therefore, the Tibetan tradition most probably attests to the change of religion of Ksemankara into Tantrik form of Buddhism.

In the religious history of India the 8th century A. D. was critical for Buddhism. Buddhism was deeply influenced by Puranic Hinduism or Brahmanism and developed theistic tendency on the analogy of it. Buddha was regarded as God and his images were worshipped in temples with devotional songs accompanied by rites and ceremonies which clearly betrayed the influence of the devotees of Brahmanism.¹¹ In other words Buddhism came very close to Brahmanism and the latter successfully brought the former into its fold. Therefore it would not have been difficult on the part of Ksemankara to change his faith from Saivism, which was a form of Brahmanism, into Buddhism.

There is however no evidence to show that Ksemankara utilised the resources of his kingdom to promote the cause of Buddhism or to lessen the influence of Hinduism. As a true statesman he appears to have had a tolerant attitude towards Hinduism. In fact, tolerance to all religions was the very basis on which the Bhaumas raised the magnificent edifice of their religious policy. The prevalence of diverse creeds might have dictated a policy of toleration.

We know from the Neulpur plate of Subhakara I that Ksemankara put the four varnas in their proper place. Pt. Misra assumed that he "probably embraced the Mahayana faith after the Kanauj assembly and then revived the caste system in his own country."¹² We have discussed earlier that by the 8th

century A. D. Buddhism, particularly Mahayana, had come closer to Hinduism. As such although Buddhists had rejected the caste system earlier, by this time they had accepted it. Ksemankara, as the above mentioned evidence proves, helped the reestablishment of the caste system in his kingdom, even though he himself was a Buddhist. There are other evidences to show that by the 8th century A. D. Buddhists in other parts of India had accepted the caste system. In an inscription discovered in Monghyr the donor of a Buddhist image, who was obviously a Buddhist, styles himself as Madhu Smaka (Saundhika) by caste.¹³

Prof. Sylvan Levi has brought to light that the emperor of China, Tetsong, received as present the autographed manuscript of Gaudavyuha, the last section of Buddhavatma dealing with the practice and vow of the Bodhisattva Sambhadrā from the King

Orissa. One who does what is pure, the Lion.¹⁴ He has been identified with Sivakara Unmattakesava. In the Chinese records he has been described as "one who had a big faith in the Sovereign Law, who followed the practice of Sovereign Mahayana".¹⁵ Prof. Levi has also described that Prajna, an inhabitant of Kapisa on the western verge of India, came to Orissa for the study of Yoga in a monastery prior to his journey to China.¹⁶ It indicates that Buddhist monasteries of the time of Sivakara I were great seats of learning, particularly on Buddhist Yoga. We also notice in the Gaudavyuha that Sudhana, the disciple of Manjusri, was advised by Acalasthira to go to Surabha hill in Tosala (i. e. the Bhauma Kingdom) to study Yoga.¹⁷ It is also recorded in the Tibetan account that Bodhisri and Naropa, practised yoga at Ratnagiri in Orissa.¹⁸ It shows that Buddhist yoga had evolved to the highest stage and that the same was practised on a wide scale in every nook

and corner of the Bhauma kingdom during their supremacy, particularly during the reigns of Sivakara I and his son Subhakara I.

According to Madalapanji, at the approach of Raktavahu to Puri Suvanadeva, the king of Orissa, fled from the city with the image of Jagannatha, which was considered to be the most sacred and valuable property of his dynasty, so his glory was never impaired. There has been an attempt to identify Raktavahu with Rastrakutas and Suvanadeva with Subhakara I.¹⁹ Since the holy image of Jagannatha was considered by Subhakara I as the most precious treasure of his kingdom, to save it he did not mind his own defeat. It clearly shows that Subhakara I was a staunch devotee of Lord Jagannatha. Since Subhakara I was the devout worshipper of Buddha and at the same time a devout worshipper of Jagannatha, there is every possibility of connecting Jagannatha with Buddhism. The connection of Jagannatha with Buddhism has also been emphasised by other scholars.²⁰ There is no doubt that in the early Bhauma period Lord Jagannatha was held in high esteem both by the king and people of Orissa.

Although Subhakara I was a Buddhist the villages donated by him by a grant were given to Brahmanas.²¹ It clearly indicates that he had a tolerant attitude towards the various religious communities in his kingdom. Similarly we know from Ganesa Gumpha inscription that in the reign of Santikar I an image of Ganesa was carved at Udayagiri by Bhimta, an inhabitant of Viraja (mod. Jajpur). It can be concluded that although Buddhism was the royal religion, different religious sects flourished side by side during the rule of the Bhaumakaras.

The early Bhaumakaras were not only followers of Buddhism but also exerted themselves for the cause of Buddhism in Orissa.²² Under their royal patronage several religious

institutions connected with Buddhism came into existence throughout the length and breadth of Orissa ; particularly Jajpur (where Guhesvarapataka, the capital of the Bhaumakars was situated) and its neighbouring localities were adorned with famous monasteries, magnificent sanctuaries and innumerable chaityas and stupas. The ruins of shrines at Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri testify to the vigour and prosperity of Buddhism during the Bhauma age. Colossal statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and other Mahayana deities found in these places show that they were executed in a graceful style and may be classified among the finest specimens of Indian art.²³ Places like Gandiveda, which probably owes its name to the famous Gandavyuha,²⁴ Agarpada, Kupari, Khadipada, Solampur, and Soro etc. in Balasore district of Orissa were veritable emporiums of the images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and prove that Mahayana Buddhism was widely flourishing in these areas during the Bhauma regime.²⁵ At Khadipada during the time of Subhakara I an image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara was installed.²⁶ Gokarnesvara temple on the Vaitarini and Sankaresvara temple on the Mahanadi contain a large number of Mahayana images which also belonged to the Bhauma period. Thus the metropolis of Jajpur, which was itself a glorious seat of Buddhism, was lording over an area full of famous monasteries and convents, great stupas and sanctuaries and admirable art treasures indicating the immense progress accomplished by Buddhism in the age of the Bhaumakaras.²⁷

We find in the Khadipada image inscription that there was a 'Mahamandalacharya' and 'Paramaguru' i. e., teacher of the great division and supreme preceptor. Some scholars believe that there was probably a state pontiff of Buddhism under the Bhaumas.²⁸ We, however, suggest that he

might not be a state official and that his designation might be an unofficial one. In none of the Bhauma plates which mention the list of officials we come across an official appointed by the Bhauma monarchs for propagating their own faith. In other words, the Bhauma rulers were the greatest advocates of religious toleration and never turned the bureaucratic machinery into a machinery for religious propaganda. The above mentioned inscription, however, shows that the great tide of Buddhism not only flooded Orissa but also transformed her entire being.

The finding spots of a copper plate of Sivakara II, son of Subbakara I, as well as Vajraghanta, a deity of Mahayana Buddhism, are the same, i. e., Chaurasi in Puri district. As a result of this coincidence the possibility of Mahayana Buddhism retaining its predominance and progress in the time of Sivakara II cannot be ignored.

It is significant to note that the marriage of Santikara I, son of Subbakara I, with Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was a turning point in the religious history of the Bhaumakaras. The sudden change of creed can be attributed to the matrimonial alliance of the Bhaumas with the Western Ganas.³¹ Her Dhenkanal Udayagiri : Buddha touching earth, Amitabha

Buddha, Four armed Avalokitesvara, Khadiravani Tara, Vaisravana.

Ratnagiri : Buddha touching earth, Avolokitesvara, Heruka, Tara, Tara & 7 perils.

Lalitagiri : Buddha touching earth, Bodhisattva, Maitreya, Vajrapani, Avolokitesvara, Pandmapani Avolokitesvara, Manjusri, Marichi, Tara.

The photographs of the above images are found in 'Buddhist Sculptures and Monuments of Orissa' published by Mahabodhi society, Orissa (P. Mukherjee).

plate mentions her as 'Paramavaisnavi' or devout worshipper of Visnu.³⁰

The Talcher plate of Subhakara IV describes her as a devotee of Hari, i. e., Visnu, which is clear from the following passage : "With the head, sacrificed with the dust of lotus like feet of Hari. She had enjoyed an unparalleled fortune.....and attained the feet of Hari, propitiated by unflinching devotion".

This alteration in religion was due to the fact that most probably she wanted to maintain her father's religion intact in order to satisfy her sentiments and as a mark of obligation to him, since she had received substantial help from her father to retrieve the lost glory of the Bhauma dynasty. This shows that the Bhaumas some times used religions as a tool to further their political aim.

Tribhuvana Mahadevi I must have devoted herself completely for the cause of Hinduism. We find in her Dhenkanal plate that in her time "Guhesvarapataka became rich with four varnas but shone with white varna alone."³² Pt. Misra thinks that "four varnas" means the traditional four castes and that "white varna" denotes white colour on account of the sky kissing building and also on account of the white washed city walls.³³ But we do not agree to this interpretation. The "white varna" discussed in the plate in the context of "four varnas" definitely denotes a caste (not a colour) i. e. the Brahmanas. Though in the capital people belonging to the four castes stayed, the priestly class enjoyed predominance over others. According to Sham Sastri the colour of garments determined the varnas, e. g. white for Brahmanas, red for Ksatriyas, yellow for Vaisyas and black for Sudras.³⁴ It is needless to mention that Varnasrama was an inseparable institution of Hinduism. The existence of four varnas and the importance of the Brahmanas in the capital, which was the

very nerve centre of the Bhauma kingdom, signifies the transformation of it from a stronghold of Buddhism into that of Hinduism.

The observance of Vedic rites in the time of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I further proves that Hinduism gained its importance and Buddhism lost its predominance. We know from her Dhenkanal plate that one Bhatta Jagadahara was donated a village by her so that he propitiated the Lord of clouds and brought down the rain probably by performing Vedic rites.³⁷

The performance of Vedic rites can also be gathered from the description of the place of issue of Talcher plate of Subhakara IV. It is as follows :

"Hail, from the victorious camp established at Guhesvarapataka where flames of various sacrificial fires, withdrawn from countries around annihilates all sins by their grace and which, magnificent on account of docile rulers, survivors in the battles, who had come forth from all directions laughs to scorn the abode of Dhanada (the God who gives wealth)."³⁸

The performance of Vedic rites as well as the importance of the priestly class in the capital Guhesvarapataka gives a clear picture of the general trend of religion of Bhauma kingdom that started from the time of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I. In India in the 9th century A. D. Buddhism lost its vitality and vigour and practically merged into Hinduism. In Orissa the progress of Buddhism came to a halt and its prominence came to an end, and Hinduism made a triumphant march to bring the whole of Orissa under its firm grip from the period of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I.

Subhakara III, the son of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I, was a patron of Saivism. It is known from his Hindol plate which registers the gift of a village to the god Vaidyanatha Bhattacharya (i. e. Siva) not only for the maintenance of the temple and the worship of the

deity but also for meeting the expenses of the Saivaites.³⁷

Santikara II, like Tribhuvana Mahadevi I, was a follower of Vaisnavism. It is known from the Talcher plate of Sivakara II in which he has been described 'as glorious as Vaikantha (Vishnu).'³⁸

Hinduism remained as a predominant religion till the end of Bhauma rule. The Kumurang plate of Dandi Mahadevi registers the gift of certain villages to Brahmanas. The Baud plate of Prithvi Mahadevi describes her as a Paramavaishnavi or devout worshipper of Vishnu.

The wind of Hinduism, however, could not wipe out Buddhism which was deep rooted in the soil of Orissa. In the Talcher plate of Sivakara III we come across the registration of a gift for the worship of Buddha Bhattacharya (Buddhist deity) which took place at Jayasrama Vihara (Buddhist monastery).³⁹

In short, Buddhism and Hinduism existed side by side without malice towards each other. Tolerance to all faiths was the keynote of Bhauma religious policy. In fact, toleration was the notable characteristic of religious life of India in the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. The spirit of toleration displayed by the Bhauma rulers who were votaries of different religious cults, led to a catholicism which overrode narrow sectarian views.

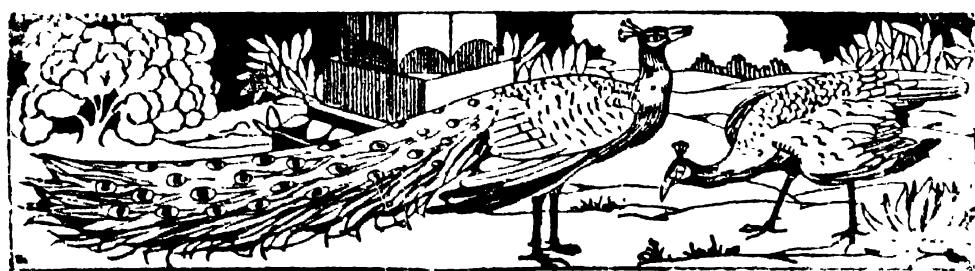
Thus the religious policy of the Bhaumakaras forms a glorious chapter in the history of Orissa.

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REACTION AGAINST REALISM IN THE MODERN DRAMA

PRAVINSINH CHAVDA

Realism, the extention of the spirit of science into the realism of arts, had a special reason for success in drama, because, by its very nature, as presentation of action on the stage through real human agents, it could create an illusion of reality and thus offer an easy ground for those who confuse between art and life. Realism in drama worked on two levels, in the selection of the material by the dramatist, and in the presentation of that material on the stage.

Realism in art was in its very outset doomed to fail because its assumptions were based on some misconceptions of art on the one hand and reality on the other. It overlooked the fact that the truth of science is not the only truth ; art also has its unique kind of truth which transcends the truth of science. Moreover, it set out to embrace not reality, but only a part of it. It dealt with only the surface of life and omitted the inner reality. It overlooked the Platonic judgement that behind the apparent reality there is a greater spiritual reality ; it did not consider also the psychological truth that the surface of life is often deceptive.¹ From its chosen territory also it did not deal with the whole of the surface of life, but only with what was dark, sordid and drab. Thus, if romanticism idealized upwards, towards the spiritual and beautiful, realism idealized downwards, towards the material and ugly.

One more trouble with realism in drama was that though it created illusion, the illusion could never be complete. The problem of the Fourth Wall was always there—you could

never account for the disappearance of the fourth wall which enables the audience to intrude upon the privacy of some people. As the Russian dramatist Evreinov pointed out cynically, if you wanted to be completely realistic, better you proceeded and built up the fourth wall, Pirandello further suggested the impossibility of bringing total realism on the stage because of the initial fact that the actors pretend to be what they are not. The only realistic play can be found in the streets, in the actions and speech of people ; once you put them on the stage, art comes in and reality has to step aside.²

The limitations of the realistic method were recognized by some of its practitioners on the stage. Thus, when an ambitious dramatist like Galsworthy went out of his way and endeavoured to peep into the depths of tragedy, he felt crippled. Allardyce Nicoll finds a very fine example of realism in the dramatist in Galsworthy's *A Family Man*. At a tense moment between the husband and the wife, the dramatist, bound by his medium, cannot make his hero articulate, and has to be satisfied with only a note : "Builder makes an effort to speak, does not succeed." Commenting on this, Nicoll writes :

"Builder makes an effort to speak, does not succeed."—This statement in itself might be taken as a motto expressing the dramatic impotence of the realistic prose medium : it is not Galsworthy's fault that he cannot convey in words the emotion intended to be aroused by these scenes ; the fault lies

in the form itself, and all the playwrights who have adopted it have been compelled to bow to its limitations."⁸

The failure of realism is evident from the fact that the greatest of its practitioners—Ibsen and Chekhov—had to turn to symbolism as their art developed and became deeper. They came to realize that part of their experience which could not be expressed by language had to be conveyed by other means. In *Peter Gynt* Ibsen attempts the poetic drama, but almost all the other plays, particularly *The Wild Duck*, abound in symbols—for example, the wild duck, the pistols of Hedda Gabler, the statue of the Ressurection, the white horse in *Rosmersholm* and the building in *The Masterbuilder*. Not only characters and action, but even inanimate objects are endowed with meaning and significance, and a symbol sometimes replaces the plot in function. Thus the symbol of the wild duck sets the atmosphere of the whole play in that it is the image of the broken, frustrated people, it defines the main characters, and the characters are revealed through it.⁹

Chekhov's plays also are an example of a genius constantly breaking the limitations of the form in which he works. That Chekhov simply abhorred the presentation of the commonplace on the stage is obvious from the speech of one of his characters in *The Seagull*, the young writer Constantine Treplev. What Chekhov tried to convey was too deep for the surface techniques of realism—the existential loneliness of human condition, the disparity of man's animal existence and his aspiration towards some unrealistic techniques. He replaces the traditional linear plot by what IONESCO called "an increasingly intense and revealing series of emotional states." To reveal the inner lives of his characters he resorts to some techniques of indirection, such as irony, paradox and even speech-making by characters. His symbols—the cherry orchard,

the sea gull, Misco in *The Three Sisters*—grow out of the plot and create an atmosphere for the play. To be faithful to his medium, he sometimes uses a symbol which is realistic also at the same time. The watchman's rattle, to be found in more than one play, creates the verisimilitude of the contemporary Russia and also serves as a symbol.¹⁰

August Strindberg revolted against realism by resorting to expressionistic methods. Strindberg was opposed to realism and naturalism on principle. He believed in the supremacy of the spirit over matter. He did not believe in the objective world and refused to have trust in any truth which the world may have beyond his imagination. Hence his characters are not real, but symbolic figures framed out of the human consciousness. This leads to a return to such conventionalisms as the reduction of characters to mere types, the unfolding of the action in a succession of scenes marking the spiritual development of the central character, and the identification of the dramatist with the central characters.¹¹ His dialogue is not realistic, but, in his own words, "repeated, developed and built up like the theme in a musical composition." In *Lady Julie*, Strindberg introduces such dramatic conventions as ballet, mime and musical interlude. Finally, in his most significant play from the point of view of technique, *The Dream Play*, he turns from the reality of waking to explore the reality of the dream, "to imitate," in his words, "the disjointed but apparently logical form of a dream," and this belief in the reality of the dream is converted into a successful dramatic technique. This technique is marked by freedom and abstraction, "locations are vague; space is relative; chronological time is broken."¹² The laws of causality are suspended and only the lawlessness of dream prevails. The characters are abstractions like the Stranger, the Dreamer and the Hunter.

One direction that the revolt against

realism in drama was sure to take was that towards the poetic drama because of the element of idealization in poetry and the place of conventions in it. According to Lascelles Abercrombie's classification, poetry imitates "spiritual reality" as opposed to the outward or material reality, whenever it imitates the outward reality, it is only for 'necessary credibility.'¹¹ The poetic drama, as practised by W. S. Yeats, Sean O'casey, T. S. Eliot and Christopher Fry is a clear break from realism. The poetic drama does not at all pretend to be realistic—for the natural and realistic conversation of the realistic drama it substitutes a highly intensified and artificial speech. Eliot borrows the convention of the chorus from the Greek drama and uses it for expository purposes. The element of ritual in the plays makes possible the participation by the audience in the play. Moreover, Eliot deals not with the particular but the general ; the evil in '*The Family Reunion*' is general and universal.

As we approach the modern times, the variety of forms which the dramatic activity takes makes the treatment difficult. But common to all is the shift of emphasis from the text to the stage, the view of drama as pure art and the revival of theatricalism. Drama comes to be viewed as a mixed art and the reaction against realism is shared by the designer, the actor, the musician and the choreographer. The stage saw a return to the symbolism of the Greek stage and the formalism of the Japanese No. The English designer, Gordon Craig, conceived of the stage as a temple and made it suggestive and symbolic rather than realistic, rejecting all details and using a lot of light and shade.¹² In Craig's hands the scenery became so significant that independent of the actors it was capable of conveying meaning. The emphasis here fell on drama as a visual art and so the modern

tendencies in painting and sculpture, such as cubism and surrealism, were freely utilized and surrealism brought on the stage the reality of the dream world, so much sought after by Strindberg in his plays.

The most influential dramatist of the modern times is perhaps, Bertolt Brecht. He has presented, both in theory and practice, a new kind of drama to fulfil the requirements of the modern age, which he calls "epic drama," and in which the playwright, the actors, the designer and the choreographer are called upon to stir the audience to action. The epic drama, the theory of which he has expounded in detail, is based on the assumption that the world is alterable and that it should be altered. For this, the drama showed, include participation not only by the dramatist and the actors, but also by the audience.

The theatre as we know it shows the Structures of Society (represented on the stage) as incapable of being influenced by Society, (in the auditorium).¹³

To make the audience participate, various Alienation effects are to be used, such as giving the account of what is to follow, thus eliminating the element of suspense ; utterance of contradictions, which will "leave the spectator's intellect free and highly mobile" ;¹⁴ direct address to the audience just in the middle of the play ; the use of titles or captions, with the help of which

the particular, the unrepeatable incident acquires a disconcerting look because it appears as something general something that has become a principle.¹⁵

Or sudden interruption by songs which has a shocking effect on the audience. In acting the actor should not try to create illusion.

The verdict . "he didn't act Lear, he was Lear : would be an annihilating blow to him (the actor.)"¹⁶

Thus Brecht, like Eliot and the poetic dramatists, moves from the particular to the general, from the outward to the inner, from the material to the spiritual.

The attitude of Brecht, to remind the audience constantly that what they see is art, a play, and not reality, as opposed to the realistic endeavour to create an illusion of life, is shared by many modern dramatists. In America we have Tennessee Williams who also uses the devices of the caption or 'legend' and direct address to the audience. But the one dramatist who reaches the other extreme and emphasises the element of artificiality in drama is Jean Genet. What fascinates him is the falsehood of the stage. He eliminates nature altogether from his drama. For this process of derealization, he intended his female roles to be played by adolescent boys, thus constantly reminding the audience: "Watch out. These are creatures of my imagination. They don't exist."¹⁷ Thus, stripping woman of all her outward appearance, he tries to reach the pure, Platonic 'idea' of womanhood, to present 'femininity without woman'.¹⁸

If the theatre of the absurd also this process of what Ortega Y Gasset calls the 'dehumanization of art'¹⁹ continues. The Aristotelian concept that art is imitation is discarded for ever and the dramatist wants to look upon his work not as life but as art. The theatre of the absurd, in its philosophy and technique, is the antithesis of realism, for it denies the logic of cause and effect and exposes the irrelevance of reason. In the depiction of an universe which is essentially absurd, the dramatist proceeds to delineate characters without fixed identity; events without consistency and meaning; plot without cause and effect and necessary resolution into denouement; and dialogue without reference to the action. The absurdist playwright's reaction against realism is noted in Sartre's motto: "The theatre is not concerned with reality. It is concerned with truth."²⁰ The absurd philosophy is based on the falsity of appearances. In character delineation psychology is discarded and the characters are not individuals, but states of mind, ideas, types, symbols.²¹ With the rejection of all appearance, the dramatist moves towards the abstract, the nonrealistic.

Thus, the drama in the twentieth century in Europe is united in its revolt against realism. The dramatist has, by rejecting the superficial aim of delineating the material aspect of truth

and returning to a search of the inner and deeper aspects of reality, restored drama to the status of art.

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Current Affairs

Nixon and McGovern as Rivals

The two contestants for the Presidentship of the USA who will cross swords on the 7th of November 1972 have points of view, beliefs and policies which can be seen in the following introductions published for guidance of the people of the USA.

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON recently declared : "My strong point is not rhetoric, it isn't showmanship, it isn't big promises. My strong point , if I have a strong point, is performance. I always do more than I say. I always produce more than I promise." Now, as the Republican presidential candidate, Mr. Nixon will campaign for reelection as the man who has more than fulfilled his promises.

In January 1969, on the day he was sworn in as the thirty-seventh President of the United States, Mr. Nixon looked ahead to 1976, the 200th anniversary of the nation's independence and outlined "the image of our hopes" for the country and for the world.

His call at that time was for an increased spirit of unity at home, continued progress towards economic and social equality, improved education and health care, and for an "era of negotiation" in world affairs. Above all, he stressed the goal of peace. "Where peace is unknown, make it welcome," he said, "Where peace is fragile, make it strong ; where peace is temporary, make it permanent."

As is traditional, the President as the incumbent restrained from personally campaigning for his party's nomination, but there was never serious doubt that Republicans would choose him again to head their ticket.

The overriding issue Mr. Nixon will most likely put before the voters is his first-term performance in foreign affairs. As a traveling

Chief Executive he is unsurpassed, having visited twenty-four countries and flown some 480,000 kilometers—more than any American President before him. He has worked intensively to redirect U. S relations with the rest of the world.

Upon taking office in 1969 he promised to do all in his power to end the Vietnam War, and by mid-1972 he had reduced the U. S. troop level from 543,000 men to 46,000 men. He had bolstered the armed forces of South Vietnam, turned over to them some 300 military installations built by U.S. forces, and his envoys had met time and again with North Vietnamese representatives in search of a mutually acceptable peace settlement. These steps were an integral part of the "Nixon Doctrine" which pledges America to her treaty commitments, but calls for greater participation by her allies in keeping the peace.

Among his other accomplishments in foreign affairs :

* He renewed ties with the People's Republic of China and made a state visit to Peking, Hangchow, and Shanghai. His administration lifted restrictions on U.S. trade with mainland China, made it easier for U.S. citizens to travel there, and began plans for cultural exchanges and a permanent capital-to-capital communications link for use in times of crisis.

*He laid the groundwork for increased cooperation with the U.S.S.R., again making a personal visit to that country to confer with its leaders. During nine days in the Soviet Union, the two nations signed six significant bilateral agreements, covering matters such as a joint space flight, scientific cooperation on

public health, and environmental protection. Trade agreements between the two nations were also initiated.

A major step toward arms limitations was marked by a U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement to limit intercontinental ballistic missile sites in each country and to freeze the number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles while negotiators try to work out permanent limitations on these and other offensive weapons. The two powers also agreed to ban all biological and toxic weapons,

On another foreign policy front, President Nixon committed himself to improving the U.S. balance of trade in the face of serious competition from foreign manufacturers. "The heightened competitiveness on the part of our trading partners is not something we shy from", he says. "On the contrary, we welcome it.... But it also poses a new challenge to the United States." To help U.S. firms regain a more vigorous trade position, Mr. Nixon brought about a readjustment of the dollar in relation to foreign currencies (thus making American goods more attractive as exports), and developed a domestic corporate tax plan to make export earnings more attractive to American business.

Another key economic goal of the President's—reducing domestic inflation—was expected to spur the sale of U.S. goods to other countries as well as to give relief to Americans caught in the spiral of rising prices. After he imposed a system of controls on domestic prices and wages, economic indicators showed prices of products bought by the average urban worker in 1972 rising around three per cent per annum as opposed to the six per cent per annum registered in early 1970.

Unemployment, much of which last year hovered at six per cent, was reduced by mid-1972 to 5.5 per cent—an improvement but still short of the President's goal. At the same

time, the total number of persons employed grew by more than two million.

On the domestic front the Nixon campaign will stress progress made in the fight against crime as reflected in official records of decreased incidents. At the urging of the Nixon Administration, several pieces of anti-crime legislation have been passed dealing with narcotics control, organized crime, and law enforcement assistance. In addition, federal funds to local police forces have been increased almost ninefold.

The President also turned his attention to improving the quality of public education, and has staunchly argued that children learn best when they attend schools nearest their homes. He opposes the solution of busing children to distant schools in order to correct racial imbalance in enrollment. He has asked Congress for more federal money to help state-run school systems and to aid parents who choose to send their children to private or church-related schools. One of his major proposals, as yet not acted upon by Congress, is a Family Assistance Plan that would reform the present federal welfare program which is widely acknowledged as unworkable.

"I think we could well say that is a pretty good record," Mr. Nixon said in a press conference after reviewing the accomplishments of his administration. "But I think the important thing for the man sitting in this office is that he must never be satisfied."

A hallmark of Mr. Nixon's career has been his willingness to confront ever-greater challenges. A practicing lawyer in his home town of Whittier, California, when the United States entered World War II, he joined the Navy and rose to the rank of lieutenant commander. After the war he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives for two terms, and then to the Senate, where he established a reputation as an aggressive and thorough legislator.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower picked Mr. Nixon as his vice-presidential running mate in 1952, and he served eight years in that job.

Mr. Nixon won the Republican presidential nomination in 1960, but lost the election to John F. Kennedy by one of the narrowest margins in U.S. history. Two years later he was defeated for the governorship of California, but he continued to work energetically for other Republican candidates in local and national elections and was successful in his bid for the White House in 1968. His two daughters have both married since that time, the younger to President Eisenhower's grandson, David.

Because the Republican party registers a minority of Americans, the Nixon campaign to be successful must attract many voters who consider themselves independents as well as some who normally vote for Democratic candidates. "Join us in supporting the re-election of a man who truly represents the vast majority of Americans," Mr. Nixon's campaign chief, Clark MacGregor, has invited non-Republicans, "a man who sees the good in America even as he works to solve its problems."

GEORGE STANLEY McGOVERN, U.S. Senator from the sparsely populated state of South Dakota, recently said, "I think I am moving with an advance guard that the majority of the American people are ready to rally around. Within the Democratic party he has already proven his point. Despite predictions to the contrary by political experts, Senator McGovern decisively won the Democratic nomination for President on the first convention ballot in July.

His pre-convention success in state primaries and caucuses to select delegates is attributed largely to a coalition of supporters whom he generally defines as "young people, anti-war people, suburbanites, farmer, blue-collar

workers, blacks, Mexican-Americans"—and he is counting on them as well as rank-and file Democrats to win him the bigger contest on election day, November 7.

The very qualities that made the experts doubt the viability of his candidacy endeared him to his supporters: on insistence on discussing specifics about the complex issues of tax reform and defense spending, a direct take-it-to-the-people approach that circumvented many professional politicians, and a refusal to engage in the rousing rhetoric of old-style campaign oratory,

"I'm a former schoolteacher," says the fifty-year-old Senator. "It's a little hard for teachers to pound the table and to wave their arms and that sort of thing.....They're more interested in reaching people's minds and dealing with ideas."

To some' his ideas about the future role of government both in domestic and foreign affairs seem to diverge so drastically from convention that they sound radical, and Senator McGovern accepts that term within his own definition of its meaning. "I do consider myself a radical in the sense that I'm willing to go beyond the conventional view," he told a magazine interviewer who was probing for his root motivations. "I think fundamental change is what's needed, so in that sense I don't mind people calling me a radical."

McGovern's eagerness to try new directions has a special appeal to his supporters, among whom are the young who supplied most of the manpower in the awesome organizational effort that won him the first ballot nomination. The 1972 election is the first in the United States since the national voting age was lowered from twenty-one to eighteen, and the Senator hopes to win a majority of those first-time voters.

The McGovern campaign started with his opposition to the Vietnam War. As long ago

as 1963, during his first term in the Senate. Senator McGovern spoke out against U.S. involvement in Indochina, and in 1968 he became a last-minute candidate and received a handful of delegate votes on his anti-war position at the Democratic convention that nominated Hubert Humphrey. In accepting the nomination this year, Senator McGovern pledged to halt the bombing of North Vietnam on his inauguration day, and to withdraw "every American soldier" within his first, three months in office.

Senator McGovern also contends that U.S. military spending has absorbed too much of America's wealth and has promised that by the end of his administration annual defense spending would be markedly reduced without impairment of the nation's vital defense interests. In his convention acceptance speech he emphasized that "America will keep its defenses alert and fully sufficient to meet any danger. We will do that not only for ourselves, but for those who deserve and need the shield of our strength--our old allies in Europe and elsewhere."

In an earlier speech he stressed the need for better communication between America and her allies and criticized the present administration for imposing its views on international negotiations and defense arrangements. He believes that new avenues of cooperation can and must be developed.

The Democratic standard-bearer would enter into new international obligations but only cautiously. He carefully spelled out considerations that would precede any decision: Are those asking U.S. help truly America's allies, in terms of what they stand for and of U.S. national interests? Are they unable to protect themselves? If so, can the international community through the United Nations provide the aid they need? If not, is multilateral action possible? Only if that

approach is unworkable should America be prepared to consider a commitment.

Although reluctant to extend military obligations abroad, Senator McGovern has a strong record of support for economic and technical aid to other nations. John F. Kennedy selected him to head the Food for Peace program in 1961, and later in the Senate Mr. McGovern introduced legislation to convert the program from one devised primarily to dispose of surplus U.S. foodstuffs to one that anticipates the needs of undernourished nations.

On the domestic front, Senator McGovern's highest priorities are to achieve the goal of full employment and a more equitable distribution of income. He will strive for full employment through government action to stimulate the economy or, if necessary, by providing direct employment by government in needed services. His proposals on U.S. income distribution include broad tax reforms, both private and corporate, and a minimum income for those unable to work. Although the general approach is similar to President Nixon's income plan, Senator McGovern stresses that his incorporates employment and tax reforms and therefore attacks head-on what he calls "our present welfare mess." Fully aware that as President he would need the concurrence of Congress to enact his reforms, he acknowledges that it would take year or more before his proposals could become the law of the land.

Senator McGovern has been aided in drafting his proposals by a coalition of academic experts--a group he feels at home with because of his teaching back-ground. Before entering politics, the Senator was a full professor and head of the history and political science department at Dakota Wesleyan University in his home town of Mitchell, South Dakota. He left that position in 1953 to become executive

secretary of the state Democratic party, a fairly moribund organization in a heavily Republican state.

He did his job well enough to be elected to Congress, where he served in the House of Representatives from 1957 to 1961. He then ran for the Senate, lost, and became a special assistant to President Kennedy. In 1962 he won a second race for the Senate and was re-elected in 1968. Most of the reforms instituted at the 1972 Democratic convention, which among other things insured more active participation by minority groups, were the work of a McGovern committee.

Married during his service as a bomber pilot in World War II, the McGoverns have five children and three grand-children. A quiet, thoughtful man, he was once described by a writer as "one of those rare busy people who never complains that he doesn't have time to think. His wife says she suspects that he thinks in his sleep."

Asked recently in an interview in **U.S. News and World Report** to define his political philosophy, Mr. McGovern said : "I suppose it's based on a very deep faith in the common sense and the fairness of the average citizen, to the point where I have supported every effort to broaden the base of American politics, I think government has to be restored to the hands of the ordinary citizen of this country, and that's a combination of, I suppose, the old Jeffersonian concept of democracy—the combination of Jackson and Jefferson and Franklin Roosevelt. All of those things are involved in my philosophy."

Banking Since Independence

The Government have released a special feature article on the above subject which we are reproducing below in part.

With institutions as with human beings, a 25-years span leads to a completely new generation. Commercial banking has been no

exception. Over the last 25 years, it has undergone changes for most of which the term 'revolutionary' will be not just a figure of speech but the most appropriate description. Whether one examines its metamorphosis in quantitative terms or assesses it in terms of qualitative changes, one comes to the same conclusion : that the infant of 25 years ago has turned into a mature adult and has developed a distinct personality of its own.

At the time of independence, the number of bank offices in India was a little over 4,000 ; today the country is dotted with more than 13,600 bank branches. From around Rs. 900 crores in 1947, bank deposits today amount to over Rs. 7,700 crores, an eight-fold increase. Total bank credit at that time was about Rs. 400 crores ; now it stands at over Rs. 5,300 crores. Resources made available by the commercial banks to the public sector in the form of investment in Government and semi-Government securities amounted to Rs. 450 crores ; today they are over Rs. 2,000 crores.

Less dramatic perhaps, but far more significant, have been the qualitative implications of the changes, particularly since a major portion of the banking sector was brought under public ownership in July 1969. Until then, commercial banks in India had a strong urban bias and were almost the exclusive preserve of the urban and metropolitan elite. Their favorite areas of operation were cities and towns with a developed commercial and industrial structure.

As a result of deliberate policy pursued vigorously during the last three years to take banking to rural and less developed areas, there is today a much better dispersal of banking facilities. Banks have moved into areas that were traditionally considered unattractive. This has, however, not been an easy job nor is the present position such as can be viewed with perfect equanimity. Opening a branch

in an unbanked area is far more arduous and exacting than the organisational effort required in opening yet another branch in a well developed metropolitan centre. The usual line of reasoning was : 'Why take the bother of going to rural areas when there is already ample scope of business in urban centres'.

RURAL BANKING

An eloquent proof of this logic was provided by the attitude displayed by the Imperial Bank of India. The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee of 1950 had recommended that over a period of five years, the Imperial Bank should endeavour to open 274 branches in rural areas. After a good deal of persuasion and goading, the Imperial Bank accepted a lower target of 114 rural branches but finally opened only 63 over a four-year period. Other commercial banks were of course no better ; in their case the profitability consideration seemed to weigh even more heavily. The privately-owned Imperial Bank was converted on July 1, 1955 into a public sector institution named the State Bank of India to push forward the programme of moving into rural and unbanked centres.

With the emergence of the State Bank, the logic of spreading the banking network to hitherto unbanked parts of the country began to command a somewhat better appreciation. The licensing policy pursued by the Reserve Bank during the sixties encouraged a more balanced branch expansion programme. As a result, between end-1960 and July 1969, the number of bank offices increased from a little over 5,000 to 8,284. From just over 16 per cent at the end of 1960, the proportion of rural branches to the total increased to 22.4 per cent by July 1969.

LEAD BANK SCHEME

An altogether new vista was opened by the nationalisation of 14 major banks on July 19, 1969. With this change roughly 4/5ths of the

commercial banking system came under the public sector's fold. On the question of extension of banking facilities to rural and unbanked sectors, an areawise approach was evolved and incorporated in an action programme known as the 'Lead Bank' scheme.

At one time—and not very long ago—bank finance largely flowed to such traditional sectors as large-scale industry, wholesale internal trade and import-export business. Within these sectors again such factors as past connections with the banks, security offered and guarantee of well-known industrial and commercial names played an extremely significant role in arriving at lending decisions. What was the outcome ? Those who had could have more.

These practices, apart from having such undesirable effects as accentuation of income and wealth inequalities in the community, concentration of economic power in a few hands and growth of monopolistic tendencies, were seriously detrimental to the growth of new and maximization of the total entrepreneurial skills in the community. Even the objective of maximisation of production suffered as millions of small-scale producers, farmers, transport operators, small businessmen and the like who were not known to banks were not able to produce, for lack of funds, as much as they were capable of. The main objective of nationalisation was to tackle this problem : to create conditions in which all those who need funds for a productive and viable endeavour would be able to approach the banks.

In pursuance of this objective, public sector banks have drawn up a number of schemes to provide credit on a liberalised basis to borrowers in such hitherto neglected sectors as agriculture, small-scale industries, road transport operators, retail trade and small business and professional and self-employed persons.

The number of borrowal accounts with the public sector banks for these categories of borrowers has thus increased from 2.8 lakhs in June 1969 to a little over 13 lakhs in December 1971 and the total amount outstanding under these accounts has increased from Rs. 439 crores in June 1969 to Rs. 961 crores at the end of December 1971.

WEAKER AMONG WEAK

Thus whereas in June 1969, advances to these types of borrowers accounted for 14.5 per cent of the total bank advances, at the end of December 1971 the corresponding figure stood at 23.0 per cent. A further step taken by public sector banks to assist the weaker sections of the community is to launch a pilot scheme to be operated at certain selected branches to provide funds for productive purposes to certain categories of borrowers at the concessional rate of interest of 4 per cent. The main objective of the scheme is to enable the weaker among the weak to stand on their own legs by taking up productive endeavours with the help of small doses of bank finance.

What has been achieved so far in the matter of priority sector lending has brought to surface several operational problems. But the fact remains that far-reaching changes are taking place and a well designed programme of reorientation will make the rate of change faster.

Companies (Amendment) Bill 1972

Mr. N. A. Palkhivala writes :

The provisions of the Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1972, if enacted into law, would spell a degree of Governmental control over the day-to-day working of the corporate sector which is unknown to any other country of the world. If these proposed strangulating controls were really in the public interest and served a useful public purpose, they would not be objectionable. But they are bound to prove grossly detrimental to public interest. They will hinder the growth and development

of corporate enterprises without resulting in any public good.

The bureaucratic seizure of all levers of power and the confluence of all controls in the hands of the politicians made Galbraith observe that today the greatest enemies of socialism are the self-styled socialists themselves.

The new definition of companies "under the same management" is absurd beyond belief. Psychologists have remarked that distortion of language precedes distortion of thought. Many expressions which are in current circulation represent distortions of language and result in distortion of public opinion and Governmental reactions. The concept of companies under the same management as contemplated in the Bill is so distorted that even companies which may have never heard of each other are deemed to be under the same management, merely because one director of a company is on the Board of another company.

Private companies will virtually become extinct under the Bill. The most indefensible provision is that a private company having 10% of the paid up capital of a public company is itself converted into a public company.

Every sensible Government must safeguard the interests of depositors, but the Bill chooses to adopt the most cumbersome way of achieving the objective. A company has to issue a prospectus before accepting deposits just as it would issue a prospectus before issuing shares or debentures. Shares and debentures are issued only at a particular point of time, whereas accepting deposits is a continuous activity. It is incomprehensible how the very expensive and cumbersome procedure of issuing a prospectus can be called in aid for securing the interests of depositors. The Bill is silent on the question as to how many prospectuses would have to be issued by a com-

pany over a period of months or years. Besides, shares and debentures are long-term investments, whereas deposits are for limited periods of one or more years. And there are so many more efficacious ways of securing the interests of depositors than the issue of prospectuses.

The provisions to take-over bids have, again, a laudable object behind them. But the provisions themselves are too onerous and cumbersome. They would deter investments and inhibit young entrepreneurs from going into new businesses for fear that they may not be able to sell off the businesses if and when they want to at a later date.

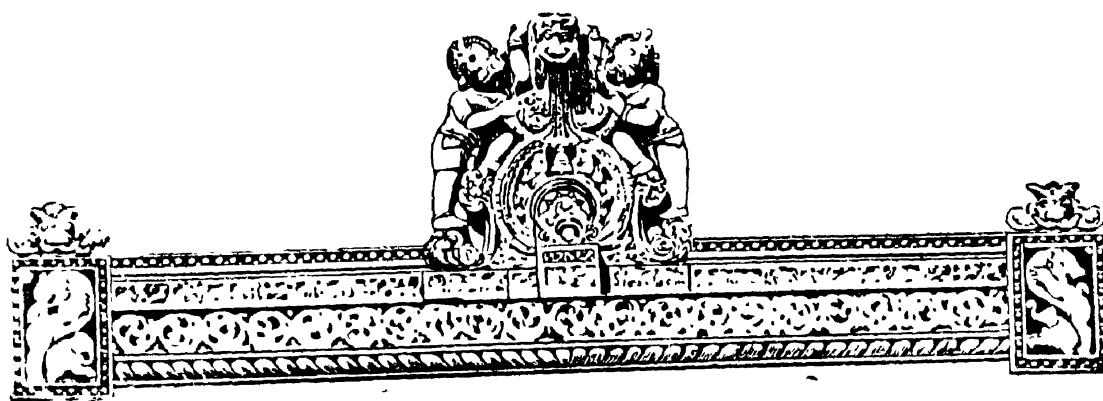
The restriction on declaring dividends out of accumulated profits of past years is grossly detrimental to the interests of shareholders. It will deter companies from accumulating profits and encourage the distribution of larger dividends, since reserves cannot be used in future for dividend distribution without compliance with Governmental rules.

The provision that an auditor cannot be continued in office for more than three years is a gratuitous interference with the right of

the shareholders to have the auditor of their choice. If the idea is to give work to new entrants in the profession, one may equally have a provision, justified by the same reasons, for preventing a company from having the same lawyer, doctor, architect or consulting engineer for more than three years. An auditor's job requires a well-equipped office and an adequate staff, and unless continuity of work can be reasonably expected, it would be impossible for big firms of auditors to continue the burden of overheads. The Bill will result in substituting mediocrity, in place of meritocracy, in the accountancy profession.

One of the most reprehensible features of the Bill is the provision for taking away the power of the Court in various fields and vesting it in the Government. For example, the power to permit a company to diversify by enlarging the objects clause in the memorandum and the power to permit shifting of the registered office from one State to another is hereafter to be exercised by the Government, which will mean substitution of bureaucratic bungling for a fair and judicial determination.

(A release from the Forum of Free Enterprise)



CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AT CROSSROADS

I. SATYA SUNDARAM

Should the death sentence be abolished? Despite the strong opinion expressed by the Law Commission against its abolition, the view that capital punishment should be done away with is gaining strength. Some years ago a columnist humorously expressed his indignation against capital punishment by declaring: "The murderer has killed. It is wrong to kill. Let us kill the murderer." This obviously reveals that in order to rectify a mistake we are committing a fresh mistake.

Though the Law Commission had strongly argued in favour of retaining the capital punishment four years ago, there had been staid objections raised against it, considering the punishment primitive, brutal and barbarous. Since the incidence of homicide has been on the increase in India, the Law Commission opined that the country cannot afford to undertake the perilous risk of "the experiment of abolition of capital punishment", though a number of countries in recent times had done away with death penalty.

The Law Commission had observed that the question of abolition or retention of capital punishment should be studied in the light of conditions prevailing in India—the variety of social upbringing of its inhabitants, the disparity in the level of morality and education, the vastness of its area, the diversity of its population and the paramount need for maintaining law and order. It also pointed out that the incidence of homicide had not shown in the last several years any decline. Moreover, the rate of homicide was considerably higher in India than in many countries where capital punishment was abolished. It has been estimated that the murder rate in India had fluctuated, in the nine years ending 1962, between 25 and 30.6 per million.

The Commission also noted a consistent rise in the murder rate in countries where capital punishment has been abolished.

Nowadays a majority of people all over the world are considering death penalty as an anachronism and out of date. It greatly retards human dignity and violates the right to life. Why should the society think that a murderer cannot change his nature when there is commendable progress in the fields of medicine, psychiatry and sociology. The policy of "an eye for an eye" or "a tooth for a tooth" is no longer valid today.

There are several theories of punishment: reformatory, preventive, retributive, denunciatory and deterrent. Advocates of death penalty argue that no other punishment has that uniquely deterrent force as the capital punishment. But, the deterrent power of capital punishment has recently come under heavy fire. Murder may be unpremeditated, under the stress of some disturbing emotion. In this case, the murderer is nonchalant to punishment, even capital punishment, because he does every act out of emotion. Sometimes murder may be premeditated. But, even in this case, the murderer pays scant attention to punishment because he thinks there is no chance of detection. Even if the murderer knows that he is going to be punished, he is prepared for the worst. "What may weigh with such a potential offender is the certainty of punishment rather than the nature of the punishment."

A potent case often advanced in favour of capital punishment by the protagonists—including the Law Commission—is that it would act as a great deterrent power. Capital punishment would teach a lesson to the murde-

rer, the lesson being that if he takes away the life of another, his very life will be taken away by someone else—the State, the supreme authority to protect and maintain law and order. When a person murders another person, others will be tempted to imitate such criminal actions. Capital punishment has, it is presumed, the power to obviate such a pernicious tendency on the part of some people.

The deterrent power of capital punishment has been seriously questioned in recent years. Research studies have revealed that there is no positive correlation between capital punishment and the incidence of homicide. The deterrent power of capital punishment is often exaggerated. For instance, a study made in the later half of the century by the Royal Society of England showed that out of 250 men hanged, 170 had previously attended one or two public executions.

The state itself seems to doubt the deterrent power of capital punishment. It is true that men fear death—every living being has a penchant for life. But, the murderer is not an ordinary man. It is very unlikely that he fears death. He is prepared for the worst. If the state strongly believes in the deterrent power of capital punishment, and if it wants to set a terrifying example to the murderers, why should not the state give wide publicity to it by hanging the criminal in the open street, since in this case it has more deterrent power? Some people argue that the state itself is afraid of public reaction or revolt to such an act. In the light of these facts the view that capital punishment acts as a potent deterrent power seems to be only a vain platitude.

Instead of putting an end to the life of a person who commits homicide, we may as well attempt to reform him. It is true that in all crimes, the punishment has to be co-

mmonly with the gravity and magnitude of the offence. But, even by hanging a murderer, can we bring back the dead to life? Since the murder is committed in an unfortunate predicament, more often than not out of ignorance coupled with emotion, the murderer should be reformed, and no reform is possible after putting an end to his life. It is contended sometimes that human beings—particularly the murderers—cannot be reformed. It is easy to bring about the desired change in the adolescents, but no appreciable metamorphosis can be brought about in the attitude of murderers who are mostly adults.

Most people, however, believe that all punishment is essentially reformatory. In fact, a few persons like Gandhiji and Tagore attempted to reform the culprits even without any punishment. If we seriously believe that no one can change human nature, what then is the objective of punishment? Society can secure no gain by simply punishing a criminal, unless he is reformed by some method or the other. After all, all punishments are based on the simple maxim that human nature can be changed. Otherwise, what is the justification for releasing a criminal after a few years of imprisonment?

If we cannot reform criminals, why not insist on the life imprisonment to all the criminals? In sentencing a criminal for a few years of imprisonment, are not we thinking in terms of reforming him? Of course, the prison may not be a proper place for reform, but, then, why not search for a more effective and purposeful place? All criminals, including the murderers, should be treated as sick men. It is not for nothing that great men like Gandhiji denounced even corporal punishment or assigned a limited role for it. When the human tendency is increasingly in favour of doing away with even corporal punishment what is the justification for keeping capital

punishment ? Jurist Albut Camus had pertinently remarked : "The death penalty, as it is imparted, is disgusting butchery, an outrage inflicted on the spirit and body of a man."

Today the question is not whether the death penalty has a deterrent effect on potential murderers but whether it deters more effectively than other penalties, say a sentence of imprisonment for a long term. Studies have shown that the death penalty is not a greater deterrent to murder than other kinds of punishment. Studies have revealed (including the comprehensive enquiry into the subject made by the Royal Commission on capital punishment) that there was no clear evidence in any of the figures examined that the abolition of death sentence had led to an increase in the homicide rate or that its reintroduction had led to a fall in the murder rate.

According to Prof. Sellin, who made a study of the subject on behalf of the American Law Institute, "anyone who carefully examines the above data is bound to arrive at the conclusion that the death penalty exercises no influence on the extent or fluctuating rates of capital crimes. It has failed as a deterrent." The Law Commission opined that reliance should not be placed on figures available in other countries where the incidence of murder has not increased even after abolition of capital punishment—such figures cannot express the differences in tradition, standards of law enforcement, social conditions and other factors in different countries.

The United Nations Economic and Social Council took a keen interest in the subject in 1962 and according to the statistics compiled, neither the total abolition of the death penalty nor its partial abolition in regard to certain crimes only resulted in notable rise in the incidence of homicide. The same conclusion was arrived at in Ceylon by the

Commission of Enquiry on Capital Punishment. There are certain other potent arguments against capital punishment.

There is the irremediable nature of the death penalty. There are some cases where after a man has been put to death it has been found that there was miscarriage of justice. Human justice can never be infallible. "In the meantime, an innocent man has lost his life." A peculiar case has been reported several years ago from Calcutta : an old man was accused of murdering a young girl and then doing away with her body. The old man expressed his innocence. He was, however, tried, found guilty, sentenced to death and hanged. Two years later the young girl returned to her village home and reported that she ran away out of fear. However, it may be said that there is only a remote possibility of an innocent man being hanged in view of several procedural safeguards as well as protective clauses under the constitution. Therefore, the Law Commission has observed : "Viewing the matter in proper perspective, we are not in a position to say that the possibility of error is an argument which can totally displace the paramount need for a provision intended to protect society."

It has, however, been maintained that some judges and jurists are against death penalty and they, instead of sending a guilty person to the gallows, even declare him not guilty at all. The judges in India have the discretion to impose or not to impose the death penalty. Thus, death sentence to a murderer sometimes becomes a gamble.

In a large number of countries in the world, capital punishment has been abolished. It was abolished recently in the United Kingdom because it did not accord "with the needs or the true interests of a civilised society". Even in the U. S. A. the death penalty is increasingly considered "cruel and unusual punishment" and out of tune with "the evolving standards of decency that mark the progress of a maturing society." Is it not time to abolish capital punishment in India ?

THE ORIGIN OF THE KAYASTHAS

B. K. SINGH

The Kayasthas, as a caste of the Hindu fold, have remained one of the most important castes in India. They are concentrated in North India but their traces are also to be found in Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madras. "Devotion to learning, catholicity of outlook and high status accorded to women has made the Kayasthas one of the most advanced communities in India. During the Muslim era they were the first Hindu community to learn Persian and thus helped in the process of a cultural synthesis. With the advent of British rule, they were amongst the first to learn English and became pleaders, civil servants and judges." In our times it is difficult to find a single Kayasta adult, who does not know the three 'Rs'. But the origin of Kayasthas as a caste remained an enigma to the students of Indian history.

Difference of opinion has been raised in medieval and modern times about the origin and status of the Kayasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of Indian courts also. In Bholanath versus Emperor¹ the Calcutta High Court held that the Kayasthas of Bengal were Sudras and went so far as to hold that a Kayasta could marry a Dom female. But in Asita Mohan versus Niroda Mohan² the Privy Council left open the question whether the Kayasthas of Bengal were Sudras. On the other hand in Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal³ and in Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad,⁴ the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the Kayasthas were *dvisas* or (twice born) and not Sudras. In Subrao v. Raddha this conflict is also referred to.⁵ Thus the controversies raised by the

different Law Courts have not been solved as yet.

Dr. Beni Prasad, the eminent historian, mentions Kayasthas to be the "descendants of the Scythians who invaded North-Western India". According to him "as these scythians were scribes to the rulers of the ancient Middle East, they continued the profession in India". "By a well known philological process the "S" of "Scythians" was replaced by "K" resulting in the term "Kayasta".⁶ But his view does not deserve serious consideration as he does not put forward additional facts in support of his conjecture. Still another view about the origin of the Kayasthas is that it denotes 'an inhabitant, resident or colonist of "Kaya desa" i. e. the territory between Ganga and Jamuna, now known as Oudh.⁷ This view has also no force as it has nothing to do with the origin of the Kayasthas as a caste.

Let us see, what the Kayasthas have to say about their origin. The Kayasthas trace their genealogy from 'Adi Purush' Chitragupta. It is said that after Brahma had created the four Varnas, i. e., Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, Yama requested Brahma to give him an assistant who could record the deeds, good and evil, of men, and administer justice. Brahma went into deep meditation and when he opened his eyes he saw a radiant man holding a pen and ink-pot in his hands and a sword girdled to his waist. Brahma spoke "thou hast been created from my body (Kaya), therefore shalt thy progeny be known as the Kayasthas. Thou hast been conceived in my mind (chitta) and in secrecy (gupta), thy name shall also be Chitragupta. Brahma then

enjoined him to dispense justice and punish those who violated the dharma. Brahma bestowed on Chitragupta the Varna of Dwija-Kahatriya, i. e., twice born warrior". The tradition further states that Chitragupta had 12 sons by his two wives and each of the 12 Kayasthas' branches derive from them.⁸ But no sober student of ancient Indian history will agree with this legend and tradition which Kayasthas mention about their origin. This is simply a splendid garb skilfully woven to hide the reality of the origin of the Kayasthas and to bring them into a caste of ancient origin. Thus this tradition which narrates the origin of the Kayasthas as a caste is simply a farrago of vague legends and myths of no historical value. To support our view we can cite one example from the Rajput origin. It is said that when Parasurama killed the Kshatriyas twentyone times off the earth, the Risi Vasistha created out of the armpit a man to defend the earth and from whom the Agnikula Rajputs originated. But we can not accept this as the origin of the Agnikula Rajputs. Above all, after seventh century A. D. onward we find that almost all the Hindu castes started giving a legend so far as their origin was concerned. This we can find in the origin of the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Kalchuris etc.⁹ It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the legend which the Kayasthas put forward for their origin.

Let us examine our ancient scriptures and inscriptions for solving this problem. What have they to say about the Kayasthas?

Our Vedic literatures state of four Varnas, i. e., the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras. According to them the whole Hindu society was divided among these four Varnas. But nowhere do we find the word Kayasthas as a Varna. This word does not occur in the ancient Dharmasutras of Gautama, Apastamba, Baudhayana or

Vasistha, nor in the Manu Smriti. The Buddhist and Jaina literatures also do not mention the Kayasthas. Panini and Kautilya too have nothing to say about the Kayasthas.

Megasthanes also does not mention the Kayasthas. In his Indica, he mentions that Indian society was divided into seven castes but he does not mention Kayasthas as one of them. On the authority of Diodorus,¹⁰ Strabo¹¹ and Arrian¹² we know that during Mauryan period the administrative service was manned by councillors of the state, who deliberated on public affairs. We are told that it was the smallest class looking to the numbers, but the most respected one on account of the high character and wisdom of its members ; from their ranks were the advisors of the King taken, also as treasurers of the state or the arbiters who settled disputes. Arrian tells us that on account of their superior wisdom and justice they enjoyed the privilege of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, etc.¹³ These councillors of the Greek historians were not members of any caste but corresponded to the class of the Amatyas of the Arthasastra.¹⁴ The Arthasastra informs us that the Mantrins, Adhyaksha class and the higher officers in the secretariat, who drafted important documents were selected from among them. The Arthasastra further states that judicial officers in the mofussil courts were also recruited from the Amatya class.¹⁵ The inscriptions of Asoka mention Rajukas who were the provincial administrators. Dr. Buhler identifies these Rajukas with the 'Kayasthas' of later times.¹⁶ In the Mudrarakshasa (a work of later times) one Sakat Das Kayasta is described as the secretary of Chandragupta Maurya. Thus it seems that during the Mauryan period the Kayasthas did not represent as a Varna or caste of the Hindu fold, but as a class of officials mentioned by the classical writers, and

as the officials were recruited from all the Varnas, they did not belong to one particular Varna but to all Varnas.

It is for the first time in Visnu Dharmasutra¹⁷ that we find the reference of the word Kayastha. It defines a public document as one written in the royal court by a Kayastha appointed by the King and attested by the hand of the superintendent of office. These words suggest that the Kayastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste here. Yajnavalkya¹⁸ calls upon the king to protect the subjects from the harassment of catas (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of the Kayasthas. Ushana¹⁹ explains that Kayasthas are accountants and scribes, and are favourites of the king and very cunning. Ushana for the first time mentions Kayasthas as a caste. He holds the Kayasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it compounded of the first letter of Kaka (Crow), Yama and Sthapati to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation characteristics of the three.²⁰ The Vedavyasasmriti²¹ includes the Kayasthas among Sudras along with barbers, potters and others. Sumantu quoted in the Parasara-Madhaviya makes the food of a lekhana along with that of oilman and others unfit for a Brahmana.²² Lekhana is obviously a caste here, but whether it is a Kayastha caste is doubtful. Thus up to the first century of the Christian era the Kayasthas were merely officers and not a caste. Yajnavalkya describes them as writers, scribes and village accountants. In one of the commentaries of Yajnavalkya they are mentioned as the chief revenue officers. The Vishnu and Parasara Smritis describe Kayasthas as magistrates, judges and chief executive officers. Narada Smriti declares Kayasthas to be the ministers of war and peace.

After first century A. D. we have numerous officers mentioned in the literary as well as epigraphic sources. But we hardly get Kayasthas as officers upto the 5th century A.D. It is for the first time in the Gupta records that we find mention of Kayasthas along with other officials like the banker, the chief trader and the chief artisan who helped Vishayapati.²³ The literature of the time also mentions Kayasthas not as a Varna but as an official. Thus in the Mricchakatika a Sresthin and the Kayastha are described as registrars in the court of the kings and are associated with the town administration.²⁴

From the 7th Century A. D. onwards 'the Kayasthas' occur in many literary as well as epigraphic sources. In the copper plates of Valabhi kings the Kayasthas are mentioned as writers of copper plates.²⁵ During the time of Harsha we find the reference of the Prathama-Kayastha along with other three officers who were the members of the Board, which assisted the Vishayapati in his administration. Since then a large number of inscriptions mention the word Kayastha as an officer. The Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagana dated in the Malawa era 795, i. e., 738-39 A. D. mentions the word Kayastha as the writer of the record.²⁶ The Belore plates of 994-95 A.D.,²⁷ the Naraspatam plates of 1045 A. D.,²⁸ the Amoda Plates of 1161 A. D. and one inscription of Hammira dated 1288 A.D.²⁹ refer to Kayastha Kanchana, Sasanika Kayastha, Kayastha Suraditya, Vastavya Kayastha, Mathura Kayastha and Gauda Kayastha respectively. They all are mentioned as officers. In the Rajatarangini³⁰ Kayasthas and Uvijas are mentioned separately. It is further mentioned that the Brahmana Sivaratha who was a roguish Kayastha was strangulated in the reign of Jayasinha.³¹ Thus it is clear that up to the 12th century Kayasthas were only officers, and in Kashmir Brahmanas held the post of such officers.

Thus the studies of our ancient literatures and inscriptions show that the Kayasthas were not a Varna or caste of Hindu society upto the 12th century A. D. but were officials and in Kashamir we have definite information, that Brahmanas held the post of such officers. In the first centuries of the Christian era the Kayasta was merely an officer and if we believe in the thesis of Dr. Beni Prasad 'the word Kayasta was possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for an officer'. As shown by Ushanas and Veda-Vyas it seems that in some parts of the country the Kayasthas also had come to form a caste but it was not possibly at any date earlier to the middle ages. It seems more probable that with the span of time and when the caste system became rigid the Kayasthas themselves formed a caste and invented a legend to trace their origin from the ancient times as we find in several other castes of early medieval period.

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Charu, from whom the Charu Mathur Kayasthas. The second was Sudaru from whom the Gauda, the Bhatanagar from Chitra, the Saxena from Hastivarn, the Ambasthas from Hemvarna. The Nigmas from Chitracharu, Karnas from Arun, Kulasrestha from Jitendra, Srivastavas from Bhanu, Suryadhwajas from Vibhanu Vahnikas from Vishvandhu and Asthana from Viryabhanu.



MASS COPYING IN UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

MANMATHA NATH SIKDAR

Mass copying in different examinations is one of the manifold evils of our contemporary Indian Society. It is a post-war and post-independence phenomenon. It is a sad commentary on the state of education in our land. Of late, it has created a stir among educationists ; but politicians of the country who wield power do not attach that much of importance to it which its seriousness demands.

Let us try to analyse objectively some of the causes responsible for this disease that is eating into the vitals of the nation.

To begin with, we have to reckon with the second world war and the sudden emergence of India as a free nation. The partition of India, the riots that preceded and followed it, in fact, the peculiar character of Indian freedom precluded the formulation of a national policy on education to be implemented by the resources of the state. The death of Gandhiji on the morrow of Indian independence removed the one personality who could rise above the passions of the moment and evolve a policy of education consonant with the genius of the Indian people. Other leaders who constituted the then Government of India were literally overwhelmed by the number and complexity and the seriousness of the urgent problems that threatened to strangle the infant state at its birth. Thus it was that education did not receive that priority and primacy of importance that it did in the liberated Russia of 1919 or in the New China that replaced the regime of Chiang Kai-Shek in 1949.

The system of education introduced by the British in this country mainly for purposes of administration was allowed to function and has been functioning up till now, with minor changes here and there, hardly adequate to meet the needs of a country emerging into freedom after centuries of alien domination and exploitation.

Hardly any attention was paid to the fact that the second World War and its aftermath of inflation had played havoc with the teaching profession at all levels, specially in the lower echelons of the educational service. In the mean time we constituted ourselves into a sovereign democratic republic. A suitable constitution based on the widest extension of popular freedom enshrining mainly the liberal principles of British parliamentary democracy, was framed by the founding fathers of the nation. One of the directive principles of the constitution was the broadest diffusion of education amongst all classes of the Indian people. But somehow or other this directive was not followed. The first election was held in terms of the new constitution in 1952 against a background of mass illiteracy. In the pristine glow of newly achieved freedom our leaders flattered themselves with the results of the general election which, according to them, reflected great credit on the commonsense, judgment and political maturity of the vast Indian electorate. But the educational budget of the new Government that came into being after the election betrayed a complacent self-

satisfied air of achievement. Understandably the financial allocation of education proved to demonstrate that the subject of education was the Cinderella amongst the different spheres of national activity and endeavour. The effects of this step-motherly attitude to education were not slow to be felt in all spheres of life.

Meanwhile the march of democracy brought in its wake numerous parties and the 'parties are the gamesters'.

Since 1952 five general elections have been held and these are adduced as crowning proof of the fact that India is a stable democracy destined to forge ahead in this unquiet world and set an example of peaceful progress. But as we look beneath the surface or as we look at the Indian scene through plain glass, do we not perceive that the country, from one end to the other, is torn by party clashes, riots, political murders, dislocation, group rivalries, rebellious idleness, confusion of intellect and a thousand and other disruptive activities? This has specially been the case after the general election of 1967. The political parties trading on the ignorance and superstition of the vast multitude that have been enfranchised mislead them into devious paths of violent destruction and disruption.

Let us now consider how far these evils of the Indian body-politic are attributable to the bungling in the sphere of education. Far be it from us to deny that educational grants after freedom have registered an appreciable increase.

But they have fallen short of what is demanded by the colossal nature of the problem. Of the numerous shortcomings of the post-independence scheme of education one calls for special mention. Education at the school stage, under the eleven year scheme, has proved a fruitful source of mischief. To begin with, it is unrelated to collegiate education and the

three years degree course scheme. The dearth of properly qualified teachers capable of doing justice to the ambitious syllabus prescribed for school students has aggravated the evil.

In the collegiate stage, the picture is as gloomy as in the pre-collegiate stage. A vast army of ill equipped students are admitted into the different Colleges. Only a handful of these Colleges can provide facilities for the type of education that they profess to impart. Apart from the absence of library and laboratory facilities, the teachers that constitute the staff of such Colleges, are indifferently qualified for their noble calling. The generation of great teachers is gone. A new generation of "Young Turks" having hardly any aptitude for the noble profession of teaching has stepped into their shoes. To make confusion worse confounded these teachers, unable to impress or inspire the students and having already tasted the sweet fruits of political demagogic in their student days, find it very interesting to convert their pupils to the particular brand of politics in which they believe or to which they are attached. To this has to be added the fact that since the dawn of independence and the advent of periodical elections, politicians have thought fit to look upon Colleges as a recruiting centre for cadres. The College Unions, instead of functioning as training grounds for citizenship, are actually operating as political cells. The result of these developments inside the College Campus is not only subversive of academic discipline but also of all values. Students and teachers, at least the majority of them are no longer mindful of the serious type of intellectual work to which their counterparts of a bygone generation were committed. Their main function is to advance the political interests of the particular party or parties to which they profess to owe their allegiance. In very many cases, now-a-days, heads of educational institutions are being appointed

not on the basis of academic merit or administrative competence but on other considerations. To crown all, permissiveness all around has vitiated the entire atmosphere. A generation brought up from early years without manners or morals, a generation addicted to the defiance of authority, a generation, believing in nothing noble and grand, "except in the things they can eat and handle" is bound to behave in the way they are doing. Small wonder that when they are subjected to academic tests, which are a passport to jobs, they resort to unfair means in the examination halls. Some of the students when challenged or sought to be prevented from resorting to unfair means often justify themselves by citing examples of corruption in public life.

It would appear that the poisonous habit of mass copying in the examination hall is bound up with and is in fact the cumulative effect of a deep seated malaise of the body politic.

There is however no sense in throwing up our hands in despair and following a policy of drift. The problem has to be taken up in all seriousness and it is a good augury that public conscience seems to have been roused and there is an attempt in educational circles to fight the evil. That a thorough over-hauling of the entire system of education is called for is admitted on all hands. That of course means delay. Nothing should be done in hot haste. There can be no overnight solution. For

that way lies disaster. But we should not sit idle either. Since there is a stirring of popular conscience, it should be the duty of our popularly elected government to pass legislation banning the practice altogether. At the same time all categories of teachers should be made to understand that since they have taken up teaching as their vocation in life, they should discharge their duties and responsibilities to the best of their ability. But the most urgent measure which brooks no delay is this: a democratic Government like ours should consider it their sacred duty to divest themselves of all administrative control over education. The nationalisation of educational institutions would be a retrograde step. Nationalisation would mean the virtual burial of democracy and the advent of Fascism as was the case in Nazi Germany and other totalitarian countries. A popularly elected government should, of course, discharge their financial obligation towards the up-keep and maintenance of educational institutions. And, as in England, they should leave the conduct of educational institutions to autonomous bodies composed exclusively of educationists by which term we mean not only teachers but also men of wide individual culture. In any case let us declare a truce to the induction of politics and political persons into the sphere of education. The history of education of the last few years in India ought to have proved an eye-opener to the Government and to the people of this country.



HEAD INJURY IN BOXING

DR. RABINDRA NATH BHATTA

In a boxing tournament a boxer during his fight suddenly got knocked down with a heavy punch in the chin. After the usual count the opponent was given the verdict and the loser was taken to the dressing room. There he remained unconscious for a while, to regain his consciousness sometime later. Thereafter he was allowed to remain seated in the dressing room somewhat in a state of confusion. Finding him in that condition his friends wanted to take him home, which was quite a long way off.

While travelling in a taxi the boxer remained seated there as before, in the same state of confusion for sometime. Then he suddenly became very violent and started boxing within the car forgetting all about the past. His friends somehow or other, with physical force, managed to sit him down once again. On arrival at his residence he was made to lie down with his hands and legs tied. After remaining for some time in violent attitude and in that tied up condition the boxer quitted down to sleep which very soon passed on to a state of deep coma. Patient could not be revived from that condition and then he subsequently expired.

It is said that in head injury the greatest problem that we face, is not in diagnosis of the case but in assessment of the nature and extent of the injury and also in management of the case.

We know that the brain lies within the bony cage of the cranial cavity. Hence it is quite under protection from external sources of injury. But because of its hidden position in the cranial cavity one finds difficulty in deter-

mining the nature and extent of the pathological change caused by the injury. Because of this position of the brain there also arises difficulty in diagnosis at the time of bleeding inside the skull. The skull being a solid bony structure, any rise of intracranial pressure will lead to the compression of the Brain tissues thereby causing fatal consequences. The compression may affect vital centres of the brain viz. respiratory, cardiac or vasomotor centres in the brain or it may give rise to paralysis by the pressure on the motor centres on the Precentral Gyrus.

Though the brain is under the protection of the bony skull yet we should know that it is very trauma sensitive. The main symptom of traumatised brain is headache. We should know however small injury to the brain it might be the patient will complain of headache. If along with this complaint, other abnormalities are detected by detailed neurological examination then the injury to the brain may be taken to be of a more serious type. Yet we should know that brain has got sufficient reserve power and there are certain areas in the brain over which injury may not make itself apparent by usual signs and symptoms. Hence potentially serious injury may be overlooked sometimes.

Brain injury can be classified under three heads :—

- 1) Concussion of the brain
- 2) Contusion of the brain
- 3) Laceration of the brain

Concussion of the brain :—

In this case there occurs violent jerky movement of the brain inside the cranial cavity.

This leads to loss of control of the brain over the other centres and hence there is loss of consciousness of the person. Its onset immediately follows the blow. The victim falls on the ground and lies in a flaccid heap. There is absolute loss of consciousness and muscular relaxation which may afterwards lead to incontinence of both urine and faeces. The face is pale, cold and clammy. Pulse becomes rapid and feeble and pupils get dilated which do not react to light. This loss of consciousness may last for a few seconds to a few minutes. Though this is the classical picture of concussion yet it may so happen sometimes that unconsciousness may be so momentary that the patient may not have a fall on the ground. With the regaining of consciousness there follows a stage of confusion which may persist from few minutes to few days. Judgements and motor responses may be impaired immediately following this type of injury.

Neurological examination of the patient may reveal nothing.

Usually there is complete recovery without any specific Drug Therapy.

Contusion :

Second degree of brain injury is known as contusion of the brain. When brain substance forcibly comes in contact with the skull bone then some local changes take place in the brain.

In boxing, following a blow on the chin victim may fall unconscious on the ground with a heavy thud of the head on the floor. The result is contusion of the brain.

In contusion some local bleeding and swelling (oedema) occurs which later on may be followed by softening of the area. This eventually heals up with a scar.

Symptoms of contusion are similar to that of concussion except with variation of degree. In case of contusion symptoms are more severe and apt to be more prolonged.

Here unconsciousness may last longer e.g. an hour or even more. When consciousness returns the state of confusion lasts longer. Headache is also more severe and persistent.

Temporary disturbances in the motor function occurs if there is contusion in the area of Precentral Gyrus. Speech and vision may be affected if the appropriate brain centres are involved.

On neurological examination some other disturbances may be detected.

From this type of Brain injury usual recovery takes place. Rest is the most important treatment. During this period patient is to be put under observation.

Electro-Encephalogram may be done at a later period to determine the prognosis. In this case change in the tracing should revert to normal pattern within a period of 6 months if there be no serious permanent damage in the brain substance.

Laceration is the third degree of brain injury. It is laceration of the brain that usually leads to the complications like Subdural and Extradural Haematoma. The latter may occur as a result of fracture of the skull near the distribution of Middle Meningeal Artery or any other artery or large venous sinuses.

Subdural Haematoma occurs as a result of tearing of the blood vessels of the Arachnoid matter or in the substance of brain itself.

The danger of bleeding within the closed cranial cavity may lead to immediate danger to life due to increased intracranial tension.

On the other hand, the onset of symptoms may be gradual depending on the degree of compression that may evolve during the course of gradual rise of intracranial pressure due to persistence of haemorrhage inside the skull.

The effect of increased intracranial tension causing various degrees of compression on the brain structures may clinically be divided into three stages, viz. Stage I, II and III.

Stage I— In this stage patient regains his senses from the condition of unconsciousness due to the effect of concussion.

At this stage, except for some confusion of thoughts, no other abnormality in behaviour can be detected out in the patient. Clinically this stage is known as 'Silent Stage'.

Stage II— As the haemorrhage continues there will be further rise of Intra Cranial pressure. As a result of this there will be more compression of the brain thereby rendering it extremely irritable. At this stage patient becomes violent and resists all interference. This stage is stage of irritation.

In the previously mentioned story the boxer was found at this stage while he was in the Taxi.

Stage III— With the continuation of haemorrhage there will be further rise of intracranial pressure which may be sufficient to have its effect on the vital centres of the brain leading him to pass on to a state of coma along with some paralytic symptoms. Clinically this stage is known as stage of paralysis from which recovery is uncertain. Our boxer in the story, as we know could not be revived from this stage.

The onset of symptoms of subdural Hematoma is gradual and depend on the various stages that may evolve during its course. As stages of concussion, irritation, compression passes on very slowly from one to another.

At this juncture routine general examination (Pulse, respiration, B. P.), neurological examination, Radiological examination (X ray of skull) and cerebrospinal fluid examination may reveal the condition of the case.

A patient following third degree of brain injury and history of unconsciousness may last for weeks or months to be followed by recovery. Sometimes surgical interference becomes necessary. Sometimes it may so happen that surgery is not possible because of severe laceration. In this case if the patient survives then surgery may have to be done later on to restore the function and facilitate rehabilitation.

On the whole prognosis of brain laceration is not very satisfactory. Young patients tolerate brain injury greater than adults and survival is greater amongst them. But usually it is seen that survival takes place along with severe impairment of motor or special sense function. However great attempt is made no amount of medical or surgical aid may be able to alter the prognosis established by the brain injury.

When an unconscious athlete, suffering from brain injury is seen first, he should be transferred to hospital immediately. In this case one should remember that slow pulse with high blood pressure indicates serious type of brain injury whereas at a late phase of serious type of brain injury we may notice rising pulse rate with fall of blood pressure and this is an ominous sign. Supply of oxygen should be carried on if it is available. Sometimes emergency transfusion of plasma or whole blood may be necessary when there is evidence of blood loss.

Assessment of the suspected brain injury

Whenever a brain injury is suspected a prompt decision has to be made as regards the management of the case. Assessment has to be carried out immediately otherwise serious con-

sequences may result due to negligence at this juncture. The physician is the only person who can take proper decision at this particular phase.

Whenever an athlete becomes unconscious following a trauma to the head region it is apparent that there has been some brain injury with the patient. Even if he recovers early he should be kept under observation and this observation should be close and continuous.

During the period of regained consciousness one should look for any unusual behaviour or any impaired function of some vital organs of the body. If the above mentioned trouble is found then one should infer that brain injury has taken place. Sometimes it may be noticed that following a trauma to the head an athlete may have no memory of the past or the events which followed later until sometime after. Here one is justified in removing the athlete from the game.

A few questions and a close viewing of the patient may give some clues for brain injury in the person even though the victim may not have suffered any unconsciousness. Such persons always insist on continuing the game. In these persons there always occurs some impaired judgement. They must at all cost be removed from the area of play and taken to a physician for neurological examination which may reveal then the nature, extent and severity of the brain injury.

Management of brain injury.

The person who has been rendered unconscious following a trauma to the head should not be allowed to return to the game on that day. If he does not seem to sustain severe injury even then he should be kept under close observation for 48 to 72 hours. A neurological examination should be done on the day following the injury. Any persistence of signs and symptoms or the appearance of new ones should be checked by X Ray, E. E. G, and lumber puncture.

The person who manifests only symptoms but no signs of head injury may return to practice when he is free from symptoms. On his return to practice one should observe closely for any other sign which may not have been revealed during previous neurological examination. If on observation there be no untoward sign and symptoms then the patient may be allowed to return to the competition.

On the other hand those who will show sign and symptoms of brain injury should not return to practice until normalcy returns. Sometimes X Ray of Skull and E. E. G. have to be done.

Evidence of skull fracture will debar the patient from participation in the game during the remainder of the season.

If an abnormal focus of brain wave is revealed in E. E. G. then he should be started with anti convulsive drugs and kept out of competition and practice until the focus has been cleared on a repeated test over a period of 6 months.

If a second brain injury occurs during the season then he should retire from the competition. No matter whether there is any evidence of brain injury or not he should abstain from all games and sports. In such case at least one E. E. G. has got to be done.

A player sustaining three or more brain injury during his sporting career should be examined properly for possible permanent retirement from sports. The person suffering from lacerated brain injury should not compete at all in any body contact sports.

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INDIA AND THE SOVIET ECONOMIC FAMILY

(CONTRIBUTED)

There have been talks of India joining the COMECON which is the name given to what might be called the Soviet led communist Common Market, of which the members are Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugo-Slavia, GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria in Europe and Cuba and Iraq outside Europe. In this combine certain members specialise in specific lines of production and the others do not compete with that member but, as far as possible, buy that special product exclusively from that member country. Sometimes some member nations combine their efforts and assets to build up a certain type of joint productive organisation in some chosen place within the wide area of the participating nations. The Bulgarian and Hungarian participation in the putting up of a paper and pulp mill at Ilim in the USSR which will utilise the material resources of Hungary and Bulgaria is an example. Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union are also planning to produce by joint effort many kinds of agricultural implements, parts of automobiles and components of various types of machinery. There are plans of similar cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The widespread economic structure of Soviet Union requires greater concentration of plants, technical know-how, skill, distribution set up and all the rest of the organisation that will make it possible for the combines to produce and distribute particular goods in an effective and economically advantageous manner. There is one factor which makes the COMECON countries easily capable of combining economically with one another. It is their similarity of political outlook.

These countries are all authoritarian and have centrally planned economic establishments which can be moulded into new shapes and forms without any opposition from any political parties, capitalist bodies or public organisations. Whether a democratic country can fit into a communist master plan of industrial-commercial integration of an international type, is a question which normally would be answered by a straight "NO". But where the democratic nation is shaky in its faith in democracy and parades its firm belief in socialism rather than actively display its attachment to democratic principles, the democratic country can, perhaps, go over to a communist camp in order to find ways and means of utilising their preferences for things of the socialist variety to win over the communist bloc and secure economic aid and assistance from them. If the democratic country fails to obtain continued economic assistance from the capitalistic and democratic society of nations, the need for going over to the communist consortium becomes urgent and unavoidable. The Communists will no doubt try to accommodate the democracy, within limits, to win it over and to induce it eventually to become a full fledged totalitarian body. The hopes of achieving this objective will be stronger, the more the democracy practices an economic policy which is coloured by totalitarian tendencies.

Coming down to the clear facts of a real example, this democracy, India, has been moving towards a state capitalistic system of economy since she nationalised Insurance, Banks, Coal mines, etc., on a fairly large scale and the communist bloc, no doubt, accepted

these acts as indications of India having preferences which do not clash with communism. There were hopes in communist circles that India would some day accept communism as her creed, though that development might not come about very soon. India perhaps thought that she would receive aid from non-communist countries on account of the fact that she was the world's largest democracy. The fact of her economic objectives being socialistic did not in any way debar her from being a true democracy insofar as many democracies had socialistic objectives now-a-days. India's socialism was mainly restricted to nationalisation of privately owned economic establishments. She did nothing much to give the people of India social security, there being no old age pensions, widows' pensions, aid to orphans and the physically disabled, etc., etc., which were extensively in force in many capitalistic democratic countries. India also had no unemployment benefits nor were all people of working age fully employed in India. There were no motorable roads leading in and out of most villages in India, nor was there compulsory mass education. The requirement for dwelling houses for the masses ran to millions. In the circumstances if India spent more

money after public welfare measures that would receive support from everybody and make her more socialistic than she could be by taxing her people extortionately and by nationalising more private industries. The countries that belong to the COMECON group try their best to arrange and organise their economy in a manner which gives employment to almost all persons of the working age groups. Nationalisation of existing industries in India has not increased employment so far and has, perhaps, acted as a brake on the rapid growth of facilities for further employment by discouraging private investors from starting new industries. India's socialism, therefore, has not been very socialistic. If by joining the communist economic confederation India could solve her unemployment problem, also cure her lack of education, want of social security, shortage of housing, etc.,etc., it would indeed be a good thing for her to go into that organisation. If on the other hand joining the COMECON would merely mean more borrowing from foreign countries and no improvement of the living conditions of the peoples of India, new friendships will be no better than the old ones which Pandit Nehru developed, much to the disadvantage of the Indian people.

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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Scientific Farming in India

Virendra Agarwala writing in *Swarajya* points out certain facts which are worth the attention of top persons among government policy makers :

The Prime Minister has refuted that lowering of land ceilings will dislocate the rural economy by promoting fragmentation of holdings and reducing the agricultural output. On the contrary, she asserts, small holdings would encourage the farmer to concentrate more on his land and derive a large benefit from it, as has happened in Japan. Japanese farmers have been provided with such large incentives that have produced the desired results. What incentives have we provided to our farmer that we expect him to raise his productivity ?

Mechanisation of farming is possible only on economic holdings : therefore, land-ceiling should be determined in such a way as will raise agricultural productivity. High consumption of essential inputs is known to be necessary for raising agricultural production. In 1969-70, Rs 221 crores were set apart for imports : but the expenditure totalled only Rs 162 crores. The likelihood of a shortfall in the fertilizer industry suggests that a balance between demand and supply is as elusive as it was in 1969-70. No assessment of fertilizer requirements is possible without reliable information about the farmers' actual and prospective needs as well as their buying capacity. The national consumption rose impressively from 1.54 million tons in 1967-68 to 2.75 million tonnes in 1971-72 ; but the annual rate of increase has been falling from 40 per cent to 22 per cent. There has admittedly been some improvement in the domestic pro-

duction of nitrogen and phosphoric acid but the output does not exceed 45 per cent of the total needs. The demand is expected to increase to 4.5 million tonnes by 1974-75, and despite an allocation of Rs 365 crores in the Fourth Plan period, this may leave a gap of about a million tonnes.

The Union Government has taken steps to overcome the present marginal shortage of fertilizers. It is estimated that the shortage is only about 1.25 lakh tonnes against the expected availability of 9.40 lakh tonnes for the kharif season. The present difficult situation has arisen in spite of the increase in consumption being below earlier estimates. The Government does not seem to have realised the set-back that the effort for boosting agricultural production would suffer due to a shortage of fertilizers. It does not seem to be in any great haste either to implement expansion schemes in the public and the private sectors. On the other hand, the construction schedules of some of the giant projects have been slipping and delay in commissioning some plants has extended even to 2 years beyond the target date. Even if some schemes under implementation were completed in the next 3 years, the additional capacity is not expected to be more than 2 million tonnes, taking the total capacity to 4 million tonnes. The poor utilisation of the existing capacity in respect of nitrogen—not more than 60 per cent last year—adds to the difficulties. This clearly indicates that there will have to be a massive imports bill which may exceed the sum of Rs 120 crores spent last year,

It is widely appreciated that the Government has decided to clear without further

delay the pending applications for setting up new fertilizer units. The output during 1971-72 is estimated at 12.5 lakh tonnes which, though higher than the previous year's production, is nowhere near the required quantity. How to raise the indigenous production is the crucial question. The total installed capacity in the public and private sectors is 19.64 lakh tonnes. We must take effective steps towards fuller utilisation of the existing capacity. The total fertilizer production can reach 60 lakh tonnes if the projects under implementation are completed and those under consideration are approved. The present fertilizer shortage is to be met through imports but the Government and industry must coordinate their plans for increasing indigenous production.

The recent increase in the fertilizer levy from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 15 per cent under the 1972-73 budget, has been described as premature in its timing and short-sighted in its efficacy. It is sure to have a far-reaching effect on the promotion of these inputs which are basic to the success of the new agricultural strategy. It is a good example of incoguity between the operational short-term tactics and the long-term promotional strategy of the Government. It would ultimately mean the age-old folly of killing the goose that lays golden eggs. It is rather naive on the part of the Finance Minister to believe that the fertilizer levy will not affect the small farmers for they have not taken to fertilizers in any accountable extent. It is rather too much to argue that it will be a tax on the big landowners.

Recent studies conducted by Franine R. Frankel have disclosed that farmers with 20 acres or more have made the greatest absolute and relative gains partly by mechanising farm operations to take up double or multiple cropping patterns to include more profitable commercial crops. To tax the rich farmers in

the name of equalising disparities is a myopic view of the Government, running counter to the country's long-term interests. A visible increase in the price would definitely have psychological impact on the fertilizer promotion. Will it not upset the farmers—both large and small—so far as their cost-benefit calculations are concerned?

USA Pays Too Much for U.N.O.

A Press Release by USIS tells us how the UNO manages its financial affairs. We find the USA paying large doles to the UNO. But, then the UNO shows special favours to the USA too. The USA can get away with violations of principles held up by the UNO where other nations are pulled up for such acts. Is it a case of "calling for the tune" by "he who pays the piper"?

Washington, October 12—A fair sharing of the overhead costs of the United Nations will be the subject of discussion at the General Assembly again this year as it has been often before.

Since the sounding of the U.N. in San Francisco in 1945, when Senator Vandenberg spoke for the American republic, the United States has contended that it is bad policy for any one nation to pay more than a quarter of the fixed costs. The U.N. is a body of sovereign equals, each nation with a General Assembly vote worth as much as that of nations with populations hundreds of times larger. Political good sense, in the Vandenberg view, called for a wide bearing of the assessed expenses.

When Senator Vandenberg made his presentation the U.N. had 51 members. Now with 152 the United States feels that the time is at hand to take a step which has been a quarter of a century in abeyance.

At the beginning the U.N. Committee on Contributions proposed that the United States pay just under half of the assessments—49.89.

per cent. When Senator Vandenberg objected, a temporary level of ten percentage points less—39.89 per cent—was decided. Several times since then the United States share has been cut. It is 31.52 per cent now with an understanding that it go eventually to 30 per cent.

The United States request merely covers assessments, not voluntary grants. From the beginning Washington has supported U.N. world relief and development projects generously and there is no suggestion that there be a change in that. Last year when the American assessment, at the 31.52 per cent rate, was 64 million dollars the actual United States grant was seven times that, nearly half a billion dollars. In 1970, according to the U.N. Committee on Contributions, the total American payments, assessments and voluntary alike, were forty per cent of the U.N. income. There is no indication that a more close-fisted approach is to be expected.

This year's U.N. budget is 203 million dollars. At the one-quarter rate the United States would be assessed 51 million dollars.

Two-thirds of the U.N. members—88—must support the United States request if it is to pass.

Half the U.N. members, some 70 of them, currently pay the minimum allowed, one-twenty-fifth of one per cent, or just over 70,000 dollars. If the American request is accepted these 70 will face no increase. They will merely continue paying the same minimum.

The reason the smaller countries will not face added assessments is that the U.N. is looking forward to two new sources of income large enough in themselves to cover what the United States asks while even reducing assessments for some nations now bearing a middle-range of the costs. These two new sources are new memberships, and booming national economies calling for expanded assessments.

Some time in the next year or so the two Germanys may enter the U.N. Under the assessment scale now in effect the Federal Republic of Germany alone would bring in enough to meet Washington's request. Its assessment would be 6.8 per cent. The Democratic Republic of Germany would be charged an additional 2 per cent. As for expanding economies Japan, now paying 5.4 per cent and Australia which gives 1.47 per cent, can reasonably foresee increases. The People's Republic of China with 50 times the population of the Republic of China (Taiwan) which it replaced can count on a rise from its present four per cent to seven or eight.

At present a mere five of the U.N. members account for 65 per cent of the assessments, an illogical sharing in the Washington view. After the United States, the second most heavily assessed, is asked to pay at only half the United States rate. That is the Soviet Union which, incidentally, has three votes, or one vote for each 5.5 per cent of assessment. Even at that the Soviets are refusing to pay 6 million dollars of a 29.5 million dollar assessment because of objections to U.N. peace keeping activities. By that default the Soviets unilaterally have cut their vote cost to 4.3 per cent of the assessment scale.

Other nations also have refused to pay full assessments because of political disagreements with some actions of the world agency. In the United States view this problem must be dealt with apart. Washington is willing to help find a reasonable solution to the other question, but as a separate matter.

Ambassador George Bush is asking that the Assembly agree now in principle to the one-quarter ceiling. The U.N. Committee on Contributions will then work out a new schedule of payments next spring. After a second Assembly vote a year from now the new quotas will be in effect for three years starting on the first day of 1974.

Meanwhile heavy American voluntary contributions far outweighing the narrow assessment issue go on. Last year alone the United States gave more than its U.N. assessment both to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees for South Asian humanitarian aid (91.8 million dollars) and to the U.N. development programme (86.2 million dollars). In addition 18.9 million dollars went to U.N. relief in what is now Bangladesh ; 54.5 million dollars to the U.N. and F.A.O. world food programme ; 23.2 million dollars to the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine ; 18.7 million dollars to the U.N. Children's Fund and 14.5 million dollars to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities.

Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs

Another Press Release by USIS describes the work done by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, which we are reproducing partially :

Washington, October 18—John E. Ingersoll, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD), recently sent telegrams to police authorities in Buenos Aires and Caracas congratulating them on their success in breaking up heroin trafficking operations.

"These major contributions to worldwide narcotics enforcement are clear indicators to the international trafficking organization that they are vulnerable to effective professional narcotic enforcement", Ingersoll's messages read.

The BNDD telegrams were sent after Buenos Aires police seized 45 kilos of heroin and arrested 30 members of an international drug trafficking organization. A few days before, Venezuelan police, working with BNDD agents, seized more than 16 kilos of heroin, Mr. Ingersoll noted, "breaking up a major drug trafficking ring in Caracas, Venezuela, and Miami."

"It is the same story in Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile", Mr. Ingersoll said in an address October 12 before the International Narcotic Enforcement Officers Association meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana. "Here cooperation has increased ten-fold. Whereas in the past, government action in Latin America was weak or non-existent, we now see outstanding activity."

In his New Orleans address, Mr. Ingersoll cited the record of growing international cooperation in drug abuse problems as proof that "there will be no surrender" in the battle against illegal narcotics traffic. "In plain, simple language," he said, "we are waging and will continue to wage a global war on narcotics and dangerous drugs in cooperation with most of the rest of the countries of the world."

In his wide-ranging review of evidences of cooperation, the BNDD director pointed out that more than 21 kilos of heroin—worth nearly nine million dollars in illicit street sales—had been seized in recent raids by Philippine Constabulary Narcotic Unit police and BNDD agents. Three separate seizures broke a heroin ring operating from an illicit heroin processing laboratory in Manila. The laboratory, according to information developed by BNDD agents prior to the September 28 raid, had been receiving enough morphine base to produce at least eight kilos of pure heroin each month.

Mr. Ingersoll, described Southeast Asia as "a primary source of concern" largely because of lack of effective control of opium production in the "golden triangle" area where the borders of Laos, Thailand and Burma meet. Of the estimated 700 tons illicitly produced in the golden triangle about 200 tons are moved to users in Malaysia, the Philippines and Hong Kong. About 100 tons are available for the international market, he noted.

Because of seizures and arrests in the border regions and in the major trafficking centres, there is today an over supply of Number-4 heroin, Mr. Ingersoll pointed out. At the same time the price of heroin has dropped considerably in that area and many of the Chinese criminals involved in the traffic "have incurred substantial losses". He recalled that earlier this year the Thai Government had destroyed 26 tons of opium collected from irregular Chinese armies in the remote regions of the north. Last year Thailand passed its first national law providing enforcement tools to halt narcotics trafficking in that country.

During fiscal year 1972, BNDD agents

made 4,579 arrests of narcotics violators and assisted state, local and foreign police with another 3,092 arrests. In the same period the U.S. Bureau of Customs arrested 7,860 narcotics violators, seized 636 pounds (286 kilos) of heroin and heroin equivalent and 379 pounds (170 kilos) of cocaine.

"We are making progress internationally", Mr. Ingersoll said. "It is showing locally by the sustained heroin shortage in the eastern United States". He warned against the legalization of marijuana or permitting heroin to be administered to addicts. Moves such as this, he said, could "set the stage for recreational drug use that would make the swinging sixties look puritanical".

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

BENGALI

Changer Biswarup Darshan: Book of satirical rhymes by Gopesh Chandra Chakravarty. Demy Oct. pp 78+VIII paper board illust, binding, published by Shri Kachi Chakravarty, 95B, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13, Price Rs. 2.50. The writer is a well known artist of Bengal. His book of satirical poems presents him to the public as a satirist of distinct ability. Social, political and economic life in India can show the discerning observer many despicable and obnoxious things which require to be removed surgically, if ordinary efforts at reform would not work. The Indian scene with occasional switch back

into past history, is viewed through the eyes of chang, a kind of shallow water fish which in trying to escape from one mud pool to another meets a crow, a jackal, a large toad and a Brahmin. The Brahmin hands chang to his wife to cook but a kite picks chang up in its claws and flies away ; thus saving it from the frying pan. During a long flight over the countryside chang sees, thinks and dreams and he gives a review of whatever that was happening and had intensified the nation's degradation. The description given in three and four line verses provide a running commentary on the psychological and physical basis of the activities that have made men what they are

Mr. Chakravarty has visualised all this clearly and in great detail. His power of expression through words is as great and effective as it has been through the strokes of his stylus and brush. The Bengali style is direct and precise. The book will be found well worth reading by all who desire social reform and progress.

ENGLISH

India and the World : Edited by A. P. Jain. Published by D. K. publishing House Delhi 110-035. Demy Oct. pp 392 + XII, cloth gilt binding art jacket Price Rs. 40.00. The society for parliamentary studies New Delhi, organised a seminar which was held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on August 12 and 13, 1972. Many experts, intellectuals, diplomats and other public men participated in the seminar. This volume contains the papers contributed to the seminar as well as records of the discussions that took place. The persons who joined the seminar came from different parts of the world and their views were quite dissimilar on many occasions. The seminar therefore gave one an idea of the background of opinions and conflicting interests on which the foreign policies of the nations rested. The book therefore is a valuable document which can be used as a source of information by all those who discuss, analyse and help to formulate the guiding principles of foreign relations. Among those who took part in the seminar we find the names of Messrs. M. C. Chagla, A. Appadorai, M. R. Masani, Balraj Madhok, William Richter, Piloo Mody, M. R. A. Bang Amlan Datta, Eric Da Costa, Admiral A. K. Chatterji, H. E. Ngjen Huy Dan, Grant E. Mouser and A. K. M. Farooq.

Mass Media in a Free Society : Edited by Warren K. Agee published by Oxford and IBH publishing company, New Delhi Bombay, Calcutta. Demy Oct pp 98 + XIV, cloth gilt, art jacket price Rs. 7.50. The Printed and the spoken word should be considered to be a very

important, perhaps the most active and forceful, method of mass communication in modern societies. Newspaper publication radio broadcasting, cinematographic presentation of socially useful and constructive subject matters are all very powerful ways of achieving contact with the masses and the people who organise these types of mass communication work would be able to carry out their responsibilities much better if they proceeded about it in a well informed and scientifically prepared manner. This book which contains the "analyses and predictions", regarding mass communication matters by six specialists, will be found very useful by publicists and government officials who plan broadcasting and other communication work. Private publicists may not always carry out the plans of the ruling political parties in various democratic countries ; but the officials usually have their plans which they quite often cannot successfully give effect to. This book will help such men to achieve their objectives in a more successful manner.

Political Consciousness Among College Students : By A. B. Shinde of the department of politics. Elphinstone College, Bombay. Sole Distributors : Thacker and Co. Ltd., Bombay, pp. 284 + X Royal Qto cloth bound with art jacket, price Rs. 35.00. The author is well known as a scholar in the field of political science studies. He undertook a Research Project when he was teaching in Rajaram College at Kohlapur. The research project undertaken was to discover the range and nature of political consciousness among college students. This could be done, it was thought, by enquiring into their reading material, their discussions, and their attendance at meetings. Membership of political parties, Unions and student organisations also pointed to their political leanings. This survey was limited to college students. Particular attention was

given to students who came from rural areas who formed 48.19% of the students included in the work of analysis. A questionnaire was prepared and answers obtained from nearly 1000 students. The students were selected at random from various groups and they had no previous intimation as to the questionnaire or even that they would be asked to answer a questionnaire. There are 118 tables in the book which reveal the findings of the enquiry and gives one a good idea of how the students react to their social environment with particular reference to Indian and world politics. The tables also analyse the students who were examined to show that they were a representative body and did not belong exclusively or largely to any restricted circle of persons.

Challenges in Higher Education : By Dr. D. Jagannatha Reddy M. D., F. A. M. C., M. R. C. P., Vice-chancellor Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, pp. 496 + VIII, Royal Qto., cloth gilt, art jacket price Rs. 18.00. The book contains various Addresses and papers delivered and contributed by Dr. Reddy from time to time, which had reference to education in various fields of studies. Science, mathematics, agriculture, medicine, humanities, social sciences etc. etc. have all been brought into the purview of Dr. Reddy's intellectual survey. The first article in the book is the report of a talk that Dr. Reddy gave on 13.6.71 at Mysore on "Education in India from Ancient to Modern Times". He began his talk by quoting from Milton the following :

"I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public in peace or war". Dr. Reddy has very comprehensive ideas as to the completeness of any program of education and if India carried out his ideas even to some extent, there would be less to criticise India's lack of suitable arrangements for higher

education. The arrangements as we find them are not only not generous but are definitely stingy. The creation of high level cultural centres at great expense cannot be really called arrangements for education ; though these have their uses in international propaganda. Dr. Reddy is a great supporter of Sanskrit education and does not approve of those who say Sanskrit studies were unnecessary. The book is a store house of sound ideas on many subjects connected with education.

Image of Patna : A supplement to Patna District Gazetteer, 1970, by N. Kumar, published by the Government of Bihar. Demy Oct. pp. 216+XIV+29 art plates 1 map. Cloth gilt, illust art jacket price Rs. 16.00. The book gives a short history of Patna. In ancient times it was called Pataliputra and the Emperor Asoka has his capital in some place near modern Patna. The book provides some interesting reading about art, architecture and sculpture as found in this place. There are descriptions of music and folk drama. Modern Patna of course has not retained any continuity of culture with ancient Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit traditions..

Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts). Edited by Professor Raj Kumar M. A., Ph. D. published by Panjab University, Chandigarh. Crown Qto. pp. 298+IV paper cover price Rs. 42.00. There are fifteen articles, in this book by Man Mohan Singh, M. K. Naik, S. C. Chakraborty, Nirmal Mukherji, M. K. Chaudhury, K. C. Bhatnagar, D. R. Sharma, S. M. Agnihotri, M. S. Kushwaha, Brij Mohan Singh, A. B. Mukerji, Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji, Sri Ram Sharma, S. P. Sangar and Raj Kumar. The writers are all persons of sound academic standing and the Bulletin therefore is a volume wellworth reading and preserving .



LAKSHMIBAI THE QUEEN OF JHANSI

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RAMAKRISHNA CHATTERJEE

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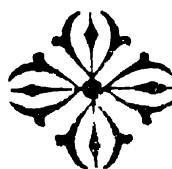


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NOTES

Rights of Majorities

Minorities in various states, organisations, institutions, political bodies etc. etc. frequently vent their grievances from the Constitutional Ethical or Humanitarian angles and try to establish their rights as compared to the rights, privileges and preferences enjoyed by the majorities which live, work and exist alongside of the aforementioned minorities. The majorities take it for granted that their wishes and desires cannot be denied by anybody by reason of their superiority of numbers. The will of the majority must be considered to be utterly inviolable and expressive of the authority that the entire body of persons constituting the majority and the minorities possess. That is to say that if 51 persons out of a hundred demand something (or 66% in case of the powers being delegated to a $\frac{2}{3}$ rds majority) the other 49 persons (or 34 in case of the need for a $\frac{2}{3}$ rds majority) have to surrender their wishes and desires to the majority and accept the will of the majority as sacrosanct.

If however human beings are valued by

weighing their physical strength, ability, skill, knowledge, competence, reliability and so on, it will be found that 30% of the people in total can be and usually are stronger, more capable, better in point of skill, knowledge, competence and reliability as compared to similar totals of the 70% who are in a majority. It is found everywhere that intellectually and in point of technical ability and knowledge small minorities always excell the numerically vasters masses who are habitually less endowed with intelligence and talent. In the circumstances the idea that the majority of the people can always look after their own interests in a capable manner and that if their wishes and desires are followed by all the people the best interests of the nation will also be served, is an idea that is not tenable logically nor by reference to facts. But latterly the idea is gaining ground among the majority party members that the majority of the people are the custodians of the welfare of the nation and whatever they decide to do by a $\frac{2}{3}$ rds majority should be accepted by the nation as a move towards greater good for everybody. Even the

Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the constitution of India can be modified by a majority vote of proper size.

The Fundamental Rights (Part III, Sec. 13 (2)) say that "The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void". But a majority represented by their representatives in the Legislature, can apparently vote this provision of the constitution into nullity, and all Fundamental Rights for all practical purposes are supposed to be Fundamental only to the extent of the whims and fancies of $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the members of the Legislature. If all those members decide that the Right to Equality should be abolished there shall then be no equality of opportunity for all Indians, no equality irrespective of race, caste, religion, sex etc. and we may see the reintroduction of untouchability too after that. The Freedoms of speech and expression, of association, of free movement all over India of residence, choice of profession, acquisition or disposal of property etc. etc. will just vanish at the command of 67% of the members of the Legislature.

Article 21 of the constitution says "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law". If this Article is abrogated by a majority vote we may see the reenactment of mass murders that we used to witness when, during British rule, groups fought groups, aided and abetted by the British officials and their henchmen.

We may allow our thoughts to digress this way and that, and visualise the reintroduction of suttee and the opening of slave bazars where men and women slaves would be bought and sold. Infanticide can also be reorganised for checking the growth of population. One can think of developments

in which religious minorities will be made to change their faith, racial minorities will be obliged to marry into majority clans and linguistic problems solved by making minority languages unlawful for use in schools, colleges and courts.

It is not difficult to imagine the granting of exclusive rights of employment to particular peoples, the reservation of contracts and licences for political party members or their nominees and all kinds of discriminating practices that Parliamentary majorities may bring about in our Secular Democratic Republic by misusing their votes. How far job hunting is at the root of these efforts at destroying the constitution can be considered by competent persons. How far the bureaucrats are instigating the attacks on the constitution in order to increase their own powers, is another question which we should enquire into. In any case the people must look after their own basic rights and protect their vital national interests.

The main thing that one has to consider is that there are certain basic ethical and human rights which no Legislature should be allowed to modify. For, though majorities may be rightly considered to be the final authorities in the sphere of assuring the ordinary conveniences and facilities of life, no majorities should have the right to play with those basic rights on which human civilisation and progress rest. By being more numerous, majorities do not acquire any expertise that can be an assurance of progress and a guarantee of human well being. Even in matters like medicine or engineering no one can save lives or operate industrial plants by the casting of votes in very large numbers.

Anti Bengali Rioting in Assam

In the beginning when the Assamese hooligans began to attack the Bengalis of Assam the central government people took no action to suppress these acts of violence of a

racist variety. Like Pandit Nehru, who expressed his sneaking admiration for the Assamese youth when they tried to chase the Bengali minorities out of Assam ; the present wielders of power at Delhi too showed their approval of the conduct of the Assamese language fanatics by their total inaction. What was even more astonishing was the in action of the Siddhartha Ray camp at Calcutta. When it all started there were not even any squeaks of disapproval from those who moved about with the Chief Minister of West Bengal. But later on when things began to be intolerable and public feelings were roused, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray began to speak against the Assamese law breakers. The action taken by Sri Subrata Mukherjee was even more promising. He organized meetings and procesions and said he would call for a Bengal Bandh. In this he was supported by Sri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi. Others who began to speak about Assam were Sri Asok Sen, Sm. Jyotsna Chanda, Sri Samar Guha Sri Tridib Chowdhury, Sri Indrajit Gupta and many more. They all spoke against Mrs. Gandhi's policy in Assam in so far as she had taken no effective action to suppress the rioting.

If Delhi does not take prompt action to safeguard the rights of the minorities of Assam the public will no doubt begin to come into the picture in a greater degree. That would mean a sort of inter state clash which would be highly undesirable. Delhi should therefore step in and arrange for the protection of the minorities of Assam. They can also take out the predominantly Bengali speaking areas out of Assam and join those areas to Tripura or West Bengal. Assam has had several such partitions before this and another partition will not be a shock to the people of that state. The Government of India have a sacred duty in giving physical

protection to the people of India and in conserving for them their constitutional rights. If any racial or linguistic minorities are terrorised, persecuted and subjected to violent attacks on their persons and property in any state the Government of India have to come to their assistance right away. There must be no delay, no shilly shallying nor playing at waiting for a change of heart. The heart of the Assamese racists can not change, as has been proved by their repeated attacks on the non-Assamese citizens of that backward state. Those who are not Assamese by race or language in that state gain nothing by remaining there as Helots without any political or human rights. The state government of Assam renders little assistance to the minorities, they rather aid the hooligans at times in their nefarious activities. The Central Government does not like to wake up and respond to the logic of facts. Nothing remains then in favour of maintaining status quo. A partition of the Bengali speaking areas of Assam remains as the only solution of the problem of Assam.

Disunity in West Bengal Congress

There was a time when the majority of the people of West Bengal thought that leftism was the only path by which they could get out of the atmosphere of corruption, favouritism and bureaucratic or ministerial authoritarianism that the Congress Government of those days produced and imposed on the people. So West Bengal had a leftist government which did not last long. The new Congress Party that developed in West Bengal about two years ago was not dominated by the old timers who had lost the confidence of the people. Men like Messrs. P. C. Sen and Atulya Ghosh did not belong to the new congress and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Roy came along as the new hope of a renaissant Congress in West Bengal. The People backed this body whole heartedly as they were totally

disappointed with the communist management of the affairs of the state. They expected this new organisation to liquidate corruption and inefficiency and to establish a progressive and fully active government in this state with its badly damaged economy and party ridden political life. They hoped that the new congress will present a political front which will be strong and effective and will help the people of West Bengal to rehabilitate themselves intellectually, morally and materially. The state with its millions of unemployed badly needed peace and progress and the coming of the new party with its background of all India support was hailed with great expectations. For a time everything looked good and the people of West Bengal settled down to listen to plans and promises and to wait and watch for deeds to follow the words that flowed in profusion.

But, somehow, the results were very slow in coming or were not coming at all. People blamed the bureaucrats at first but slowly it came to be realised that everything was not all right with the new Congress Party. In a few months cracks were beginning to appear in the solid structure that the new party appeared to be. Personal rivalries, groupwise enmities and clash of interests developed fast and infected the central organisation at Calcutta and also spread in the district towns and the villages. The main reasons which lay behind these developments were not entirely based on the evils that grew the individual heart. There were disappointments caused by government's failures in many fields of life. Economic remedies to remove unemployment came at a snails pace. The student unrest was not handled properly. The Farakka scheme for saving Calcutta port was mishandled by the Central Ministers, cost of living went up and up and nothing was done to balance wages against cost of living. Nationalisation of economic

institutions did not yield the promised advantages to the people. And so on and so forth. It all provoked breaches between political workers and leaders and loyalties began to be strained. The stability and vitality of the new congress was thus weakened.

The Assamese are a Minority in Assam

Forty three percent of the people of Assam are Assamese speaking. Fifty seven percent are Bengalis and Tribals who do not speak Assamese and are racially distinct as non-Assamese. The Assamese people in the past had tried to make the state an Assamese majority state ; but they had never succeeded in achieving this objective. They had gone even as far as making a gift of Sylhet to Pakistan in order to reduce the number of Bengalis in Assam ; but even that shameless act did not make the Assamese a majority community in the state of Assam Cachar and Goalpara are predominantly Bengali speaking and there are Bengalis and Tribals in all parts of the state. In the circumstances the people of non-Assamese origin can either accept a minority dominated *raj* in the state and agree to sacrifice their own racial and linguistic rights or they can fight for the recognition of these rights by the Assam Government. The Assamese, of course, will not readily agree to grant these rights, unless the Central Government insists on establishing justice and fair play in Assam with a strong hand.

The last alternative would be breaking up Assam into smaller bits and attaching the detached pieces to other states or creating union territories out of these segments.

Deficits at State Level

In 1970-71 the States of India showed the following budgetary deficits. Andhra Pradesh 34.3 crores, Bihar 17.4 crores, Mysore 12.8 crores, Rajasthan 46 crores, Tamil Nadu 14

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crores, Maharashtra 6.8 crores and Gujarat 11.8 crores. In the revised estimates of 1971-72 the deficit of Andhra Pradesh had gone up to 42.9 crores, Assam had a deficit of 36.9 crores, Mysore 48.6 crores and Punjab 21.1 crores. U. P. expected a deficit too of 44.5 crores. There was a hope that Tamil Nad, by reason of renewed collections from excise duties on wines and spirits due to the repeal of prohibition, will have a surplus of 25.9 crores of rupees. The general picture being one of widespread deficits and of securing funds by overdrawing at the Banks, it was decided to discontinue the practice of getting money through overdrafts. The accounts as they stood showed that most of the States owed money to the banks. These were converted to loans and the central government made provisions in their budget to aid and assist the state governments by making advances to them when found justifiably necessary. It is obvious from these facts that the state governments customarily spend more money than they earn from revenues. If these expenses were incurred for purposes which yielded a suitable return things would have slowly improved over the years and the economic stability of the States would not have been interfered with. But the heaviest losses appear to occur in Departmental undertakings of multipurpose schemes and in irrigation. These losses total upto nearly 150 crores and can, perhaps, be effectively reduced if attempts were made to avoid involvement in operations which were economically unsound. Generally speaking one should expect the states to arrange for education, medical aid, sanitation, water supply, building roads and industries in a suitable manner, so that the people of the States slowly acquire the ability to fend for themselves. One can notice gaps in these arrangements everywhere and the reasons apparently have much to do

with lack of funds. The Departmental undertakings however do not suffer from such lack of funds, as the bureaucrats and Ministers somehow manage to carry on these undertakings and their multipurpose schemes, as well as what they call irrigational projects. Had they shown the same or similar eagerness to improve inter village communications, education, medical assistance and other essential developmental work, the economic position of India would have been bettered at a faster pace. That should have helped to balance all budgets everywhere more effectively.

State Trading a Failure (?)

Two facts which have gained wide publicity go to prove the inefficacy of State Trading in India. One is the supply of fish from Bangladesh to India which has not yet even half utilised its declared potential. Some say that India can easily obtain five to ten thousand maunds of fish from Bangladesh everyday. But what we are getting cannot be anything like that, judging by the scarcity of fish in the Indian markets bordering Bangladesh. State Trading in fish has apparently misfired and high, middle and low level discussions are perhaps proceeding apace in order to assist the movement of fish from Bangladesh towards the Indian kitchen in the near or remote future as will be found workable by the experts at this end.

The other case is that of the shortage of food grains in the Indian Rationing Centres. As we have recently had an officially recognised and well advertised "Green Revolution" in India, this short supply of food grains could not have been caused by lack of production. The only other reason one can think of is short falls in procurement. That being a job which the State does one can no doubt criticise the persons employed by government who are in charge of buying, transporting, stocking and distributing the food grains for their failure to

get the work done properly and in time. If India has to import food grains from abroad after having a fabulous green revolution that would indeed be very surprising for the people of India. The public will then naturally like to know who should be held responsible for building the castles in the air in the sphere of food supply for the people of India. Somebody will also have to be held responsible for making us live in a fool's paradise during the period that we have been staging a green revolution.

The Social Purpose of State Capitalism

Dr. A. Krishnaswamy said in a speech at Bangalore that if the State monopolised most of the means of production, distribution and exchange, society would only be nominally free, and that when most of the public undertakings neither served any social purpose nor did they bring any gains to the state, there were hardly any justification for continuing with the economic policy now followed by the government. Banks were nationalized on the ground that greater social control over Banks would better serve a social purpose ; but nothing much had happened even after a year and a half after their take over. No clear cut policy has been declared upto now. Dr. Krishnaswamy thought that the public sector undertakings suffered from a lack of clear separation of powers and responsibilities and that they dealt with their labour to suit the political purposes of the government without reference to the interests of the consumers. Dr. Krishnaswamy thought the abolition of property rights in the name of abolition of poverty was ridiculous. The government was not taking any steps that can be considered sound economically to remove or reduce poverty. The ideology oriented moves were unsound and ineffective.

Inter-union Rivalries In the West Bengal Mines Area

Too many Trade Unions with mutually

contradictory points of view and plans of campaign have been a dangerous disease of Indian industries since a long time. In the mines area the unions are often very similar in basic ideology but they fight nevertheless due to the rivalries that exist among their leaders. During the leftist regime in West Bengal some time ago the radical leaders were as bad as right wing leaders inspite of their overpowering rationality and super abundance of logic. But later on when the Congress captured power and the trade unions followed the political parties in their acceptance of beliefs, the number of trade unions did not contract down to a lesser figure. In the West Bengal coal fields more than half-a-dozen trade union groups work to achieve ascendancy over each other ; and strangely enough almost all of them fly the Congress flag. The official congress sponsored trade union body, the INTUC, has control over only one of these groups. All the others obey the dictates of this leader or that and the result is stagnation as far as the ideals of progressive trade unionism are concerned. The workers suffer a great deal due to this peculiar personality centric method of organising and operating trade unions. And the mines are no gainers either, because trade unions which fail to serve the interests of the workers and spend most of their time and energy on cheap political stunts usually fail to maintain discipline in the ranks of the workers. As a result the workers neither obey the employers nor the trade union officials and things happen which damage the interests of the employers as well as those of the workers. Hooligans come to the top quite easily in such a setting and gangsterism reigns supreme. In the Mines area of West Bengal murders were quite common during the leftist regime. Things are not quite as bad as they were at that time ; but one should be careful about developments.

Bhashani's Jihad

Moulana Bhashani, an ardent follower of Mao t'se Tung, has declared a holy war or *Jehad* against Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the government of India. He thinks the Sheikh depends too much upon India and shows over much consideration to the Hindus of Bangladesh. And that is no good for the people of Bangladesh. The Moulana apparently does not believe in relying upon foreigners, nor does he like his people to depend on non-believers. No doubt the Moulana does not think that the Chinese are foreigners nor does he consider the communists of Peking to be *kafers* or non-believers. But unfortunately the Chinese are both foreigners and non-believers, and if Moulana Bhashani wants Bangladesh to be totally self-reliant and utterly muslim, he can not cultivate the fellowship of the Chinese communists in the manner that he does, nor should he try to synthesise the ungodly texts of communism with the holy books of Islam. For Islam is based on a total faith in God while there is no place for God in communism. The communists wish to destroy man's faith in God ; for that faith is, according to the communists an opiate for the masses. Religion and faith in God being a psychological weapon used by capitalists to keep the working classes down. How Moulana Bhashani can be a profound believer in Islam and a faithful communist, all at the same time is a question which we can not answer. We hope the aged Moulana can answer the question.

The Spirit of Constitutional Rights

When the Indian constitution was framed every Article in it had its inner meaning as well as its wording and interpretable dictionary significance. One can quibble endlessly over the exact meaning of any word or phrase in the constitution but one has to indulge in such attempts at ascribing cleverly construed senses

and evaluations at the sacrifice of the true spirit of the Great Document which protects the basic freedoms and rights of the Indian people. Let us take the provisions relating to the constitutional rights that guarantee equality and the freedoms to the people of India. Article 14 in part III of the constitution says "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." This certainly does not mean that criminals will be protected in the same manner as honest people by virtue of this provision. At the same time it should not mean that the "equality before the law" would be subject to and limited by the whims and fancies of the majority of the members of the legislatures who would have the right to withdraw this equality and protection whenever a citizen of India possessed one square yard more land than any ceilings fixed by the legislatures or one rupee more worth of brick structure than the maximum fixed by the same legislatures. In short the fundamental rights *in spirit* were perhaps not subject to any changeable wishes and desires of the temporarily elected representatives of the people who manned the legislatures from time to time. Had the spirit of the constitution been modifiable at the will of the majority in the legislatures these provisions could never have been called "Fundamental". These should then have been named just "rights" which would exist at the pleasure of the majority of the members of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

In the description of the Right to Freedom the constitution says in Articles 19(d),(e),(f),(g) that these rights were freedom (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India, (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property ; and (g) to practise any profession,

or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. To all appearance the spirit of these provisions does not permit any bureaucrats or legislators to restrict or limit these freedoms by any rules regulations or laws that they may impose by exercising their administrative or legislative powers from time to time. The right to settle anywhere in India cannot mean that the person concerned will have to settle in a piece of land not more than so many square yards nor does the right to acquire, hold or dispose of property mean, in spirit, that such property shall not be worth more than so many rupees. The right of the administrators and the legislators to effect changes in these rights are also, obviously, not envisaged by the makers of the constitution. Fundamental Rights should be basic and all other rights should rest on those unchangeable foundation. If the foundation is not stable the superstructure can not be a citadel of rights.

Ceilings of Land and Buildings

The government are much opposed to anybody indulging in spectacular splendour or having land holdings in excess what may be needed by their way of living. The Government permits their administrators, technicians, ministers, governors and similar employees to earn incomes which are 3000/5000 per month. These people over a working life of 35 years can and do earn more than 10 to 15 lakhs of rupees. Their savings and provident funds accumulated at bank rates of interest can be 5 to 10 lakhs of rupees. There are professional men who pay income tax on incomes of over a

lakh of rupees per annum. These people can have savings of over 10 lakhs of rupees. We shall not discuss the incomes of businessmen and industrialists. Nor shall we discuss the payment of enormous sums of money as rent by various members of Indian society in the course of their urban existence. What we would point out is that a house worth more than five lakhs can be owned by persons who are valued members of Indian society and that any punitive action against them for owning such property would be contrary to the accepted norms of earnings and expenditures in the Republic of India. We also do not think that fixing ceilings on property holding in urban areas can in any way reduce the poverty of the Indian people. We think it is just playing to the gallery and should therefore be avoided by our government.

Whatever statistical averages may point out everybody knows that peasant families quite often have five to ten dependants. The cost of feeding, clothing, housing, medically treating, educating, entertaining and bearing socially needed expenses for five or ten persons can be more than 5000/- rupees annually. If one has to earn Rs. 5000 annually by cultivation one has to have land holdings which will produce crops worth over 10000/- rupees. It is only then that, after meeting all expenses of cultivation, the cultivator can have a net spendable income of Rs. 5000/- annually. There can be no fixed standards of size for such holdings and one must judge each case on its merit. Fixing the size of agricultural holdings therefore is also likely to be arbitrary.



MICHAEL OAKESHOTT AGAINST SCIENTISM IN POLITICS

MUKUL ASTHANA

That which started with the impact of natural sciences on politics reached its finale when the 'death' of political theory was announced by the behaviourists. Machiavelli, breaking away with medieval hierarchy, made a violent start. These violent ideas, eclipsed for some times, were given by Hobbes a firm base of natural sciences. What followed Hobbes's mechanical materialism was Comte's positivism, Marx's determinism, Pareto's logico-empirical method, etc. In these systems, however theorization was not completely lost. The philosophical theory was most explicitly repudiated in the writings of the logical-positivists who were influenced by the logico-mathematical theories of Russell and Wittgenstein. (It was worthy of Russel that he dissociated himself from the "later Wittgenstiens.") The radical empiricism of logical positivism arises out of the famous Verification Principle. Ayer and indeed many others claimed the "elimination of metaphysics" since the 'metaphysical' words do not satisfy the verifiability criterion of cognitive meaningfulness. To these men of Vienna Circle philosophy and metaphysics were but nonsense. Indeed Wittgenstein said : "Philosophy only states what everyone admits." This was another way of saying that philosophy was useless.

Yet all the intellectual labour which these men put in refuting philosophical theory could not help them. In point of fact, it was with certain unreasoned ideas that they were fighting against their enemy. The meaning-criterion which was postulated by these men is itself not available to the verification

procedure. The "cultural circle" in which Carnap ground his verification principle could not help him to get out the problem which he himself had created. Frohock has pointed out the paradox of verification principle which consists in the fact that it gives no satisfactory proof for the existence of others which is a precondition for verifying something¹. The exponents of verification principle were perhaps not conscious that this principle reduces men to "voluntary imbecility" as has been suggested by Michael Polanyi.²

Verificationism had a good deal of propaganda value ; now it is dead and buried. Karl Popper expounded against it the 'falsifiability' theory, and claimed it to be a true criterion of the scientific method. If with Popper falsifiability is accepted as a criterion of scientific method it would be very difficult to find an unscientific or a non-scientific method. We do not say that Popper leaves this distinction unconsidered. He distinguishes a scientific with an unscientific or a non-scientific method by saying that a scientific method is "capable of being tested by experience". But the difficulty with it is that what would be regarded a sure and certain experience after which a thing can be claimed falsified. In the last analysis it would be a matter of personal opinion, or an ad infinitum testing.³ Popper argues against this but his arguments are not at all satisfactory. In point of fact, the verifiability and the falsifiability theory are two sides of the same coin.

The empirical methodology had also its effects on the study of human psychology.

Behaviourism has its origins in Pavlov's studies on conditioning, and in Watson's determined effort to rescue psychology from mentalism and use of "instinctual" explanations. Behaviourism aims at explaining human behaviour in terms of an observable stimulus (S) and an observable response (R). Hence the S-R theory. Curiously enough, the experiments were made on dogs and rats but were thought true also for human beings. This crude reductionism was later modified by introducing organismic variables between stimulus and response. Hence the S-O-R theory. However this modified form of behaviourism agreed with the former on the point of reducing human behaviour to the level of animals. Still it was the same rat in the maze which was the revealer of the mystery of human actions.

The behaviourist psychology was made a target of bitter attack by the Gestalt school of psychology led by Werthimer, Kohler and Kofka. 'Gestalt' is a German word the equivalent of which in English language is 'whole'. The Gestalt psychologists maintain that man is an entity and that his behaviour cannot be studied by the resoluteive-composite method. These psychologists are right in rejecting the crude empiricism and reductionism of behaviourism but, as Meehan points out, they also provide "no overall conceptual framework for explaining all forms of human behaviour",⁴ and that there are many points concerned with human nature on which they agree with the behaviourist assumptions.

These psychological and philosophical (?) trends provided a fertile ground for the introduction of behaviourism in politics (though a distinction has been made between 'behaviourism', in psychology, and 'behaviouralism', in politics, but, in fact, they are one and the same thing). David Easton discovered "eight intellectual foundation stones" on

which a behaviouralist movement is constructed. These are (1) regularities (2) verification (3) techniques (4) quantification (5) values (6) systematization (7) pure science and (8) integration.⁵

What these eight points suggest is that political behaviour has a certain uniformity which can be expressed in a generalized form and can be verified by referring to relevant behaviour. Further it emphasizes the need for a proper technique of collecting and quantifying the data; systematizing the research; and keeping away from value judgements. It insists on the integration of the findings of different disciplines of social sciences.

Behaviouralism had a certain success despite the scandals. It did not take a long time for the announcement of the demise of the "behavioural mood" (Dahl), and the beginning of a "post-behavioural revolution" (Easton) by them who themselves belonged to the behavioural camp. Behaviouralism, in fact, was intrigued by science. In their ebullience the behaviouralists forgot that the social sciences, since they deal with human beings, cannot follow in the footsteps of natural sciences which deal with objects (or events) having no will of their own. W. J. Stankiewicz has summed up the ignorance/incapability of the behaviouralists in the following words. "Behaviouralists are either unaware of the true nature of scientific revolution or unable to make use of it. Nor do they realize that the scientist's purpose is different from that of a student of human affairs. As F. A. Hayek has pointed out, science endeavors to group 'facts' regardless of 'appearances', according to a recurrent pattern, and to reclassify them using the language of mathematics. The avowed objectivity of science involves ignoring the realm of man's reaction—comprising both thought and physical action—to things investigated. Consequently the scientific (empiricist)

approach depreciates the importance of both : idea—as a factor in history and social relations ; in Peter Winch's words, they become 'unsuitable subjects for generalizations'.⁶

(II)

Among those who revolted against scientism in politics Michael Oakeshott is perhaps most uncompromising. To him Laswell's 'Analysis of Political Behaviours : An Empirical Approach' is "a portent of the end of civilized life", and "far more unnerving than the atom bomb." However, even then Oakeshott does not join with thinkers like Voegli, Strauss and others. His position is extremely ambivalent. It is perhaps because of this ambivalence of his position that Greanleaf is able to discover "certain important points of affinity" between Oakeshott and Weldon.⁷

Oakeshott's fight is not against science, but against rationalism. Drawing an equation between rationalism and technique, he says, "The sovereignty of 'reason' for the Rationalist, means the sovereignty of technique." This results from a mistaken notion about the nature of knowledge. Distinguishing between technical and practical knowledge, Oakeshott says, the fallacy of the rationalists lie in their belief that "practical knowledge is only a sort of nescience which would be negligible if it were not positively mischievous."

Inherent in technological knowledge is the idea of certainty and uniformity which have no place in politics. And hence technological knowledge is fatal to the understanding of political activity. Neglecting the traditional manner of attending to political arrangements it relies only on "the formalized abridgment of the supposed substratum of rational truth contained in the tradition". Not only a part here is mistaken for the whole, but also an illusory knowledge of tradition is supposed to be certain.

The rationalists in their search for uniformity and certainty in politics replace politics

of compromise, understanding, and adjustment by a politics of destruction and a total reconstruction. A rationalist project when it fails is replaced by another in hope of success. This ultimately leads to conditioning, indoctrination, centralization of power in which not only freedom but political life itself is ruined. Politics no longer provides for men, as Hannah Arendt would put it, "a space of appearance"; it becomes an inverted and meaningless exercise. This kind of politics is totalitarian. Totalitarianism is always accompanied by terror which is violence in abstract. Hence the rationalist politics replaces dialogue and communication by violence and control.

The basic category of Oakeshott's epistemology is Experience. He uses this term in a quite different sense in which it is generally used. Experience is a thought process. It is not something immediate ; for "...immediacy and experience are mutually exclusive".⁸ It implies "consciousness";⁹ and it is 'a homogeneous whole within which distinctions and modifications may appear, but which knows no absolute division. Experience is a world of ideas."¹⁰

Though experience is a concrete whole yet it suffers modifications or "arrests" when an attempt is made to conceive it abstractly from a particular standpoint. Experience then is broken into different modes. Oakeshott tells about three modes of experience : scientific, historical and practical. A fourth mode of experience, poetry, is mentioned in the last of his essays, 'The Voice of Poetry in the Conservation of Mankind'. Poetry to Oakeshott is "the activity of making images of a certain kind"; it "is a sort of trauncy."

That since science is a mode of experience, Oakeshott accepts the validity of scientific thought. Science is a "world of reality"; and "because it is experience in a world of ideas, and contains a specific and homogeneous assertion of reality".¹¹ It is the quantitative

aspect of the reality of the world with which science is concerned. Quantity being the "prime character of the scientific method", science "is the attempt to conceive of the world under the category of quantity".¹² Oakeshott also distinguishes between scientific and 'common sense' knowledge; he rejects the view that scientific knowledge is in any way based on the 'common sense' knowledge.¹³ Science is concerned with "stability" in knowledge, and common sense has no stability.

History to Oakeshott "is a world and a world of ideas". Placing himself 'outside' the history he says that "history is experience, and not a course of events independent of experiences."¹⁴ "The character and status of history as a form of experience is determined by the character of its postulates."¹⁵ Though Oakeshott is dead against rationalism but still he regards history as an attempt "to give a rational account of the world".

What has been suggested here by Oakeshott is difficult to understand. Science, as he believes, is not concerned with the reality of the world. Nor the reality of the world can be reduced into quantitative categories. History also does not provide a field for experience. Far from giving a rational account of the world, it does not give a concrete meaning of even the past events occurred in history.

A mode of experience is neither a "specific" kind of experience nor "an independent stage in experience".¹⁶ They are not even "a separable part of reality". As Experience they too are "a world of idea". It remains to be discussed that what is the relation of different modes of experience with each other, and to the unmodified, concrete Experience itself. There is nothing like a hierarchical structure of modes in Oakeshott; all modes of experience are mutually exclusive. That is to suggest that different modes of experience are not related with each other.

Modes of experience, however, are related to Experience. Oakeshott says: "...in the end, a mode has no independence, because its character depends upon the totality of which it is a modification. The totality is not made-up of its modifications, the concrete whole is not a collection or a system of abstractions."¹⁷

That seems to suggest that all the modes of experience together constitute Experience—the concrete whole. To be sure the meeting of these modes together is neither an intuitive nor a philosophical experience. Intuition is "a non-relational experience" in which, though we are conscious of the subject and the predicate, not of their conjunction or disjunction.¹⁸ It is also not a philosophical experience since "philosophy is not a kind of experience".¹⁹ Philosophical experience does not transcend the various modes of experience but cancels them altogether.

In point of fact, Oakeshott has a dislike for philosophy. He does not recognize any role of philosophy either in the service of political theory or in the service of mankind. He writes . ". . . the pursuit of philosophical truth is something which must be condemned by practice as inimical to life. Philosophy is born an outcast, useless to men of business and troublesome to men of pleasure."²⁰ The rejection of philosophy is thus based on pragmatic as well as on hedonistic/utilitarian grounds. This severally restricts the scope of political theory on the one hand and of social morality on the other.

In his essay on 'Political Education'—which according to Bernard Crick, though not very accurately, is an exposition of Tory political ideas rather than a piece of an academic work—²¹ Oakeshott maintains that the purpose of political philosophy is "to consider the place of political activity on the map of our total experience". But a very different kind of thing is suggested in 'Introduction to Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan'. Here "the

consideration of the relation between politics and eternity" is regarded to be a central task of political theory. That is to say that Oakeshott does not keep up to a stable position and oscillates between two poles of experience and eternity.

"In political activity men sail a boundless and bottomless sea ; and there is neither harbour for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting place nor appointed destination. The enterprise is to keep afloat on an even keel ; the sea is both friend and enemy ; and the seamanship consists in using the resources of a traditional manner of behaviour in order to make a friend of every hostile occasion". This precludes the relation of politics and eternity, and connects it with expediency. Then if politics belongs to the realm of expediency, experience as a homogeneous world of idea capable of revealing "truth", in fact, becomes unhomogeneous and unrevealing. The view that political activity has neither a beginning nor an end leads to the managerial role of political theory. Political theory is transformed into a political device to control and win the adverse situations.

Oakeshott vehemently defends tradition as a way for the understanding of political activity. But the concept of tradition in Oakeshott is extremely elusive. Tradition in him has become a mere conservative force. To which mode of experience does it belong is not clear in Oakeshott. Though he himself mentions three traditions of political thought in 'Introduction to Hobbes' Leviathan': the tradition of Reason, of Will, and of Rational Will, he does not tell how to distinguish a genuine tradition from a spurious one. Oakeshott seems to have no clear understanding of tradition. The understanding of a genuine tradition needs the transcendence of tradition itself. It is beyond tradition where the truth of tradition lies. At this turn of the

argument we come across a very convincing concept of tradition put forward by Josef Piper. According to Piper ".....the idea of tradition is most purely realized in sacred revelation, and the core of every tradition encountered in the history of man is again sacred tradition, in which through the course of time a divine utterance has been kept alive. Whoever is convinced on the other hand that there is such a thing as 'the word of God' or that such a thing is entirely impossible must necessarily regard all tradition not only as something provisional, something preliminary, or contingent but, even more, as something ultimately non-binding. Tradition can be equivocally binding only under the condition that it has revelation as its source."²²

Oakeshott's concept of tradition closely resembles Burke's. Defying the belief of his age, Burke defended and cherished prejudice against reason. Burke makes no distinction between tradition and prejudice ; and, in fact, he defends tradition in the name of prejudice. Oakeshott on the other hand seems to defend prejudice in the name of tradition. In effect they do not differ. Oakeshott, like Burke, is ignorant of the real meaning of tradition.

Bernard Crick has presented a critique of Oakeshott's concept of tradition. He writes : "Tradition itself, however, furnishes the biggest obstacle to seeing much significance in this view of politics—beyond a poetic perception that is what it is. For political tradition is to be considered not as a uniform, but as a coat of many colours. It is not even to be seen as a ship, but rather, to adapt a well-worn metaphor, as a convoy sailing together for mutual protection."²³ He proceeds further to criticize Oakeshott's analogy between politics and a ship and says the view that political activity has neither beginning nor end is mistaken since the steersman knows his starting place and his destination. Also it

does not entirely depend upon the ship to steer its own course for the steersman may be directed to stop or to change his direction.

However, Crick's criticism is highly superficial. Like Oakeshott, he also does not understand what tradition really means. Indeed there is no uniformity in political tradition but that does not mean that tradition is a "misleading" concept. The wisdom a tradition contains cannot be discovered without transcending tradition.

Oakeshott's contribution in the revival of political theory is negative, but nevertheless powerful. His "fundamental skepticism" prevents him from taking a definite position (Dante Germino). His book 'Experience And Its Modes' is highly repetitive and abstract—though Oakeshott's is a fight against abstraction. It is hard to find the actual relationship of the modes with Experience and also difficult to decipher his oft repeated phrase "world of ideas" into which all the modes and Experience as well is reduced. By suggesting that science and history both reveal the truth he is adopting a curious position, and by denying the value of philosophy he is making his case too weak to face the positivist challenge.

Dante Germino has discovered in Oakeshott a Bradleian immanence and a Crosian transcendence. According to him, Oakeshott though speaks "in the language of immanence", like Bradley, there is also in him, like Crose, 'a horizontal transcendence which is closer than he might admit to the reopening of the psyche toward the divine measure of right order.'²⁴ But, however, it is difficult to find in Oakeshott anything of this sort. True, transcendence and immanence are two sides of the same coin, but Oakeshott does not see its transcendental side. He seems to have no capacity to penetrate deeper into the problem, and touching only its periphery he produces a political philosophy—if it makes any sense in the context of Oakeshott's writings—which has

no clarity of ideas. At times, especially in his superficial discussion of the concept of tradition, Oakeshott seems to suggest a kind of unreason against reason. Also his tirade against reason is somewhat mistaken. Not only he has ousted the political theorists from the scene but also has made political theory dead. For the denial of philosophy amounts to a denial of political theory and also the expulsion of political theorists. His attempt to save political theory from the death blows of positivist reductionists remains a failure.

1. Fred M. Frehock, 'The Nature Of Political Inquiry' (pp. 27-8).
2. Quoted by Dante Germino 'Beyond Ideology : The Revival of Political Theory'.
3. K. R. Popper, 'The Logic of Scientific Discovery' (p. 42).
4. 'Contemporary Political Thought' (p. 208).
5. David Easton 'The current meaning of "Behaviouralism" Contemporary Political Analysis edited by Charles Worth. (pp. 16-7).
6. 'In Defence of Sovereignty' edited by W. J. Stankiewicz (p. 293).
7. W. H. Greenleaf, 'Idealism, modern philosophy and politics', 'Politics And Experience : Essays presented to Michael Oakeshott' edited by Preston King and B. C. Parekh.
8. Michael Oakeshott, 'Experience And Its Modes' (p. 17).
9. Ibid (p. 13).
10. Ibid (p. 27).
11. Michael Oakeshott, op. cit. (p. 169).
12. Ibid (p. 263).
13. Ibid (p. 170).
14. Ibid (p. 99).
15. (p. 101).
16. Michael Oakeshott, op. cit. (p. 324).
17. Ibid (p. 324).
18. Michael Oakeshott, op. cit (p. 23).
19. Ibid (p. 351).
20. Ibid (p. 355).
21. On this point I agree with Dante Germino.
22. Josef Piper, 'The Concept of Tradition', The Review of Politics ; Oct. 1958, No. 4
23. Bernard Crick, 'In Defence of Politics' (pp. 117-8).
24. Dante Germino, 'Beyond Ideology : The Revival of Political Theory' (p. 139).

ALIPORE CONSPIRACY CASE, SRI AUROBINDO AND DESHBANDHU

J. L. DAS

For long the British Authorities were on the look out for an opportunity to clamp behind prison-bars Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, who, according to them, was preaching sedition against the government "established by law" in India through his fiery articles in such journals as Bandemataram, Sandhya, Jugantar, Karmayogin, Dharma etc. As the Statesman, then the organ of the Establishment, remarked, though his writings seethed with sedition, yet these were so skilfully drafted that no legal action could be taken. Wrote Lord Minto to Morley, "As to the celebrated Arabinda, I can only repeat that he is the most dangerous man we now have to reckon with.... beyond redemption.....surely you cannot hope that such a man should remain at large".

Their chance came with the unsuccessful attempt made on April 30, 1908 by two young men, Kshudiram Basu and Prafulla Chaki, on the life of Kingsford, who as Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta had made himself notorious for his harsh and severe punishment of young men suspected to be engaged in terrorist activities, and who had subsequently been transferred to Muzaffarpur. Aurobindo was promptly implicated in the case and sent up for trial, along with Barindra Kumar Ghosh (his brother), Ullaskar Dutta, Upendranath Bandopadhyay, Hrishikesh Kanjilal, Hemchandra Ghosh, Indranath Nandi and others on charges of "abetting and indulging in terrorist activities and sending Kshudiram and Prafulla to assassinate Kingsford". It may be stated that Kshudiram was apprehended by the police and subsequently sent to the gallows. Prafulla, however, put an end to his own life when arrested. Naren Goswami, who had turned approver, was shot dead in jail hospital by Kanai Dutt and Satyen Basu. When interrogated about the availability of the revolvers inside the prison, Kanai stated, "The

spirit of Kshudiram supplied me with the revolvers".

The case opened before the court of Mr. C. B. Beechcroft, Additional Sessions Judge of Alipore, on October 19, 1908. Sri Gurudas Bandopadhyay and Sri Kedarnath Chattopadhyay assisted the judge as assessors. To defray the expenses of defence Sm. Sarojini Ghosh, Aurobindo's sister, raised an amount around twenty thousand rupees from public subscription on an appeal which ran thus, "My countrymen are aware that my brother Arabindo Ghosh stands accused of a grave offence. But I believe and I have reason to think that the vast majority of my countrymen believe that he is quite innocent. I think, if he is defended by an able counsel, he is sure to be acquitted. But as he has taken a vow of poverty in the service of the Motherland, he has no means to engage the services of an eminent Barrister-at Law.....But I feel some delicacy in saying that there are few Indians who do not appreciate his great attainments, his self-sacrifice, his single-minded devotion to the country's cause and the high spirituality of his character".

Sri Byomkesh Chakravorty and Sri K. N. Chowdhury were engaged to defend Aurobindo. Sarvasri P. Mitra, J. N. Roy, E. P. Ghosh, Hemendra Mitra, Sarat Chandra Sen, Nagendra Bandopadhyay, Bejoy Krishna Bose and Narendra Nath Bose stood for the other accused persons. The Government counsel was Mr. Norton. Soon, however, counsels for Aurobindo gave up the brief, as the money raised for his defence was exhausted. At this time Mr. C. R. Das, by which name Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was then known, a rising member of the English Bar, came forward to take up the case. In this connection it might be noted that C. R. Das had desired to defend Aurobindo even earlier, but Sri Bhupal Basu, Aurobindo's father-in-

law, had then remarked, "I should not commit the charge of the case of my son-in-law to a younger counsel". However, once C. R. Das accepted the case he threw himself heart and soul into it and conducted it at great personal sacrifice. At this Aurobindo himself is reported to have remarked, "It seemed Narayan himself has come to my release". Hearing went on for 126 days and C. R. Das took 9 days to argue in defence of his client.

Aurobindo's statement submitted before the court was at once free, frank, bold and sublime : "If it is suggested that I preached the ideal of freedom to my country which is against the law, I plead guilty to the charge. If that is the law here, I say I have done that and I request you to convict me but do not impute to me crimes I am not guilty of, deeds against which my whole nature revolts and which having regard to my mental capacity is something which could never have been perpetrated by me. If it is an offence to preach the ideal of freedom, I admit having done it—I have never disputed it. It is for that I have given up all the prospects of my life..."

The crowded district courtroom of Alipore rang with the emotion-surcharged voice of Barrister C. R. Das as he addressed the judge and the jury (assessors), "...I appeal to you, therefore, that a man like this who is being charged with the offence with which he has been charged, stands not only before the bar of this court but before the bar of the High Court of history and my appeal to you is this that long after this controversy will be hushed in silence, long after this turmoil, this agitation will have ceased, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity. Long after he is dead and gone, his words will be echoed and re-echoed not only in India but across distant seas and lands. Therefore, I say that the man in his position is not only standing before the

bar of this court but before the bar of the High Court of history."

Thanks to his brilliant advocacy, amazing forensic skill and superb oratory, C. R. Das was able to have his client, Aurobindo Ghosh, acquitted of all charges and released. In course of his verdict, Mr. Beechcroft, the trying judge, observed, "Aurobindo was the accused whom more than any other the prosecution were anxious to have convicted, and but for his presence in the dock there is no doubt the case would have been finished long ago. Aurobindo expressed his gratitude to his counsel thus, "He came unexpectedly, a friend of mine. You have all heard the name of the man who put away from his all other thoughts and abandoned all his practice, who sat up half the night day after day for months and broke his health to save me—Srijut Chittaranjan Das. When I saw him I was satisfied."

C. R. Das, however, was not satisfied, because two other accused in the same case, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Ullaskar Dutta, were sentenced to death. He preferred an appeal before the High Court and not only succeeded in saving them from the hangman's noose but also in having the sentences of other accused persons reduced. The legal acumen which C. R. Das displayed in the original and the appeal cases established him as one of the foremost lawyers of the country. Even Sir Laurence Jenkins, the then Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, could not help showering on him the following encomium, "I desire in particular to place on record my high appreciation of the manner in which the case was presented to the Court by their leading advocate, Mr. C. R. Das."

This is the centenary year of Sri Aurobindo's birth. About two years ago, on November 5, 1970, we celebrated the birth centenary of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. I have broached the above episode in the lives of these two illustrious sons of Mother India to pay my humble tribute of respect to their hallowed memory.

ASIA '72

PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Fairs are ever enchanting. And 'Asia'72 is no different. Spread over an area of 120 acres land space by the Mathura Road, New Delhi, it is drawing not only hard core business men, the stream includes men, women, children of all walks and interests. Frail figures with white sticks and a guide are not rare.

Staged in India, the fair has been sponsored by the ECAFE, and represents the third in the series—the first and the second having taken place in Bangkok (1966) and Teheran (1969) respectively. The show has acquired special significance being synchronised with the Silver Jubilee year of Indian independence. This has been highlighted through different media of which 'Nehru' Pavilion

attempts to bring home our one time (for centuries) oppression, our struggle to overcome the same, and the ultimate emergence as a free country. The task of nation building has been symbolised by a full wall size photograph of a construction project. The main focus, of course, is on the life and activities of Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, the men and events around him, viewed from a symbolic pattern. In addition, India's history and culture has also been depicted through the medium of an audio-visual show entry to which is restricted by ticket system.

Arrayed in colour and architectural novelties, which I will dwell upon a little later, 47 different countries excluding India—the host,



Trends in Textile—Textiles of India pavilion

Photo : Author (P. C. Mukherjee)

have brought in their best. Of them majority are non-Asians—including 16 European, 8 African, and 3 South American countries. In addition 20 different foreign concerns are participating. Notable absentees are Britain, China, Pakistan, and U.S.A. for reasons of their own convenience.

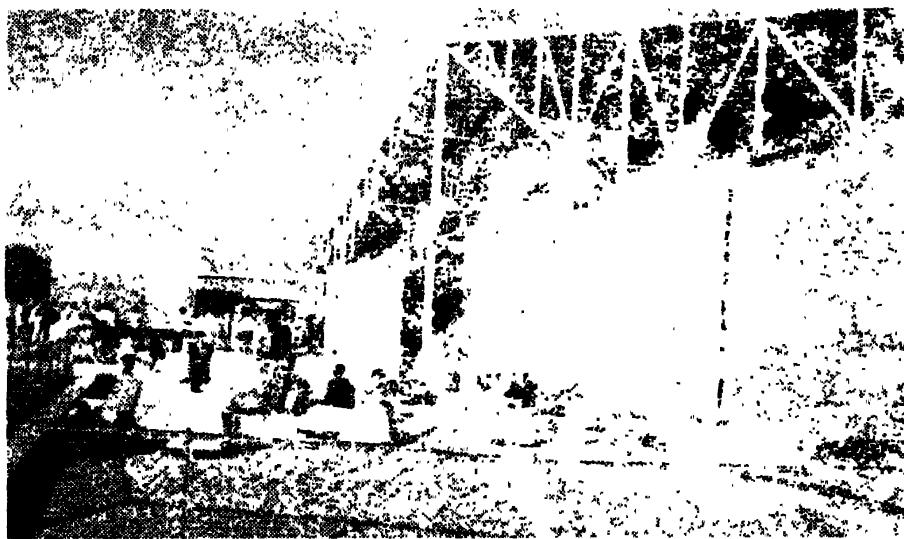
India has been represented by 19 States, different Public and Private Sector undertakings, various Development Boards, Councils, and Corporations, Rural India complex, Nehru and India Pavilion, open Air Theatre, different ministries, Railway Board, Defence Pavilion and many small ancillaries, like News

Paper Stalls which are adding to the harmony

Gone are the days when one had to build up and empire to maintain the flow of trade and prosperity of one's country. Having torn off the political shackle, the task of nation building calls for money, material, and technical know how. This is where the one time over-lords—the developed countries—are dictating in a much more menacing way. In the name of aids they are increasing their share of trade and prosperity while that of the developing countries are not only diminishing, but are forced to a tight repayment schedule plus the loss of freedom of decision in national and foreign policies. This should not be lost

sight of, and the Fair should provide enough ground to meet each other to formulate policies and lay down areas where planned development can accelerate the process of cutting down foreign aids and simultaneously working for mutual benefit. This is how the theme of 'Asia 72', 'Peace and Progress for Asia through Economic Cooperation' can lead to practical fruition. The different pavilions, items on display, and the Fair ground itself should provide opportunities to channelise future activities. If positive steps are not taken, the labour of the 40,000 men for a year or so spending crores of rupees would be a waste.

The lay out of the Fair covers 40-acres of permanent construction and the rest tempo-



Battery operated cars—Japanese Pavilion

Photo : Author (P. C. Mukherjee)

rary. In architectural details they vary in shape, form, and taste. According to some expert opinions, efforts have been made to set future trends in construction. The "Hall of Nations" has been quoted as one such. According to the bulletin of 'Asia 72', "It is going to be the tallest building in the 120-acre Fair Complex. Conceived as a spaceframe,

it is a wall-less, pillar-less structure. For its size, it is the biggest spaceframe in cement concrete ever attempted, anywhere in the world. It is made of insitu concrete members, with triangular frames of 16-ft sides. The frame analysis of this unique structure was done with the help of computers. Over 350 mathematical equations had to be solved to

arrive at proper structural design, requiring about 24,000 memory locations of the computer. At a height of 22-ft from the lower floor level, the Hall of Nations has an L-shaped mezzanine. Inclusive of the mezzanine the Hall of Nations will provide an exhibition area of 120,000 Square feet with a ground floor area of 256 ft 256ft." It rises to a height of 107 ft.

Other permanent constructions—the Halls of Textiles and Industries, and the M Pavilion, the open-air theatre-cum-cinema, do not hold out any speciality—to quote expert opinion. The remaining permanent structure, the 'Theme 'Pavilion' built at a cost of Rs. 6,000,000 with its 30 minute audio visual projection of India's past, present, and future,

by a computer guided projection simultaneously through 64 slide projections should really be interesting.

The temporary complex of the 80 acres has been really temporary without compromising variety, taste, and a future trend for simpler designs with "Economy and Elegance" as the motto. In this direction most of the foreign as well as Indian pavilions represent commendable effort.

Of the foreign pavilions, U.S.S.R. has staged the biggest. The visitors are welcomed by a life size model of the moon buggy, the Lunokhad-1. Also on show are the samples of stones from the moon collected by the Lunar-16. The main hall presents the theme 'Milestones of Progress.'



The Lords of Sundarvan—Bengal Pavilion
Photo : Author (P. C. Mukherjee)

Next to that of the U.S.S.R. the Japanese pavilion is depicting the theme Progress through Economic Co-operation'. Of the many on display one can see an Electron Microscope with 5,000 time magnification capacity. The mini train, a model of the fastest train in the world, and several battery operated cars are drawing lots of children. The train and the

cars have been offered as gift to the Government of India.

The Australian pavilion greets visitors with a large curving screen of dynamic photographic enlargements, depicting Australia's development. A 4-m wide lotus shaped fountain with a cascade of water rising to a height of 7-m is the central feature of the pavilion.

The German Democratic Republic pavilion is drawing a large crowd by the good will it enjoys as a country of engineering precision work.

The Hungarian pavilion has the theme 'Joining Hands for Joint Aims.' At the entrance a short film on Mrs. Indira Gandhi's visit to Hungary has been arranged. An exhibition of the Children's Paintings is also a speciality.

The French Pavilion highlights a large model of the concorde the Anglo French Supersonic jet liner.

The "Italia 72" is attracting admiration by a bright red Marserati Sports Car, scooters, and other industrial products.

The tall dome shaped South Korean pavilion is very popular by its frequent free shows by a dance troupe from that country.

Among others, Bangla Desh, the youngest country, has impressed the visitors with its textile and jute products, and three beautiful cars assembled in that country.

The story of Indian progress is interesting. As you enter the National Minerals Development Corporation Ltd, a short colourful film account of the origin of solar system is projected on a fairly large size dome screen with supporting sound system.

The Small Scale Industries pavilion lays down the complementary role it has to play in our national economy where heavy and big industries are to extend cooperation for solving not only the growing unemployment problems, but also the smooth progress of consumer oriented faster market.

The Coal Board and the Coal Controller's Organisation have taken pains to bring home the importance of black and neglected sphere a way from the glamour. It is quite revealing how malpractice in the industry can jeopardise national economy as well as human lives and properties. This has been highlighted by the

model of the Rajdhani Express on the track near Asansole where unauthorised digging of coal left a big void just about 10-m below the surface level of the soil. But for timely detection and prompt preventive measure a serious accident involving human lives could have taken place.

Decorated in royal attire a big dummy elephant greets you to the Textiles of India Pavilion which is stated to the theme of the Fair itself. The industry claims to be the third biggest in the world, and one of the largest exporter of textiles. The growth of the industry, fashions and trends are depicted through various models and photographs relieved by large photos of Gandhiji and Nehru at the spinning wheels.

Come to the Defence Pavilion which provides the relieving picture as to how today we are a force to be reckoned with not for aggression but for progress through security. All this is not by props provided by the big brothers but through sheer hard work. Some of the captured enemy equipments give you the pleasure a winning a war.

Going through the State Pavilions will bring home the theme of harmony. Efforts have been made to display the specialities of each state which if directed to fulfil the theme of the Fair itself can contribute in a big way towards the advancement of overall national economy without jeopardising the interests of each individual state. Efforts have also been made to display the life and culture of each states which can help the process of integration in a big way.

In most of the pavilions one can breathe the fresh air of freedom from dry statistical data which are monotonous and unimpressive. Instead, audio visual media using television screens, photos, and short colourful sentences have been used.

On the cultural side all the foreign as well

as the Indian authorities have tried to highlight the life and culture of their respective areas. Many foreign countries are celebrating their national days bringing their own artistes and troupes. In India'72 Theme pavilion in addition to its audio visual show has one chamber with over 50 rare exhibits—a full range of Indian culture. Excavations, statues, carpets, silks, and jewellery are on view to tell the story of India.

The Open Air Theatre at the Fair has a stage hanging out over the rim of a large water tank. It has a capacity for 2,500 audience. The International Restaurant with a capacity for 1,000 people has two terraces hanging out over a pond.

Refreshment centres are there big and

small including The Indian Tea and Coffee Board stalls. Some are offering prizes to attract customers.

The foregoing narrative is limited to a random selection to guess the general motif. The entire coverage would otherwise need a big size volume. And it will not be out of place to quote Mrs. Gandhi when she concluded her speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Fair on 3rd Nov.'72 : "Nations must cooperate, the advanced with the backward, the rich with the poor, the big with the small, the Asian with the European, the American, the African, the Australasian, if this earth, our only home, is to become not a plundered planet but one of peace and plenty."



'TRENDS OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA'

RAMESHWARI SAXENA

Urbanization in India is quite irregular, unsystematic and unplanned. There is a heavy rush of population from rural sector to a few big cities. This rush is not owing to the demand of labour which is created due to industrialization but with the hope to get better housing, medical and educational facilities. This abnormal rush of population exerts pressure and strain on social over-head investments which the town is financially unable to provide. If this chronic flow of population is not channelised and regularised properly its impact would make the national economy more sluggish and dull.

The urbanisation process is characterised by high rates of natural population increase, coupled with an accelerating movement of rural population to urban centres. By 1960 the urban population of developed countries was about 46% of the total population. Compared to this figure India's urbanisation was less than 19% by 1961, a point reached by a number of European countries 50 years ago.

The most recent trends of urbanisation in India as reflected in the Census report of 1971 reveal that it recorded an increase of less than 2% over the decade 1961-71 (from 17.98 to 19.87). In India the urban population constitutes less than one fifth of the total population while in the case of U.S.S.R. and Japan in Asia the urban population constitute 55.9% and 68.1% respectively of the total population. In the case of European countries, U. K. and France, the urban population constitutes of about 78.9% and 68.9% respectively. Clearly the rate of urbanisation in Japan is 4 times more than that of India and U.S.S.R. is about 3 times more urbanised than India.

In India, the level of urbanisation at the time of census, conducted in 1881 was only 1.2% which increased to 14% in 1941. We

can blame the policy of foreigners for the slow progress of urbanisation during this period as the country was under the yoke of slavery. But the independent India also does not narrate a very inspiring story. The urban take off started with a new zeal and hope with the plan period in 1951 when the level of urbanisation increased to 17.3% from 14% in 1941 but the rate of urbanisation of 17.98 in 1961 and 19.87 in 1971 belie that conclusion.

During the plan period much stress was laid on industrialisation. The two aggressions, one Chinese in 1962 and other the Pakistani conflict in 1965 forced the country to realise the importance of self-sufficiency in the industrial sector. The theory of 'Big Push' was adopted. But it clearly shows that the industries established during those periods were mostly capital intensive. Output structure was such that it did not demand labour with the same intensity as capital. Hence urban population did not increase much and consequently the process of urbanisation was not speedy. It might be agreed that industrialisation absorbed the surplus labour already existing in urban sectors which was either

unemployed or under employed. But the minute analysis of the occupational structure of the economy clearly shows that employment generated by the industries is not sufficient to change the occupational structure of the economy. The structure has remained very much the same during the past two decades. The primary sector still constitutes about 70% of the total population. Compared to this the proportion of the workers in primary sector of the most developed countries is below 15% and is generally on the increase. Really urbanisation in our country has taken place without commensurate shift, in occupa-

tional structure. However, the urban population over the decade 1961-71 went up by 37.83% and the rural only by 21.78%. Evidently this shows an upswing in the direction of urbanisation, but nothing can be said with certainty unless we get the 'net birth' and 'death rates' of urban and rural sectors. Whatever urbanisation has taken place in our country is not systematic and proportional. If we take up the process of urbanisation from state to state we find a very surprising range of variation. This trend of variation in a planned economy and in a democratic country is unjustified and regrettable. The tables given below reveal a very peculiar picture :

*TABLE NO. I

Name of State Group I

Percentage of urban population to total Population.

	1971	1961
1. Maharashtra	31.70	28.22
2. Tamil Nadu	30.28	26.69
3. Gujrat	28.13	25.77
4. Mysore	24.31	22.33
5. W. Bengal	24.59	25.45
6. Punjab	23.80	23.06
Average	27.5%	25.25%

*TABLE NO. II

Name of State Group II

Percentage of urban population to total population.

	1971	1961
1. Andhra Pradesh	19.35	17.44
2. J & K	18.26	16.66
3. Haryana	17.78	17.23
4. Rajasthan	17.61	16.28
5. Kerala	16.28	15.11
6. Madhya Pradesh	16.26	14.29
Average	17.6%	16.1%

*TABLE NO. III

Name of State Group III	Percentage of urban population to total population.	
	1971	1961
1. Uttar Pradesh	14.00	12.85
2. Bihar	10.04	8.43
3. Nagaland	9.91	5.19
4. Orissa	8.27	6.32
5. Assam	8.39	7.37
6. Himachal Pradesh	7.06	6.34
Average	9.62%	7.8%

* Census Report of INDIA 1971.

It is clear from the tables that the 1st group of six states is 3 times more urbanised than the third group. In the 1st group Punjab shows a very marginal change in urbanisation over the decade 1961-71. As a matter of fact the people of Punjab living in villages are leading as comfortable a life as the people of towns, hence there is no tendency to shift, from rural to urban sector. West Bengal shows a decline over the decade in the level of urbanisation. This is perhaps due to political disturbances in Bengal. The remaining four states show a significant change over the decade. In the second group Haryana shows a marginal change. The condition of Haryana is the same as that of the Punjab. The other states

are showing normal change. The third group besides the other states consists of U. P. and Bihar, the two big states of our country. Having favourable geographical situation U. P. and Bihar are not enjoying a good rate of urbanisation. Himachal Pradesh is the least urbanised state. The slow rate of urbanisation of the states of the IIrd group in a planned economy is not commendable.

If we study the process of urbanisation from town to town we find a very peculiar picture. We have nearly 11 crores of people living in not more than 142 large cities with a population of one lakh and above. The population explosion in big cities is very alarming as shown in the following table :-

(Continued on page 457)

PROFESSOR T. J. LOWI'S THE END OF LIBERALISM : AN ANALYSIS

V. T. PATIL

The aim of this article will be to review Professor T. J. Lowi's *The End of Liberalism* and then attempt to link up his ideas with contemporary interest group literature.

Lowi's *The End of Liberalism* is a forceful inquiry into the whole concept of contemporary liberalism, its foundations and its consequences for American society. The book is a polemic with a strong point of view and is addressed to the reader to draw relevant conclusions for himself. Lowi makes a bold attack on the modern state and decries its policies. He takes issue with the pluralist model which was supposed to plead for a strong positive government, but in effect an impotent government is the order of the day. "Government that is unlimited in scope but formless in action is government that cannot plan. Government that is formless in action and amoral in intention (i. e., ad hoc) is government that can neither plan nor achieve justice".¹ Contemporary liberal government according to Lowi is characterized by "all power and no efficacy...power without purpose but without definition, finesse, discrimination ending in disappointment."²

Lowi attempts to make a clear distinction between policy and standards on one hand and specific applicability on the other. He raises such questions as : To what extent should those charged with general policy set specific standards ? How much power should be delegated to subordinate entities ? What role the courts could play in such a process ? He sets up Juridical Democracy as an alternative, which hopefully will establish the rule of law and put a stop to reckless and unbridled administrative discretion.

Lowi's book also brings into focus the nature of public policy, the role of the government in the formulation of policy as well as the impact of interest groups on policy formulation.

According to Lowi, capitalism shaped institutions in America and guided American thinking for a considerable period in their history. Industrialization and rapid urbanization brought to the fore the shortcomings in capitalist ideology which depended heavily on a self-regulating market system. The new industrialized society demanded more social control, i. e., administration. The proliferation of groups, associations and organizations implied conscious social control. Capitalist ideology was transformed by pluralism. Pluralism places groups at the centre of its understanding and emphasises administration. The fusion of capitalist ideology with pluralism led to the new public philosophy which Lowi terms as interest-group liberalism. Power is now dispersed and parcelled out to various groups in the society. It has resulted in interest groups virtually making public policy. The consequence is a crisis in public authority. "Interest-group liberalism seeks to justify power and to end the crisis of public authority by avoiding law and by parcelling out to private parties the power to make public policy."³ Every potentially identifiable interest becomes a "status around which power centres ought to organize. If a group hasn't organized, then organize it."⁴

Lowi builds up a formidable list of shortcomings of interest-group liberalism. Interest-group liberalism weakens the formal institutions of popular control, creates new structures

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and privileges, fosters "conservatism of resistance to change," corrupts democracy, and impairs legitimacy. The formal institutions of government are seriously undermined. "In pluralistic government there is therefore no substance. Neither is there procedure. There is only process."⁵ Plans cannot be made except in terms of bargaining (participation in the "interior processes of policy-making"). The decline of law sets in and broad delegation of power takes its place. Broad delegation of power is not accompanied by clear and well-defined legislative standards. "Statutes without standards, policy without law, will yield pluralism and bargaining throughout the system".⁶ The Government becomes a locus for bargaining rather than an instrument for applying standards. The government is seen as just another group in the bargaining process. Consequently, administrative and political impotence is the result. Even in the sphere of foreign policy, interest group bargaining prevails. This leads to what Lowi calls a series of 'partial decisions', and the President and his advisers are forced to "oversell", that is to sell policy to disparate groups. No perspective planning is possible, and governmental decisions are merely reactions to the pressures generated by interest-group bargaining. The liberal system as in all other areas proves an anachronism in foreign affairs.

Lowi then proceeds to examine why liberal governments cannot achieve justice. He cites the example of the cities. He contends, "life is on the decline in our cities because governmental structure and policy have become incapable of dealing with modern social problems."⁷ The cities have become "islands of functional power". "Cities are well-run but badly governed."⁸ The Old Political Machines, whatever their defects, represented conscious and centralized control over the entire cities. But, on the other hand, the New Machines

conspicuously lack centralized control and direction, and because of dispersal of power centres, meaningful laws become impossible. In their zeal to reform, no care was taken for preservation of ultimate authority. "The crisis in the cities is one of political efficacy and governmental legitimacy."⁹ All this has resulted in a new kind of programme—a substitute for the Old Welfare.

Professor Lowi attempts to point out the central thrusts of Old Welfare and New Welfare respectively. According to him Old Welfare was successful in its effort to come to grips with poverty. It was realistic and reasonable in the sense that the end was one of a policy to moderate the effects of poverty. But New Welfare is based on a "meaningful, deliberate ignorance. Its creators sought to combat poverty. But this is not true.....The phenomenon we fight today is not a random thing, not a natural consequence of the objective weakness of economic or environmental forces. *The phenomenon we fight today is in fact not poverty at all.* The phenomenon is the injustice that has made poverty a nonrandom, nonobjective category. Poverty in this case is the merest epiphenomenon, and there is nothing at this level that Old Welfare could not and cannot do better than New Welfare."¹⁰ The real task is to attack injustice which is at the root of poverty.

The case is no different with urban renewal and federal housing. New Welfare in these fields is a mere sham and hypocrisy which "conceals confusion under the slogans of experimentalism and participation." "Public housing and urban renewal enable cities to remove Negroes and other undesirable lower classes from desirable locations."¹¹ In fine, impact of these programmes is to perpetuate a form of *apartheid* and to fattening of real estate interests.

In the sphere of agriculture, groups or

blocs of farmers framed agricultural policy. The Departments of Commerce and Labour are very much at the mercy of their clientele groups. In all these cases private interests are part of the interior processes of the government. Political responsibility and the prospect of planning and central direction are destroyed when policy-making in such areas as agriculture, commerce, labour, urban problems etc. was parcelled out to the most interested parties.

After this diagnosis, Professor Lowi recommends Juridical Democracy. He argues for immediate action to break the control of interest groups at every level of political life in the U. S. as the prerequisite for restoration of good government. This, according to Lowi is a step towards reconstitution of constitutionalist democracy (Juridical Democracy). Towards this end, he proposes a "radical platform" of "fundamental institutional change". The main planks are : restoration of the Schechter rule ("sick chicken case") whereby the Supreme Court must return to the practice of "declaring invalid and unconstitutional any delegation of power to an administrative agency that is not accompanied by clear standards of implementation"¹²; early administrative formality and frequent "administrative rule-making"; proper use and development of "a truly independent and integrated administrative class—a Senior Civil Service"; abolish city corporate autonomy and restoration of the virtues of the states ; make federal fiscal policy an effective instrument of regulation and control ; set a "limit of from five to ten years on the life of every organic act" to permit regular and periodic reassessment of policies. By such "radical" means Lowi gives us a new political slogan, called "Juridical Democracy".

Professor Lowi's critique of interest-group liberalism, the new public philosophy seeks to

shed light on some of the crucial problems facing contemporary America. He builds up a good case against this dominant ideology which is at the root of the administrative and political problems. The book is full of sociological observations and economic descriptions interspersed with insightful forays into the inadequacies of the "system". He brings into bold relief the self-destructive means of the system he has chosen to criticise.

Professor Lowi makes it appear as if parceling out of power to private group interests really began with modern interest-group liberalism. The fact is that American history is replete with illustrations which prove beyond doubt that governmental decisions were decisively influenced by interest-group considerations. Interest-group liberalism is firmly rooted in the American ethos. It is based in the belief that those whose interests are affected must be consulted and their views given serious consideration, when policies are framed by the Government. At every stage of development the American polity has been a mere "reflex of society, either the presider over the bargaining process or the sponsor of new interests which then enter that process."¹³ All political activity in the United States is rooted in an all-encompassing society. Policy is the product of societal pressures generated through interest-groups on the government.

Restoration of the Schechter rule will not be of much help. If the Supreme Court demands that the Congress lay down clear and specific standards to guide administrators and other parties, there is no guarantee that Congress will acquiesce, because this august institution (Congress) is very much the focus of the bargaining process providing a haven for interest groups.¹⁴

Low's prescriptions of rule of law combined with vesting great power in the hands of an expert national elite may in some crises situa-

tion in foreign affairs prove useful as he very rightly points out. But in many others, disastrous consequences may follow. American involvement in Vietnam, Bay of Pigs, are an eloquent testimony to the failure of the elite to measure up to the situation.

The centralism, formalism, elitism, pervading throughout the book will not solve the problems of the American nation in a revolutionary age, because Professor Lowi's framework is limited. His proposals merely visualise rearranging the current administrative state, by making a case for capture of policy control of the federal bureaucracy and bring the states to life. He talks of procedural reorganization which is hardly a radical recommendation. This is a far cry from attacking the problem at its roots. It is merely tinkering with a highly complex process. Certainly, a more radical platform than the one Professor Lowi prescribes is called for to meet the challenges thrown up by a dynamic, technological society.

Lowi's The End of Liberalism and Interest Group Literature.

A perusal of the interest group literature leads one to the conclusion that Lowi's critique of interest group liberalism is not unique but his formulation is forceful and interesting. Much of what Lowi has said about interest groups can be discerned by browsing through contemporary interest group literature. The various case studies analyse ways in which interest groups seek to promote policies they favour—through executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, and directly through initiative and referendum.

The Congress provides interest groups as the focal point for exerting pressure through lobbying and other means. Interest groups influence political leaders and administrators in a variety of ways. They demand delegation of authority, power to make authoritative

decisions, a voice in the making and implementation of policy, and an "inside" position in the administrative agency. Even in the judicial system the interest groups intervene. Through lobbying and other means, interest groups seek to affect the nomination and selection of judges as also the determination of judicial policy.

The vitality and vigour of interest group are revealing in that in recent years they have gone beyond traditional lobbying to direct legislation by referendum and initiative at the state, local and national levels. "Both the initiative and referendum are particularly attractive alternatives.....The former especially affords interest groups an opportunity to bypass completely the legislature, parties, the executive and often the courts.....Through the referendum, authoritative decisions that have been enacted by the legislature and executive may be suspended in their operation and subsequently, nullified without any need to persuade either the legislatures or the executive to reverse themselves."¹⁵ Thus, one consistent theme emerges from a study of the interest group literature, i. e., the problem of power. Policy-making processes are seen as a power struggle with the interest groups demanding their share of power.

Professor Lowi also is confronted with the problem of power. His attack on interest-group liberalism rests on his contention that power is dispersed throughout society (among the groups) and though there has been an unprecedented expansion of governmental activities, yet the government has become weak. He contends that the "interest-group liberal solution to the problem of power provides the system with stability by spreading a sense of representation. But it is the inferior solution because this kind of representation comes at the probable expense of genuine flexibility, of democratic forms, and of legiti-

macy"¹⁶ (Italics added). Broad and unguided delegation of power by the Congress has led to further weakening of the Federal government. This has resulted in parcelling out power to interest groups to make public policy.

To Lowi, interest groups seek to capture the power of policy-making by forcing the Congress, the Federal state and local governments and the judiciary, to share power by delegation, while to Professor Holtzman and others, interest groups through the technique of lobbying and direct legislation (referendum and initiative) have put themselves in a formidable position to influence public policy. In either case, interest groups have gained in power by supplanting and undercutting the powers of the Congress and the Federal government.

Professor Lowi's criticism of "broad delegation of power" is to some extent, flawed. It is a fact that in a modern state the central authorities will have to delegate functions, responsibilities and powers to administrators, and to other subordinate units. The alternative is chaos and disorder. Lowi's prescription of delegation of power with standards is of limited application. For, it is very doubtful whether one can conceive of national standards for all issues. In areas such as Civil Rights and Welfare, national standards are possible, but in a large number of other issues it is impossible to think of uniform standards for the whole country. In such cases Congress must allow the states or local governments to prescribe their own standards.

To Lowi, interest groups are all-pervasive and all-powerful. His obsession with the power of interest groups leads him to alarming conclusions about the future of America. The literature on interest groups suggest that scholars are aware of the influence and power of interest groups. Nevertheless, they are conscious of the limitations as to what pressure

groups can achieve. Apart from built-in limitations within the interest groups¹⁷ they have also to contend with resistance from the environment. It is argued that "it is certainly erroneous to conclude that administrative and political executives respond like puppets to interest groups. As in the case of the legislators they are not automatons who can always be pushed easily or even successfully in the direction preferred by the interest groups".¹⁸ In a "participatory democracy" like the U. S., with a strong tradition of "group activity" it is natural that interest groups wield influence and power. But this is not the same thing as saying that interest groups make public policy all the time and in every instance. For this to happen the Congress, the Executive and the Judiciary will have to abdicate their constitutional responsibilities and powers. Political leaders and administrators, legislators and members of the judiciary have, by and large, maintained a remarkable sense of independence. Under the circumstances, interest groups need to be regulated by giving them some place in policy-making rather than policy-implementation.

However, Professor Lowi's reference to the dangers of interest groups dominating every sphere of public life in the U. S., is of significance on one important consideration. Interest-groups demand a share in the making of public policy on the ground that they represent the interests of their members. The "neo-elitists" contend that all organizations tend to be governed by a small minority of their membership. A small elite of officers and activists dominate the affairs of an association or group. Therefore, there is no evidence that the various interest groups really represent the views or interests of the rank and file members. Internal mechanisms of democracy in interest groups are lacking. Case studies of interest groups support this view.¹⁹ Thus,

"instead of constituting balance of power systems within American society, organized interest groups are seen as platforms of power from which a relatively homogeneous group—an elite—effectively governs the nation."²⁰

Whether the lack of solutions to problems will tend to move the American polity in the direction in which Professor Lowi thinks, one does not know. But the outlook is certainly not as bleak as Lowi paints it. The only sensible course of action is to move in a direction and try to remove some of the shortcomings.

1. Theodore J. Lowi, *The End of Liberalism*, (New York : W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1969), Preface.
2. Ibid., Preface.
3. Ibid., p. 58.
4. Ibid., p. 83.
5. Ibid., p. 97.
6. Ibid., p. 155.
7. Ibid., pp. 192-93.
8. Ibid., p. 193.
9. Ibid., p. 206.
10. Ibid., p. 244.
11. Ibid., p. 250.
12. Ibid., p. 298.
13. E. A. Jaffe, "Rearrangement of the Administrative State : Professor Lowi and 'The End of Liberalism'", *Journal of Comparative Administration*, February 1970, p. 491.
14. Raymond A. Bauer and others, who studied the politics of reciprocal trade delegation of 1953-55, point out that Congress regards the activities of interest groups in pushing their cases as perfectly legitimate. It is permitted, encouraged and accepted ; Raymond A. Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter, *American Business and Public Policy, The Politics of Foreign Trade*, (New York : Atherton Press, 1963.).
15. Abraham Holtzman, *Interest Groups and Lobbying*, (London : The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 142.
16. Lowi, op. cit., pp. 95-96.
17. See David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, (New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), Chapters V and VI.
18. Holtzman, op. cit., p. 131.
19. Garceau's study of the American Medical Association has called attention to minority control of interest groups. Oliver Garceau, *The Political Life of the American Medical Association* (Cambridge Mass : Harvard University Press, 1941).
20. T. R. Dye and L. A. Zeigler, *The Irony of Democracy*, (Belmont : Wadsworth Publishing Company. Inc. 1970), Preface. Also see, Mills who believes that three elites—political, corporate and military—together control the United States. Mills C. Wright, *The Power Elite*. (London : Oxford University Press, 1956).



RELIGION AND MARXISM

AMIYA KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Communism, as it is widely acknowledged, is the best and promptest method for the advancement of a State and the welfare of its people, so far as its economic progress is concerned. But a great difference in opinion exists among the thinkers of the world on the issue of the Marxian theories in regard to the religious aspects of human life and human society. Since Karl Marx is adored as the authentic pronouncer of the principle of communism, it is necessary to scrutinise the views of the great leader who has declared religion as a thing to be rejected by a communist country.

It is agreed that a law or a social principle may not be suitable for all countries and it should undergo necessary alteration or addition in it according to the need of the place or time ; but the followers of Karl Marx are so adamant in their attitude that they are determined to apply the theory of communism as pronounced by their Chief in every corner of the world without making the slightest change in it. They should know that Karl Marx was neither the inventor of communism nor the first pronouncer of its principles and that many a great man like Jesus, Buddha, Guru Nanak and the ancient sages of India have thought on the same line and tried to influence the peoples by similar doctrines, but none of them has rejected religion from their schemes of social organisation. Undoubtedly Karl Marx was one of the greatest thinkers

of the world, and I have got every regard for him for the distinctly effective economic formula he had enunciated, but I am not agreed to accept the view that a good formula need not have any amendment and must be applied to evry place or country in its original form.

The greatest impact of Marxism, as we experience today, has come on the religious faith of the people. Communist sympathisers are gradually losing their faith in religion as they are convinced that religion has no place in communism and unless religion is totally discarded, communism cannot achieve any success ; since Marx declared that "communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality.....". That is the reason, I feel, why modern society has got neither morality nor any attraction for truth. The very idea of Marxism is demoralising the generations very rapidly. It is, therefore, necessary to find out the points of difference which might have induced Karl Marx to disqualify religion, truth and morality.

What is religion ? Religion is defined as a system of ideas upon which we can for support to lead a good life in all respects—personal, social or spiritual. It teaches us to love one another and live unitedly in the society. The word "religion" has come from "religere" which means "bondage." That is to say, religion binds us and mobilises our goodwill to work

for the betterment of society. It gives us energy spirit and toleration. Religion does not mean only meditation and prayer before God. It helps us to realise the spirit of love and further moves us forward from manliness to godliness. Meditation and prayer are nothing but outward ceremonies for the attainment of perfection in life. The teachings of religion in the true sense give rise to qualities like kindness, devotion, politeness, unselfishness, righteousness in man and these qualities collectively come under the definition of "morality" which has been rejected by Marx. Was it the intention of Karl Marx to divert the path of humanity back towards primitive barbarism ? If it is really so, Marxism should be considered as fatally dangerous to all the nations of the world.

Had Karl Marx rejected religion on the basis of logical arguments there would have been no dispute on the issue. But he took his decision simply on the consideration of the outward ceremonies of religion without going through the true inner significance of the same. If a man suffers from a boil on his head, it is advisable to conduct an operation on the boil only, but if anybody desires and decides to detach the head from the body of the patient, he should be suspected to be either a fool or as a man with mental disorder ; and in no way he can be considered as an intelligent person or a reformer. Marxism, in the modern age, is getting thankful acknowledgements from almost every corner of the world, but when the ultimate goal of Marxism will be attained, people would find in their bitter experience that the policy and theory of Marx have arranged for bread for them, but have led them back to the pre-historic stage of barbarism by depriving them of morality, truth and religion. Swami Vivekananda rightly proclaimed, "Take religion from human society and what will remain ? Nothing but a forest of

brutes." It is only by virtue of religion that a man can be distinguished from the beasts, but Marxism does not arrange anything for man except bread and other material requirements. Bread is undoubtedly the prior need for man, but it is not the ultimate goal for his fullest satisfaction. After having bread, man wants to quench his mental thirst, as otherwise, there could not have been any quest after the ulti-realities, the eternal values and the deepest spiritual realisations.

According to Marx, religion is the outcome of the devil's brain which always wants to deceive the people. Religion helps the capitalist group or the privileged class to fulfil their vested interest or self-centered motives ; and by virtue of their religious formula the capitalists convince the common people to believe that their poor fate alone is responsible for their poverty and wretched condition and thus demoralise them so that they may not be able to lift up their heads against injustice. Marxism, therefore, concludes that "religion is the opium of the common mind" and it functions as a sleeping pill.

If this view of Marxism is acknowledged by us, would it not mean that we accept Jesus, Buddha, Socrates and other great prophets of the world as deceptors who have hoaxed the people by their bluffs in the name of religion ? But what do we find actually in scrutinising their life histories ? Were they really deceivers or bluffers ? The examples of broad-mindedness, unselfishness, faith and sincerity which they have shown to the world are undoubtedly far above and beyond comparison with those displayed by any political leader. Religion might have been wrongly interpreted by some interested class or group of people, but that can disqualify neither the prophets nor the religious ideas enunciated by them. Marxism, appears in fact, to have dealt only

with the wrong interpretations of religion and come to the wrong conclusions in this regard, as otherwise, it should have realised that religion, in the true sense, always aims at providing the people with the very essence of humanity and not with barbarism. In the Gita, we find Shri Krishna inspiring Arjuna to fight against the injustices of the Kauravas ; the Sam & Veda strongly proclaims that a man, who deprives the people of their legal share of food will go down to the lowest depths; we have found Jesus enunciating the most fundamental verdict for the guidance of the people "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. Ye shall know them by fruits.....Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into fire." Does it not prove that Jesus wanted to raise and inspire the people against injustice ? Similar examples of teaching may be quoted from other religions. On going through the quotations in can be easily realised by any intelligent person whether religion is the "opium of the common mind" to function as a sleeping pill, or an inspiring agent to raise people against injustice. Swami Vivekananda proudly claimed, "If there is one word that you find coming like a bomb from the Upanishads, bursting like a bomb-shell upon masses of ignorance, it is the word, fearlessness." A similar interpretation was given by Romain Rolland, "The Vedanta is the bread of the strong."

As a matter of fact, Karl Marx, who was one of the greatest economists of the world, had very little knowledge about religion and its utility in human life, and consequently he had adopted a wrong stance in this regard. No doubt, his theory has instigated a great number of people to stand up with a revolutionary spirit and abolish religion and morality, but frankly speaking it is simply a temporary

intoxicant which had a destructive effect and nothing constructive. Man is composed of three things, natural instinct, mind and spirit ; so far as the natural instinct of a man is concerned he is similar to a beast without having any special qualities ; mind remains engaged in acquiring knowledge and the spiritual aspects of man gives rise to what we call "religion". All the three aspects are equally important for human life, and if anyone of these is destroyed and rejected, man cannot attain perfection. Marxism rejects the spiritual aspect of man and directly prevents him from the attainment of perfection. Perhaps Lenin realised this point, and as such, though he was a Marxist, he had a great respect for Tolstoy who was mainly a spiritual leader.

The corruptions in society, which are considered by the Marxists as the by-products of religion, cannot be wiped out by removing religion and without starting revolutions against those corruptions. Marxism could not clearly expound this point. The deceptive activities of the interested class in the name of religion have been considered by the Marxists to be the deceptive qualities of religion itself. They are yet to realise that if fire, which is generally used for cooking or other useful purpose, is utilised by somebody to kill an innocent man, it is not the fire but the wicked person who should be penalised for the crime.

The Marxists of India and other spiritually conscious countries are to give special attention to considering the issue as to what form communism should adopt in these countries. That is to say, they should give up their dogmatic outlook and be ready to make some alterations or amendments in the theory of Marx in order to fit in with the needs of a particular place or time. Marxism in Russia has perhaps successfully abolished religion from that country, but it does not mean that

religion must be abolished from every place. In Russia, as a matter of fact, religious influence might not have been a major factor in public-life and as such the abolition of religion from that country might not have been very difficult ; but so far as India is concerned it has been highly influenced by religious ideas since the early days of her civilisation. Consequently, the abolition of religion from India would be hard and harmful for the peoples of India. A man who does not smoke seldom takes much notice of any prohibitory Acts on cigarettes, if passed by the Government ; but the prohibition would definitely upset a man

who is badly habituated in smoking and requires about five packets of cigarettes daily ; because the intoxicant provides him with energy to work. Religion, in a similar sense, may be an intoxicant to the Indians, and if this intoxicating agent is prohibited in this country, the prohibition would be a blow to normal life. In India, therefore, communism should be based on a compromise with religion after making necessary changes in its outward ceremonies and ; and if that is done, I am confident, the basic principles of communism could be implanted in India for the advantage of the Indians.

GALSWORTHY : A BIASED ARTIST (?)

ANIMA BISWAS

The fact that John Galsworthy's presentation of the evils of solitary confinement in his play *Justice* drew the serious attention of Winston Churchill (then Home Secretary) and led to some prison reforms does not make the play just a propaganda piece. A. S. Collins' remark that "he was obviously didactic only in his plays"¹ seems to be too sweeping. To say that his plays are social sermons shows an inadequate understanding of his work and betrays insensitiveness. The fact that Galsworthy is not widely read or staged today shows that he rejects the popular public-snatching tricks and maintains his artistic integrity. He alienates two kinds of readers,—those who clamour for instructions and those who demand purity in art. Galsworthy has

undoubtedly something to say that has profound bearing on society and human relationships, but he refuses to preach from the pulpit.

Sheila Kaye-Smith rightly says : "Galsworthy is an artist before he is a social reformer."² He is an artist grappling with fundamental human values and not a thinker who makes his ideas palatable and focuses attention on issues that have immediate relevance. In his novels and plays he does not attack any definite abuses but only the cruel and stupid powers that are at the bottom of them all—the acquisitive instinct that clings to property, the lack of understanding between one class and another, the false respectability of the upper class, materialism, cowardice and

selfishness. He champions the cause of the underdog, pleading passionately for sympathy with the outcast and the downtrodden. His ideas are never abstractions ; his throbbing pity so vitalises his ideas that instead of impairing his art they positively enrich it. Again, the ideas are never superimposed ; they are projected by concrete human relationships. They serve as a base for the structure of human passion and frailty ; this enlarges the personal context and also gives solidity to his work.

Critics have been sharply divided on the question as to whether Galsworthy is emotionally biased towards the underdog or strictly impartial like Cethrus whose lantern reveals both the positive and the negative aspects of life. In his essay "Some Platitudes Concerning Drama" he says that art should be like a steady lamp showing things clearly and in due proportion unhindered by "the mists of prejudice and partisanship". However, what Galsworthy seeks to achieve is not an absolute detachment ; as he says in the same essay on drama, an artist's 'temperament' or 'spirit' steals into and permeates his work. Indeed, sympathy for the underdog is evident in almost all his work. Consider the short story "The Black Godmother" (1912) rendering the pathetic fate of a lost puppy, probably abandoned by a bicyclist. Hungry and thirsty, coming to a village in search of food, the puppy snaps at a farm labourer out of sheer fright and is kicked off. It is rescued by the kind-hearted writer from stone-throwing schoolchildren, but the writer himself drives it away out of fear that it may infect his own dog with disease. Next it snaps at children trying to stroke it and the father of the children hits it on the head with a shovel. Its next assailant is "an old stone-breaker, a very decent sort" who does not like the look of the puppy's eyes glaring green at

him, hits it hard with a stone, and then thinking it better to finish it off lest it should bite others, fetches his hammer and hits it again and again. Next a farmer, afraid that the puppy will do mischief, asks his men to get rid of it, and the men hit it with a pitchfork on the neck and tie it to a stake by the haystack from where the writer takes it home and tends it. But it is too late : at dawn the writer is awakened by "three dreadful cries—not like a dog's at all," hurries down to find the poor beast had wriggled out from under the rug and was stretched on its side—dead.

Now, who is responsible for the sufferings and death of this poor, harmless, mealy-coloured mongrel ? Galsworthy's sympathy is all for this wretched creature, but he also clearly shows that those who hunt it to death are not at all vindictive, but kindly, decent fellows at heart prompted to hit it out of sheer fright. So fear is the "black godmother" of all crimes and follies. His sympathy for the puppy does not lead him to condemn its assailants, and thus the impartiality of the artist, the creative balance, is not disturbed. A. C. Ward does not seem to do justice to Galsworthy when he says :

He weighed the evidence ; he stated the case for each contestant ; his intellect was on both sides at once ; but his emotions disturbed the balance.⁴

Galsworthy's work produces two distinct but allied effects—intellectual and emotional. He reveals the reality of the human situation, and his presentation is objective. The dominant emotion of his work is pity, but his pity is not directed to the underdog alone. In the above story we feel pity for the wretched puppy, but we also appreciate the situation of its assailants, and their situation is almost equally piteous, for they are shown under the grip of an uncontrollable emotion—fear. Galsworthy's

sympathy for the underdog does not amount to partisanship, intellectual or emotional, and it is only such partisanship that disturbs the balance of an art-work.

We may refer here again to the views of A. C. Ward. "It is next to impossible," he says, "to show by quotation Galsworthy's slanted championship; the evidence is submerged in the emotional current which engages sympathy for one party rather than for the other."⁵ How far is A. C. Ward's argument valid? Consider, in this connection, the argument between Stanley and Felix Freeland (in the novel *The Freelands*, Chapter Six) about the contrasting conditions of life of the upper class and the farm labourer. Felix champions the cause of the underdog and points to the fact that the rich man Malloring is 'called with a cup of tea, at, say, seven o' clock, out of a nice, clean, warm bed; he gets into a bath that has been got ready for him, into clothes and boots that have been brushed for him'; while the working man Gaunt 'gets up summer and winter much earlier out of a bed that he cannot afford time or money to keep too clean or warm, in a small room that probably has not a large enough window, into clothes stiff with work and boots stiff with clay.' A. C. Ward accepts this comparison as just but complains that while Stanley's defence of the social system is brief, Felix's words are made to ring with humanitarian sentiments, and so the effect produced destroys 'any superficial appearance of impartiality'.⁶ Does it really destroy the balance? The balance would surely have been broken, had Galsworthy identified himself with Felix. But he is too subtle an artist to do it: the effect produced at the end of the novel shows that he actually satirises Felix's sentiments. Politically inspired by Felix, the farm labourer Bob Tryst burns a rick, is imprisoned and gets killed in an attempt to escape from gaol. Galsworthy

condemns the social system that is responsible for the miserable end of a miserable labourer. But how does he express this bias, and where? Not surely in the emotionally charged arguments of Felix: the bias rather exhales from the whole ironical situation, without thus impairing the creative balance of the author.

A. C. Ward does not quite recognize this subtle working of Galsworthy's sympathies and thinks that his partisanship is more unconcealed in his plays, since dramatic technique calls for a less expansive treatment. In *Strife*, for instance, he thinks that Galsworthy becomes a partisan with the workers 'by his choice of incident at the climax of the play' and thus destroys the illusion of objectivity. And what is this incident? This is the death of Mrs Roberts:

.....it is an appeal to humanitarian sentiment which, fundamentally, has no bearing upon the real problem of *Strife*.⁷

A study of the play shows, however, that the incident is quite *probable* in the context—the workers had been on strike throughout the winter months—and that it has a significant bearing upon the real problem of the play. But what is the real problem? The problem is not just a conflict between Labour and Capital, but concerns the rigidity or diehardism in human nature and 'the nemesis that dogs it'.⁸ And the death of Mrs Roberts is a sad, ironical commentary on the supposed 'heroism' of both Roberts and Anthony. Where does the play reach its climax? It is reached in Act II Scene II where the death is first reported by Madge in the midst of the workers' meeting at a moment when Roberts's fiery words in favour of continuing the strike are having their desired effect. What is the effect of the death upon the workers? It surely does not produce a 'humanitarian sentiment' in the minds of these workers who are

seized with fear that similar misfortunes might befall their families :

Madge. He needn't have hurried ! Annie Roberts is dead. [Then in the silence, passionately] You pack of blinded hounds ! How many more women are you going to let die ?

[The crowd shrinks back from her, and breaks up in groups, with a confused, uneasy movement.]

Again, the death of Mrs Roberts produces no 'humanitarian sentiment' in the minds of the Directors ; what it produces is a fear that the radical paper would blame them for it. While most of the members disclaim responsibility, and Anthony wants to take it nonchalantly as an inevitable consequence of 'war', it is Edgar who puts the truth with withering scorn, and that is the effect Galsworthy intends to produce. One should also note here Galsworthy's portraiture of Anthony. He is portrayed as a stubborn, unyielding capitalist, but not as a villain against whom humanitarian sentiments could be effectively roused. The death rather underlines the barrier between Labour and Capital, the naked reality of the conflict and the consequence thereof ('A woman dead ; and the two best men both broken.')

In *The Skin Game*, A. C. Ward thinks, Galsworthy shows his bias against Hornblower, the uncultured manufacturer ; the strain of blatancy in his character alienates the sympathy of the audience, and when Hornblower shouts 'I'm going on with as little consideration as if ye were a family of blackbeetles' (Act III Scene I), the audience can no longer 'retain a balanced sense of justice.'⁹ Does the play bear out A. C. Ward's argument that the blatancy in Hornblower's character weakens his case ? The argument implies that as our sympathy for the Hornblowers wanes, there is

a corresponding elevation in the moral stature of the Hillcrists. But the effect seems to be quite otherwise. The conflict between the two families arises from the Hillcrists' refusal to accord social recognition to the Hornblowers, and from Hornblower's spiteful attempt to build a factory on the Centry, a beautiful estate, and thus to block this fine view from the Hillcrists. Mrs. Hillcrist digs up a past scandal about Chloe, Hornblower's daughter-in-law, blackmails Hornblower with this weapon into defeat ; Chloe, in her agony and dread, attempts suicide. The final effect is the exposure of the meanness, the hypocrisy, on both sides. The really affected persons, the Jackmans, are forgotten, and the person who suffers most and becomes the victim in the game is one against whom neither party has any grievance. When at the end Hornblower accuses Hillcrist with having destroyed his son's married life and killed his grandchild in Chloe's womb, and goes away 'with certain dignity', Hillcrist realizes his mistake and sees the filth of the game.

In the play *Justice*, A. C. Ward observes, the dramatist's partisanship is reflected in the introduction of a third-party commentator, namely, Cokeson. Cokeson visits Falder in the prison a month before his term of solitary confinement expires, sees the Governor and the Chaplain of the prison, and pleads for pity. In A. C. Ward's view, the emotional weight that his words carry tilts the balance :

Cokeson. He's all alone there by himself.

I'm afraid it'll turn him silly.

And nobody wants that, I s'pose. He cried when I saw him, I don't like to see a man cry.

Chaplain. It's a very rare thing for them to give way like that.

Cokeson. [Looking at him—in a tone of sudden dogged hostility] I keep dogs.

Chaplain. Indeed ?

Cokeson. Ye-es. And I say this : I wouldn't shut one of them up all by himself, week after week, not if he'd bit me all over.

(Act III Scene I).

What is the effect of Cokeson's remark here ? Does it direct the sympathy of the audience in favour of Falder and hinder an impartial view of the legal system ? Pity and despair are the dominant emotions that the scene produces, but to say that we feel pity merely for Falder would be to restrict the range of emotion. That the scene takes place on Christmas Eve and that the chaplain, a follower of Christ, has unknowingly become dead to the sense of pity by the indirect influence of the system, bring out the irony of the situation. And the effect is a deepening of our understanding, both emotional and intellectual. The legal system has the unexceptionable aim of preventing crimes and ensuring right behaviour, but what it really achieves shows a disastrous reversal of inten-

tion : the soul of the prisoner whom society is supposed to redeem is stifled to death, and the men who operate the machinery are helplessly cogged to the wheels of justice. The remarks of Cokeson underline the dilemma.

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SMRITI AND BISMIRITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

(Continued from previous issues)

Election Meetings

My evenings, as long as the General elections remained unfinished, were reserved for election meetings, specially of the Labour Party. Of these also, I gave priority to the meetings and election campaign of Comrade Sapraji Saklatwala, a sitting Communist member of Parliament, though he stood on Labour Party ticket. In Britain, the audience put questions to the candidates or their sponsoring parties. The success of the candidates, depended much on the replies given and they had to have a touch of humour. Saklatwala was a Parsi and a distant relation of the Tatas. He was not as fair as the Parsis usually are and not of prepossessing appearance. He was of medium height, but as a speaker he was superb and crushed all objections to Labour Party principles by Tories and Liberals, with his eloquence together with marshalling of facts and figures. In one meeting, I attended after a specially brilliant speech about why Labour Party should be supported, which drew big ovation, a questioner asked, whether it was a fact that in the Jamshedpur factory, of which he was one of the proprietors, he was paying the women workers there less than two pence (tuppence) a day. There was silence, which was almost ominous. But Saklatwala replied, "I am an employee in Tata's London office, as much as the women worker, referred to by the questioner. I have not a single share in Tata's and as such to call me an owner is very much an exaggeration. I am fighting for the Tata's workers as well as for the British workers for a fair wage." There was still silence ; neither applause nor

cries of shame. Then he added, "As for employing women labour, I have one white woman working for me almost twentyfour hours and getting not even tuppence a day. She is my wife." His wife was British, who was present in the meeting and he pointed to her. The audience roared with laughter and the questioner was put out of count and Saklatwala went off with flying colours.

Election Office

I lent a helping hand to the Election Officer of Saklatwala. I was surprised to hear that after centuries of parliamentary govt. some of the election workers complained that one of the tricks employed by the election workers on their opponents was advising the electors : 'You are for Saklatwala and not for his opponent, so please put a cross against the opponent' name and he will be out.' I have heard of such tricks in India but it was difficult to believe my ears, when British electors had to be told to put a cross against the opponent's name to cross him out.

Bernard Shaw

In fact George Bernard Shaw said in his cynical humorous way, after the result of the General Election was known, that the British had not become mature to vote, otherwise, how could a "forged letter change the opinion of millions of even Labour voters, not to speak o others to vote for security and the conservatives ? If the relative position of Britain and India was reversed and Indta was ruling over Britain, India would be justified in stating that as the Britishers are still too immature to vote, "Britain should remain

under the domination of another country at least for some centuries. They have not yet learnt the rudiments of parliamentary democracy."

Battersea Election

In the election in the Battersea constituency of Saklatwala, I found in the meetings or in conversations, the fact that Saklatwala was not British did not much weigh with British Labour Electorate. While many of the veterans lost in this election to the Tories, Saklatwala won. A liberal was put up against him instead of a conservative and it was a straight fight. The election day was rainy but I spent most of the time in Battersea constituency. Soon after the election was over the ballot boxes were brought to the Battersea Municipal Office, where counting started almost immediately.

A large number of workers assembled in front of the Municipal Office and were waiting in the rain and the mud for the result.

In about three hours, result started to be declared over the Radio and invariably it was conservative gain. Many of us apprehended that the result in Battersea would also be the same, following the prevailing current. The periodic report of counting showed ups and downs and then the final result of Battersea was announced. Generally, the name and votes polled by the victorious candidates are announced first but in this case the name of his opponent, the liberal candidate and the votes polled by him were announced first and there were loud sighs and wails from the assembled crowd, thinking Saklatwala had lost. But immediately after came the announcement that Saklatwala had won with 2 or 3 thousand majority. Now came wild shouts for Saklatwala and frenzied jumping and throwing up of hats, sticks, umbrellas, even coats. It was a wild exuberance of joy, which is scarcely expected from stoic Britishers. It

was more noteworthy that in this case, the racial prejudice proved too weak for class solidarity. He is an Indian and he defeated an Englishman, and still there was such wild jubilation. Saklatwala came out of the Municipal Office and once more there was jubilation and handshaking and even embracing which went on for some time. They shouted slogans, sang the Red Flag and the International, they went in procession to his election office nearby and then most of them dispersed. Myself and Desai also dispersed and went to see the other parts of London and came to Trafalgar Square, where all results were being announced over the Radio and in running Neon-light letters. Almost invariably it was Conservative gains. Immediately after each announcement, the conservatives would march up and down Trafalgar Square singing "God save the King" with Union Jack in hand. Similarly when one Labour Victory was announced, which was few and far between, workers would march up and down the square, singing International with the red flag in their hands. Between these two rows a row of policemen, kept the groups separate. The tension was so high, that there might have been a clash any time. It continued till well beyond midnight. At about 2 a.m., when the result of 80 constituencies were known and announced and the Conservatives had absolute majority, I retired in a Taxi to my hotel. So did Desai. All hopes of getting any help through Labour Party Govt. was shattered. Labour Party and its supporters were dejected, but I was the most dejected man in the whole of the British Islands on that fateful night.

Next morning the results of about 600 constituencies were published and the trend of the results was the same. Conservative over 400, Labour 150, and Liberal 50.

In two or three days, the cabinet was announced with Mr. Baldwin as the Prime

Minister and Mr. Smith as the Secretary of State for India. He was nicknamed Galloper Smith. He was a man of the most hardened Imperialist type, more so than Churchill. Later he became Lord Birkenhead (and he was nicknamed Lord Broken-head).

Within a few days of this, I again went to India Office and asked for my Indian passport, which was really out of question after the overwhelming Conservative victory. But I insisted on the return of my Afghan Passport which was returned in a few days and, almost simultaneously, I got notice to quit Britain, as my visa to visit Britain and Wembley exhibition had already expired.

Visa to India at last

It was at that time that Mrs. S. R. Das gave the maximum pressure on the British Govt. to give me at least a visa to go to India. I also told the officials that the Conservative Govt., far from being lionhearted, was actually so chicken-hearted that they did not dare to let one single Indian Democratic Socialist go back to his homeland and family, for fear of the toppling of the apple cart of their empire. I was actually proposing to put my head in the mouth of the Lion. In India there were so many laws including the Regulation III of 1818, which enables the Govt., to put a person in detention for an indefinite period, without the law courts having any jurisdiction. Even the famous Habeas Corpus writ does not apply in such cases. There were many other repressive laws in operation in India, apart from the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code for specific offences of overt action or conspiracy. Ultimately, mainly due to pressure and persuasion of Mrs. S. R. Das, I was given visa to come back to India. My main object was achieved, and incidentally my object of studying the British people at close quarters was also achieved. It was also a very critical period for Britain.

Expenses for Journey to India

Now only remained the problem of finding the expenses for the journey home. If I could secure an Indian Passport, it would have been the responsibility of India Office to send me back to India. There is International obligation of all Govts. to send any stranded or destitute citizen back to his home country.

As I got only visa to go to India on an Afghan Passport, I could not claim this. But I did claim this due to the peculiar situation and secured a deck passage back from London to Bombay. I objected, not to the deck passage, but to the longer route, viz., London to Bombay by sea. I pressed for railway ticket up to Italy and then deck passage to Bombay. If I went all the way to Bombay from London by ship, I might be taken as a prisoner and arrested on landing at Bombay. If I went to France and Italy as a free man and then by ship, I would know better my position. Even if I changed my mind in Paris or Rome to stay on in Europe, I might do so. I won on this point also. The deck passage on an Italian liner cost only £20 and a ticket from London to Genoa about another £2 in those days.

Subscription of Indian students

By now, my case was well known to Indian students and through the initiative of Shri D. R. Dhar and others, a drive for collection went on and about £100 were collected. I did not want to carry the money with me, as it might be confiscated on landing in Bombay. I took only £10 for incidental expenses in London and during my trip to Bombay. I requested the money collected to be returned to the donors with my heartiest thanks. I felt that after reaching India, there would be no difficulty about funds. I had miscalculated very grievously.

Journey back from London

My last farewell was from Indian Students'

Hostel at Gower Street, known as Shakespeare Hut. It was warm but informal.

Foggy Day

It was perhaps the most foggy day I had seen in London. I could not see my own fingers placed at a distance of 8" inches from my eyes at about 1 P. M. in the afternoon. The buses were plying but at a snail's space with the help of strong torches burning all along the streets at intervals of 100 feet, or so. My friends advised me to postpone the journey for a day, till the fog lifted. It was not sure when the fog would lift. Sometimes it took 2/3 days. The friendly persuasions failed to persuade me and I started with warm handshakes and some embraces. I stated to my friends, that the fog was symbolic, as I was taking a leap in the dark, and none need bother about the natural fog. I was quite prepared for other fogs of a quite different kind.

I took a taxi, collected my luggage from the place where I was living or rather sleeping, for during early morning to late at night, I used to stay with my friends and acquaintances.

I reached the Railway Station, much before time and boarded the train. She started in time but reached the Port of Folkstone some hours late. The train was guided by fog signals and I imagined that the bursting of fog signals was the booming of farewell guns from Britain for me, a rebel.

I boarded the ship in the fog and darkness. It was 4 P. M. in December or January. The ship started gliding through the sea also at a snail's speed with all the technical assistance and flood lighting to which the British ships were quite familiar and accustomed.

Fortunately, the sea was unusually calm and after we passed through 3 or 4 miles from the British shore, the fog vanished as if by magic and on the top of it, a bright moon appeared on the horizon and lighted the

whole sea, which was calm as a sheet of glass. Only our ship, ploughing through the water, made some ripples, which glistened in bright moonlight. I am not a poet, but that night even I felt a little poetic. I thought also that it was symbolic, starting in a fog in London and the English Channel when buses and ships collided as on every such day. Ships which braved the fog came into the bright moonlight and the calm sea in English Channel, which was a rare change. I felt or longed that it would happen similarly in my life also.

From Calais to Dover it is 19 miles but from Folkstone to Dieppe it was double that distance. On landing at Dieppe I had a ticket to Bombay by ship from Genoa and also a railway ticket from Dieppe to Genoa, via Paris. I had about £10/- in my pocket over and above the reserve of £5/- which was not to be spent till I reached home. The rest of £100 that was raised for me, I had already returned to the donors.

Paris Again

After landing I took a train and reached Paris in the morning. During my journey from London to Paris, I observed whether I was being spied upon or followed. I found no trace or sign of it. I felt much relieved, otherwise I might have decided to stay on in Europe, possibly in Vienna or Berlin. Another factor which had weighed on me was a letter sent to me in London by my younger brother. He gave a pathetic story of the condition of our family, of our parents, of my brothers and sisters and specially of my wife and ailing daughter. This had induced me to make the final decision to go back home, put the family in a solvent position and then start on my wild career after one year or so. This would mean rest and recuperation for myself also. On receipt of my brother's letter I wondered why the family should be in dire need for I had sent Rs. 1000/- from Kabul to my father

and Rs. 200/- to my wife. The latter never reached my wife, the friend in Kabul to whom I had given this, kept it in his pocket, but Rs. 1000/- reached my father, who was getting a pension of about Rs. 35/- per month. My father was very frugal and our standard of living was plain and simple, so in my calculation, the family should not be in dire need, when our income was supplemented by the ancestral land we possessed. So, I wondered and decided to come back to the distressed family at the earliest. On coming back home I was surprised to learn that my frugal father had not spent a paisa of the Rs. 1000/- I had sent and perhaps kept it as a reserve for my wife and daughter, if I did not return home at all. No wonder that the family suffered a lot of privation unnecessarily. If I had got my brother's letter a few days earlier, before returning the money collected for me, I might have accepted £50 and sent the same to the family for meeting any urgent needs. But it was too late to think of this. So, I did not deviate from my determination to come back home at the earliest, come what may. I am not ashamed to confess that I became a little home sick too.

Genoa

From Paris I took an early train for Genoa where I arrived in the evening. The ship would start the next day. I went for a little sightseeing. I could not go to Greece and Rome, the two places which took ancient civilisation to a much higher stage and were comparable in the progress of civilisation and philosophy and culture, to that of India in ancient days.

Port of Genoa

On reaching the Port, I found two other deck passengers, who were also going to Bombay. One was an Anglo-Indian, who was poorer than myself and I had actually to lend him £2 from my very meagre funds, while on

board the ship. The other one was a German businessman from Czechoslovakia. They had business of glass beads, coloured from inside white or yellow, and which look like pearls. It was a dainty decoration for women. It was a special trade secret of German bead makers. They were selling 3 to 4 crores of rupees worth of beads to India before the war (1914-18). During the war and up to 1925, they could not export beads, as they were not permitted to do so. Now he was coming to India for exploring the possibilities of bead export again to India. As I could speak German and was sympathetic to Germany we became good friends. He had some money no doubt, but for economy was travelling as a deck passenger. All the three of us, wanted to avoid paying the hotel bill for the night. We were permitted to keep our luggage in the ship, but were not allowed to board the ship till next morning. We took our meals in some restaurant late in the night and wanted to spend the night in the lounge of the ship. We were actually resting in the lounge but at 12 midnight, we were told that we must leave the ship, which would be thoroughly disinfected, washed, cleaned and dried, and we could come back only at 6 a. m. next morning. The problem was whether to spend the 6 hours of the night in a hotel and spend at least 10 or 15 rupees in the cheapest hotel or spend the night walking in the streets or in some park or other open space. It was shivering cold. The other two friends, suggested that we take a peg or two of wine and that would warm us up and we would not feel so cold. In the whole of the three years spent in Afghanistan, Russia, Germany, France and London, I had not touched any wine. Gandhiji had made such promise to his mother and never touched wine. I did not make any promise to anyone, but I had resisted all persuasion and pressure from all my friends and friendly parties. I had not any wine anytime before in India either.

First Peg

I allowed my two friends to take wine, which they did with great relish and, apparently, they were no more tortured by the shivery cold. At last, I succumbed and decided to take a drink of red wine. I was afraid that I might get drunk and roll in the streets or drains. My two friends assured me that they would look after me. They assured me also that to get dead drunk, they would need bottles of wine. At last the drink was before me on the table. It looked invitingly red and I just took a sip ; it was nice and sweet. I took it slowly and finished the small glass. The other two took 4/5 glasses each. For me one glass was enough phychologically, may be physiologically also. I warmed up and did not feel the bitter cold.

We spent the night going from one coffee shop to another. In ports some coffee shops are kept open for the whole night. Over and above the red wine I took half a dozen cups of coffee in different shops, spending about one hour in each shop. By about 5-30 a. m. we went towards the ship and were told that we could not go there before 6 a. m. So we had to loiter outside for half an hour more before we could enter the ship. In the ship we washed ourselves and after a little rest in the lounge and after breakfast, went out for a morning stroll. In the ship, all meals are free, rather the fare includes the meals also. I did

not understand fully what was the meaning of a deck passenger. A deck passenger, has no seat in a cabin or anywhere. You spread your bed on the deck and rest or sleep there. The only difficulty was that at about 4 P. M. the ship is washed, including the decks, and you have to roll up your bedding and keep it somewhere out of reach of the washing water. Being an early riser, I had no trouble whatsoever. The upper deck or lounge are not to be used by the deck passengers, but we used to go to the upper deck for walking. We could not occupy any seat or chair there. I went out and bought a cheap deck chair. These are flimsy structures and cost about Rs. 5/- but they are very useful though not quite lasting. These are not meant to be lasting. Passengers generally use these on the deck during the voyage and while landing leave them in the ship. The other two did not buy any and often used mine, when I was not using it. For two weeks of the voyage it gave very good service to us. When there was rocking of the ship due to storm or rough sea one got much relief, sitting on the deck chair. Moreover you can put your bedding on the deck chairs when the deck is washed in the early morning.

I did not leave it in the ship, but carried it with me up to my village home in Brahman Rangdia, Khulna, where also it gave good service for several years, much longer than anticipated.

(To be Continued)



TORU DUTT

SANTOSH CHAKRABORTY

Nearly after a century her death Toru Dutt (1856—1877) is now only a name. Few read her poetry today although she earned considerable fame in her time by writing good English poetry and by translating the poems of French poets. In fact, of the few larks that resounded the English air of letters by their songs, Toru had a soft charm that attracted immediate attention to her poetry. Had the cruel disease of tuberculosis spared her from premature death she might have claimed a more lasting recognition. She had the unique ability to write in French (she had a French romance to her credit which earned wide critical acclaim), but her *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (published in London in 1882), based on the stories of the Puranas, served to build a causeway between the East and the West, for it spread the fragrance of the ancient Hindu religious tales to the Western world.

But now the area of readership of Toru Dutt's works is a matter of speculation. A big Calcutta library has among its collections brittle, moth-eaten and rope-bound copies of her works and, what is more strange, the students of U. P. knew more about her than their counterparts in Bengal, because her *Savitri*, a verse-tale from the *Ancient Ballads* is in English syllabus at the college level in the former State. Unlike the poets of Bengal, who wrote in Bengali, she has no place in the history of Bengali literature, nor will the historians of English literature remember her. If at all, she will be remembered among the Indian poets writing in English and it is high time to preserve her writings which have great literary value.

This sweet girl was devoted to the mystic charm of the Puranic tales. In this respect she was greatly influenced by her mother who implanted in her mind a deep piety for the culture and religiosity of the ancient Hindus. An early induction to Christianity (when she was six, her father Govind Chunder Dutt embraced Christianity) could not uproot it. A tell-tale reference to an eventide influence of her mother is made in *Sita*: ".....the lay/ Which has evoked sad Sita from the past/Is by a mother sung." This "exotic blossom of songs" as she has been described by Edmund Gosse opened before the Western eyes the values prized most in ancient India. Through a succession of tales we notice with a curious delight the single-mindedness of Savitri's devotion to her husband, the sagacity of the devoted Lakshman who, though admonished, does not flinch from his love for his brother and respect for his sister-in-law, Sita, and the unassailable piety of the boy Prehlad. Though Toru closely follows the original Puranic stories, one finds in them her depth of vision in characterisation. The spectrum of her legendary characters is alive with the strong resolve of Savitri, the benignity of Yama, the omniscience of Narad Muni, blissful naivete of the priest, the determination of Dhruva and the braggadocio of Heerun Kasyapu who out-Herods Herod in sheer truculence. The feminine touch is noticeable in her delineation of details in characterisation. With a plentiousness of sympathy the poetess describes the first flush of love in Savitri's mind: "What was the meaning was it love? Love at first sight, as poets sing,/I then no fiction? Heaven above/Is witness, that the heart is king/Finds

often like a lightning flash". The legend of Savitri has attained a greater credibility by her portrayal of the slow arrival of life into Satyavan after he is given his soul by Savitri from Yama.

This originality of temperament and treatment is also evident from her translation of the poems of more than one hundred French poets. Victor Hugo seems to be a special favourite of Toru Dutt. These poems published as *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (published from Bhowanipore in 1876 having gone into a second edition in 1879) Show her understanding of the French language and her felicity of expression. Sometimes she rises to great heights of beauty bordering on originality of composition, while fully maintaining the theme and temper of the original French as in this translation of a sonnet by Felix Arvers : "My soul has a secret that no mortal must hear,/ A love, which as hopeless I never may own,/ A lorn to be buried with me in my bier."

But Toru is very much Indian, as noticed in the atmosphere of her beautiful lyrics in

which she is very much herself. Her entire childhood romance seems to have been woven round a casuarina tree to which she writes an ode (*Our Casuarina Tree*). In reminiscing is influence the poetess recalls how its memory haunted her as far afield as when she was in Italy or France. The poem has an exquisite charm and mellow sweetness ensconcing, as it does, her feeling of gratitude to this old tree. An Indian air permeates the poem : "And far and near kokilas hail the day ;/ And to their pastures wend our sleepy cows ;/ And in the shadow, on the broad tank cast/ By that hoary tree, so beautiful and vast,/ The water-lilies spring, like snow enmassed." Her poems offer a fine filigree of romance with the Indian tamarind trees, mango clump, and seemuls on the one hand, and the calm lake on the other, with swans gliding on its placid surface. Great she may not be, but the discerning reader must find signs of her genius in this brilliant piece of simile used by Sita while castigating Lakshman : Dazzles the cloud when shines the sun,/ Rest of his radiance, see it glide/ A shapeless mass of vapours dun ;/ so of thy courage.....".



WHAT PAKISTAN HAS DONE

(CONTRIBUTED)

Guilty persons habitually mix facts with fiction in order to whitewash and minimise their offences against others. President Bhutto's land of the pure (Pakistan) has a long list of crimes against fellow human beings of the subcontinent of India which Bhutto, and others before him, have been trying to erase from the pages of history by making false statements repeatedly and on a very large scale. Even before Pakistan was created by a partition of India the false statements were accumulating in British discussions with the Muslim League of India headed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The two nation theory, that is, the assumption that India had two nations in it, viz. a Hindu nation and a Muslim nation, each with its own culture and way of life, was the basic lie on which the demand for a Partition of India rested. Mr. Jinnah asserted that all Muslims of India had a similar culture and way of life. They ate the same food, dressed in the same manner, behaved and acted similarly in similar circumstances and spoke the same language (Urdu). The fact of the case was that the Muslims of various areas spoke various languages, such as Pustu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloochi, Bengali, etc., and were different from one another in diet, dress, manners and customs, as were the Hindus of different areas. This falsehood on which the partition was based was proved fully at a later date when the Bengalis of East Bengal refused to have Urdu as their state language and forced the Pakistani dictators to accept Bengali as a parallel state language along with Urdu. The people of Western Uttar Pradesh whose mother language was Urdu were mainly Hindus. Urdu speaking Muslims numbered

very few in Pakistan, being almost exclusively immigrants from Western U. P. Those Muslims who spoke Hindi were really speakers of various dialects of Hindi like the dialects of Agra, Jaunpur, Patna, Darbhanga and other regions of U. P., Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. In diet the Bengali Muslims were fish and rice eating and they sang Bhatiali songs which were utterly unfamiliar with the Pathans or the Punjabis of Pakistan. Their dress and social habits also differed noticeably. The unity of the Muslims of the subcontinent was therefore a fiction which is now showing up and Pakistan is likely to split up into its natural components, inspite of the efforts made by the leaders of the country to hold the pieces together by shouting for a holy war against India for the safety of Islam. There have been shouts of saving the Muslims of Kashmir too, whose territory was invaded by the Pakistani soldiers dressed up as tribal marauders back in the early days of the partition. Kashmir was a separate kingdom under its own ruler in those days. When the Pakistanis invaded Kashmir and started an orgy of loot, rape and arson on the predominantly Muslim population of Kashmir, the ruler of Kashmir called in the Indian army and opted for inclusion of his territory into India. M. A. Jinnah had by that time gone to the gates of Srinagar for a victorious state entry into the capital of Kashmir, which did not, however materialise due to the timely arrival of the Indian forces. Certain areas of Kashmir were kept in the occupation of Pakistan by the machinations of the Anglo-American led Security Council which is now referred to, by Pakistan, as Azad (Free) Kashmir where the

government is a Pakistani dictatorship. Pakistan has no right to be in Kashmir ; nor has China any rights to hold bits and pieces of Kashmir which she has taken from Azad Kashmir with the connivance of Pakistan. Pakistan's occupation of these portions of Kashmir is clearly an act of aggression and should be treated as such by the UNO bodies ; but these bodies being dominated by the Americans and the Chinese, the chances of anything happening in a just, fair and correct manner are remote.

President Nixon's victory in the recent elections will have stimulating effect on Pakistan's anti-Indian activities. It has already made Mr. Zulficar Ali Bhutto more self-confident in his unwarranted criticism of India's actions relating to the delineation of the cease fire line in Kashmir and the return of the POWs to Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto forgets that his government began the Indo-Pakistan War by bombing Indian aerodromes without any declaration of war and that India stopped fighting unilaterally after the surrender of Dacca. Had India been desirous of occupying more territory by force of arms, she could have continued the war very easily and captured the whole of the so-called Azad Kashmir along with large areas in Pakistan proper. Display of goodwill and clemency apparently means nothing to the Pakistanis and India should make a note of that if and when she revises her policy in her dealings with the Islamic Republic. Bhutto is securing more arms from America and China and is preparing for fresh attacks on India. We cannot say when these attacks will begin ; but we can be

sure that these will come sooner or later. Bhutto also tries to make little of the Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh. He says that about 30000 persons died in those attacks on civilians during the Pakistani crack down in 1971. It is very well known that nearly 500,000 persons were butchered by the soldiers of Pakistan in Bangladesh and that nearly 30000 women still remain untraced. During the first few days of the killing 50,000 persons were slaughtered in Dacca city alone. Thousands of villages were burnt down, factories destroyed, workers' dwellings gutted, schools and colleges, churches and temples and residential houses levelled to the ground by those genocidal maniacs led by officers whose bloodthirsty savagery and bestiality were unparalleled in human history. The lustful obscenities committed by them are best left undescribed.

That America and China condoned the inhuman crimes of Pakistan in Bangladesh is a well-known fact of history. It proves how in matters of international relations policy is often placed at a higher level than ethics, justice or humanity. America claims to be the fountain head of all human freedoms and China declares herself to be a citadel of the political rights that the peoples of all lands should possess. But when it came to judging the heinous and inhuman crimes committed by their protege Pakistan, both countries indulged in transparent prevarications and continued to aid and assist the offender. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that if Pakistan again commits aggression these two powers will help her as far as found expedient. Bangladesh and India should remember that.

MAHABHARATA AND THE ILIAD

A LAWYER

The Greek epic *Iliad* is a poetical account of the war between the Achaeans and the Phrygians of 1180 B.C., caused by the abduction of Helen. So it cannot be the same as the war in the Maha-Bharata between the Kauravas and the Pandavas, caused by the rivalries of those cousins. This is an obvious fact which need not be supported by a scrutiny of the texts. Though scholars disagree as to the time of the war between the cousins, they are all agreed that it took place before the Trojan War. Even if we assume for a moment that the story of Shri-Hari, the god of our epic, is slyly imitated, at least in part, from the story of the Greek hero Herakles, we find that the latter had died a generation before the Trojan War, and did not take part in it. So he could not be the model of the god Shri-Hari in the Indian epic. Even though these are obvious positions, we will see that they are confirmed beyond the shadow of a doubt by considering them more closely.

Shri-Hari is the god of the Indian epic. He participated in the Bharata war in addition to being a God in his personal legend. The idea of making him a god in the epic is purely Indian. The part played by him in the epic is human, while that in the personal legend is miraculous and therefore superhuman. He is a child in the personal legend while in the epic he is a grown-up man. No account of his doings in the epic occurs in the personal legend and none from the personal legend occurs in the epic. In the epic he is generally called Shri-Krishna while in the personal legend he is generally called Shri-Hari. This has led many critics to infer that Shri-Krishna was originally a mere warrior chief in the

epic but that he was later identified with the god Shri-Hari of the personal legend by making changes in the text of the epic. If this is true he at once becomes Greek in origin because Shri-Hari is said to be a sly imitation of the Greek hero Herakles.

The Indian epic suffered from persistent changes at the hands of enthusiastic high priests. In its present form (of 100000 verses) it has become impossible to shift its material and assign the various parts to different chronological periods. We are concerned with the first of original epic to see if it was similar to the *Iliad* and stands comparison with the same. The epic of the third redaction is so intensely Indian that it stands no comparison with that epic poem. It is only the first or original epic that might do so.

The epic Maha-Bharata is India's first book but only a few copies of its text in manuscript are said to have been traced all over the country. Of these, many are said to be mere chapters or parvas and not the whole text. Of those few that are whole, the contents do not agree with each other. This means that the process of interpolations additions, and even alterations in its contents has been going on uninterruptedly for centuries. The earliest copy now available is said to be of 1000 A.D. So it is of the period when Shri Krishna was already a god of the epic. We cannot decide from such a text whether he was interpolated into the text or at least deified in it as the Supreme Being in human form. For that purpose, a copy of the pre-Alexandrian times will be necessary.

The epic war in India is dated variously by different scholars. The traditionalists put

it in 3100 B. C. at the begining of the Kali Yuga (Hesiod's Iron Age), when Narmar, the first Pharao of Egypt, was killed. The ancient scholars Bilhan and Varaha-mihir put it in 2526 B.C. ; the Vishnu Puran in 1427 B.C. ; and the Bhagawata Purana, in 1527 B.C. Of the many modern scholars, Romesh Chandra Dutt puts it in 1400 B.C. and Dr. Irawati Karwe, in between 1200 and 1000 B.C. Bilandi Ayyar gives the date in the literal sense and says that the Bhaarata war took place on the 11th October 1194 B.C. His year, is close to the Trojan War by fourteen (or four) years. There are a few sholars, who say that the date of the War cannot be later than 5000 B.C. (though the Vedic Aryans were not in India at that time, and the Kali Yuga had not yet begun). We, for our part, assume that the Bharat War did not take place at all, and so we have to decide what period, if any, the author contemplated for the War. An author can contemplate any period, or none in particular, or he can even contemplate two or more] periods for different parts of his product.

The epic Maha Bharat itself says, in its introductory part, that it came into existence in three successive stages, namely, the first called Jaya by the author Vyasa ; the second called Bhoarata, by his pupil Vaishampaayan ; and the third called Mahabarata, by Sauti. The first, according to it, began with the legend of Uparichara Vasu (1-63), the second with the legend of Astika (1-13), and the third with the very first word 'Vaiwaswata—Manu'. Traditionally the recensions are supposed to be of the length of 8800, 24000, and 100000 verses respectively.

The British scholar Hopkins had however no respect for the Indian tradition as he had for historical criticism. He concluded that the epic may have come into existence at any time between 1700 and 700 B. C. This epic, according to him, reflected a struggle between

the Kurus and the Bharatas instead of between the Kaurawas the Pandawas, and Shri-Hari had no place in the comparatively short epic poem. In about 400 B. C. many stories of the Kuru-Bharatas were added to the epic story. It was between 400 and 200 B. C. that the story of the epic itself was changed to a war between the Kaurawas and Pandawas with Shri-Hari as the god of the parties. Lastly, it was between 200 B. C.-400 A. D. that Shri-Hari reached the status of the Supreme Being. Many moral tales and philosophical tracts were also included in the epic in this period. This view of Hopkins has no proofs to uphold it. It is bascd on conjectures. He supports the Kuru-Bharata confrontation, for example, on the statement of Duryodhan, namely, "If I lose in the dice, I will give you the whole of the Pancha-nada territory". (Vana Parva Chap.43) The statement according to Hopkins is a relic of an old version which escaped the attention of the innovator by mere chance, but the statement makes no such meaning at all. The Punjab was not in the possession of Duryodhan.

The time of arrival of the Kurus in India is not definitely known. It may be anything between 1700 B. C. and 700 B. C. The name Kuru does not occur in the Rigveda though the author of the hymns at VIII-65, 66 and 67 bears the name Kuru-suta, i.e. the son of Kuru. The Maha Bharata says that Kuru was originally 'puru'. If this is true, the Kurus would be a branch of the Lunar race to which the Yadu-Turwassoos belonged. In this connection, we may point out that some Hittites from the town of Kuru-Stambha went to Palestine in 1330 B. C. and settled at Amka in Lebanon. We may suggest that the Kurus may have been the Hittites of Asia Minor with their Chief city at Kuru-stambha (-stamma).

Vyasa, the reputed author of the epic Maha Bharata, had four eminent disciples,

namely, Sumantu, Paila, Vaishampaayana and Jaiminee, of this, Vaishampayana is known to be the author of the second recension of the existing epic. This means that the first and the second recensions cannot contain any radical changes. It is, for us, only a question whether tutor and disciple both belonged to the pre-Buddhistic or the post-Buddhistic period. If the tradition is correct, they of course belonged to the former. In any case, the first and second recensions will make no difference for our purpose. The third recension, for its part, passes under the name of Sauti, but really speaking that recension is a work for a team of authors.

The impression given by the present epic is of a Kuru-Panchala work. It is useless, in that regard, to seek for a Kuru-Bharata war in its earlier version. One almost admits the version given in the epic itself concerning its growth. Megasthenes would have been the best witness on these unknown points but unfortunately his book has been lost. The excerpts from that book by Livy do not refer to the Indian epic or to the Hari-wamsha. He lived in 310 B. C. and ordinarily his reference would have been to the second recension. It is clear that some copy of the epic, whether in the first, second or third recensions was available in 310 B. C. and Megasthenes must have used it. The loss of his book is thus a great disaster to chronology.

A great impression is made on some critics by the discovery in the Vedic literature of the names of two or three Kings, who are close relatives of the parties to the war. So the name Vaichitrya-Veerya Dhrita-Raashtra, mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana, is the name of the father of the Kaurawas. The name Parikshit, mentioned in the Brihad-Aaranyaka Upanishat, is the name of the grandson of the Pandawas. The name Yudhishthira, mentioned by Panini in one of

his aphorisms, is the name of the eldest brother amongst the five Pandawas. Devaki-putra Krishna, who is mentioned in the Chandogya-Upanishat as an ordinary individual, is the Anthropological Supreme Being in the epic. If these were the names of relatives of the parties to an ancient war, they would occur in the Vedic books at a later stage. And it is strange that the Vedic authors have chosen father and grandson for reference and not the parties themselves. Looking to the kind of references made, it clearly appears that the author must have adopted the names from those Vedic Books for two or three persons in his fictitious story. In fact, the total absence of reference to the epic war and its parties in the Vedic literature is one of the strongest circumstances that go to prove the fictitious character of the epic. In addition, it can also prove that even that fictitious epic was not in existence right upto the period of the Upanishads. If a war of this kind had really taken at Hastinapur (Delhi), the Vedic Indians would have ceaselessly talked about it.

Shri-Krishna is the principal name of Shri-Hari in the epic but he is also known by various other names. The requirement of the metre of the verse dominated the author's choice in the last resort. These twenty or thirty names became household words by the time the epic was cast into final shape. In the earlier stages, the worship of Shri-Hari must have been restricted to the Shoora-Senas and such other Yadus. In the course of time, it merged with that of the Waasu-deo cult. The activity of merger with likeminded groups was necessitated by the alarming spread of Buddhism. As a result, the merger of all the cults took place and the resulting god came to be known by all the names that the cults had to offer. All this may have required centuries rather than decades to happen. If

we assign the name Shri-Hari to the cult of the Shoora-Senas, we can say that these people came to India in 800 B. C. when Homer had already completed the Iliad, and that they came from the land where Homer had lived. There was ample time for the borrower to borrow. Alternatively, the Shoora-Senas may have had a Heraclean lore of their own. It might have been in Sanskrit and their Heracles might have been Shri-Hari ; or they might have themselves been the Ionians who changed the god-name under Indian conditions. The Greek calender, according to one view was adopted in India in 450 B. C. i. e. 125 years before Alexander. This means that that there were Ionian Greek in India before Alexander's time. When had they come ? Panini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, is said to have referred to the Ionian script in one of his aphorism and his date is given by some people as 800 B. C. If these and similar points are proved beyond doubt and if they favour the pre-Alexandrine dates, we could conclude that the author could have borrowed from the Iliad as well as from the other oral lore of the Greeks.

Assuming that the Indians borrowed from the Greeks, they did not do so in a uniform manner. The author of the Hari-wamsha Purana says that it was Kala-Yawana (Kallion, Kallis and Ion ?) who drove the Yadawas into South-western India. They could not resist him and so they ran away for a thousand miles and established the Kingdom of Lwaaraka on the south western sea-coast. But the cause of their flight is given differently in the Maha Bharata. There Shri Krishna tells the Pandwas that it was emperor Jaraa-sandha who attacked them in the Jumna region (Mathuras) and drove them towards Kushasthali near Mt. Raswataka. It was there that they lived and founded the new city of Dwaaraka. This is a clear discre-

pency unless Kaala-Yawana was a general of Jaraasandha. It would appear to be an attempt to make Shri-Hari the contemporary of the Pandawas by making him a victim of Jaraa-Sandha's anger, but in doing so, the author forgot that Hari-wamsha Purana had attributed the flight to Kaala-Yawana's raid. Kaala-Yawana would be a Greek while Jaraa-sandha would be local potentate. The first speaks about a Yawana (Ionian) raid, the second Indianises the raid by attributing it to a local chief. These Greek Ionians would not be post-Alexandrian. They would rather be post-Homeric, if at all they raided the territory of the Shoora-Senas.

The intrinsic evidence for imitation is, however, conspicuously absent in the two epics. Even if we hold that the first recension of the epic (Jaya) was only of 8800 verses and that it was barely an account of a war between the Kurus and the Bhaaratas, and that Shri-Krishna in it was an ordinary human being and not a god, the two epics still clearly seem to be independently conceived and developed. There are some few likenesses between the two, but they would be there between any two epics all over the world. We call them likenesses but essentially they are the common attributes of an ancient war. Both the wars, for example, were fought for a certain particular number of days ; on each day there was a combat by challenge and response by some hero or another ; there were lamentations on the death of the hero and there were their cremations and the funeral rites. It is true that the chapters on the Bhaarat War in the Indian epic look like the chapters in *Iliad* in a general way, including combats by challenge, and cremations and funeral rite. But how could it be otherwise even if there was only one epic instead of two ?

On the other hand, look at the differences between the two epics. The Indian War was

sought between the Kaurawas and the Pandawas, the Trojan War, by the Axaians and the Phrygians. The Axaians attacked by sea, as the Aegian spread between them and their adversaries. The Indian cousins on the contrary, lived in the same city, and their confederates came to their help over the land. There was a single cause for the Greek for the war, namely, abduction of Helen. On the Indian side, the fighting cousins had a series of rivalries which led to the war. Not a single name in the Indian epic philologically tallies with the names in the Iliad.

Similarly, Greek gods took a direct though incorporeal part in the War. Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Hera, Ares, Hermes and several others took sides and encouraged or discouraged the warriors. Yet they were never seen by anybody except the poet himself. On the Indian side, the first and second recensions probably had no god at all, while in the third recension, Shri-Hari was the only god who took part in the epic and he was always corporeally present in doing so. He openly joined the Pandawas on moral grounds, and though he was the Supreme Being Incarnate, his part was always human, as against the divine one played by the Greek gods. Homer very often uses the word fate. For example, he blamed the abduction of Helen on fate rather than on Paris or the gods. The Indian epic does not emphasize this. On the other hand, it philosophically views any and every catastrophe and attributes it to five causes, of which fate is the fifth in order.

There was a good reason for this kind of inclusion of Shri-Hari in the epic-as the Supreme Being in the third recension of the epic. By that time, the Vedic gods had disappeared from popular worship and the Pauranik gods were taking their place. Vedic sacrifices, which were the accepted mode of worship in the olden days, were looked upon with disfavour

by the ordinary people. New philosophies had glorified a materialistic way of life. There was a sort of vacuum in the religious world, and the Buddhists were taking advantage of it. In order to stop this anarchy the author of the third recension created a corporeal Supreme Being in the form of Shri-Hari. The god was already there before he was so included but by the inclusion he attained a supremacy in the Hindu pantheon which otherwise he would have never done. These circumstances were not the same in Greece in 200 B. C. or thereabout.

Shri Hari's divine agency does not work in any miraculous way. In the Iliad, on the contrary, the gods decide whether a leader shall live or die and whether he will be cremated or go without any funeral rites ; and when they have decided this question they, as incorporeal beings, execute it through a mortal or one in the shape of a mortal. So, the gods decide that Hector shall be killed but Athena killed him only through Deiphobus. He was carried to the tent of Achilles by Hermes but only in the shape of a young man. In the Iliad even cremation had to be permitted by the gods before it took place. After the cremation the Greeks collected the bones and put them in an urn. We in India cremate the dead and dispose off the bones in holy rivers wherever that is possible.

This likeness is of a general kind. The particular likenesses are so few in number and so general in their look, that they can scarcely be called by that name. Take the situation wherein Priam comes to the Scaean gate of Troy to witness the 'wonderful' scene below. It is exactly like the coming of blind Dhritaraashtra, along with Sanjaya to Kuru-kshetra to hear a first-rate account of the war. Priam saw the miniature war, in company with Helen, between Menelaus and Paris, in which the abductor was defeated. Dhritaraashtra,

on the other hand, heard about the arrangement of armies before the war took place. He was blind, but then he had the opportunity to hear Shri-Hari about the inevitability of war and the duty of men to face it squarely. The likeness of the situations thus extends to the presence of the fathers at the beginning of the war but for the rest a difference is to be met with at every step.

If one is bent upon finding such indifferent situations, one can no doubt find a few more, but they are of no use for our purpose. Arjuna, for example, teaches dancing to Uttaraa for a whole year, but when it comes to marriage, he says that he was too old for her and gives her to his son Abhi-manyu. This is like Herakles giving Iole to his son Hyllus for the same reason. But then what does it prove? Is the idea of marriage with the son so extraordinary that an imitation should be presumed?

Similarly, Phoenix had fostered Achilles in his younger days, and Adhiratha had fostered Karna as a child. Karna, according to Hopkins may have been the principal hero of the Indian epic (of the first recension). Yet the only likeness between the two is about fostering of the hero in his childhood and nothing more. Phoenix at least tries to persuade Achilles to fight for Agamemnon by making a long speech. Adhirath does nothing of the kind. Karna was the eldest, though illegitimate, brother of the five Pandawas. He was born of their mother Kunti from the Sun god before her marriage with Pandu. Achilles, on the other hand, was the son of Zeus by Thetys. His tender heel was like the tender heel of Shri-Hari which led to the latter's death. The wrath of Karna could certainly not be the wrath of Achilles, because Karna felt humiliated by his 'low birth' while Achilles was angry because Agamemnon took away his girl, Briseis, by force.

The Maha Bhaarata says that Duryodhana was conceived before, but delivered after, the Pandawas. This is like the birth of Herakles, who was conceived before but delivered after Eurystheus. The slightly late birth of Herakles was the cause of his slaving for Eurystheus under the twelve labours and so it is immensely relevant to the story. In the case of the Indian heros, it mattered little whether some of them were born before or after the others. The contexts of two stories are different in this regard and they should not be related only because there happens to be an element of likeness between the two.

The Bhaarat war continued for eighteen days and for the first ten days it was almost a phoney war. The Greek war continued for thirty one days in right earnest while twenty four more days were spent in desultory fighting after Hector's death. The details of the fight on the two sides are so different that a comparison between the two is simply impossible.

Priam had five sons, and the Pandawas were five. If you point out that in fact he really had fifty, it can also be pointed out that the Kaurawas were a hundred, and there is little difference between hundred and fifty in this matter. The polemics must end with true similarities and these we are unable to produce. We would have even stood by these and other resemblances but they are too few for a theory to be built upon. At the most we can say that interpolators of the third recension put in some few ideas in the epic which they had got from Greek mythology or rather from the career of Heracles. The main epic story all the same remained what it was. That story is so Indian in its conception as well as execution that the Western influences in it will, if at all, be in the nature of interpolations and that too, long after Alexander's time (325 B. C.).

Tradition of the present day respecting the authorship of the epic was created at the time of its third recension. It is created by the account that Vyaasa wrote the epic through his disciples and that Vaishampayana, his disciple, recited it to his descendant, King Janamejaya. Both these facts are added in the epic by its first chapter (Parwa) which is admitted to be the addition of Sauti. This tradition, for its first part, would be fictitious and it would be doubtful regarding the second. Vyaasa is described therein as the grandfather of the Kaurawas and Pandawas (by different wives) and yet his descendant Janamejaya is said to have heard the epic from his disciple Vaishampayana. This is impossible because the generations of descent would simply forbid it. Vyaasa, Pandu, Pandawas (Arjuna), Abhimanyu, Parikshit and Janamejaya—these are the generations, and it is impossible that the last could be the patron of a pupil of the first. If the second part of the tradition is taken by itself, then Vaishampayana may have recited the epic, but it may be that he may not have recited it as well. There is no guarantee that it is not a mere literary pose. If the epic is shorn of the name of Janamejaya, it becomes impossible to fix it in the chronological way. Some have even suggested that Vyaasa, the author of the epic, may be the same as Baadaraayana himself. If that were so, the epic was written in about 200 B.C. which is of course a post-Buddhistic period. The time of the epic, as it is contemplated by its author, is the time which just preceded Parikshit father of Janamejaya, and the latter is (historically as distinct from fictitiously) praised in a laudatory hymn in the appendix to the Atharva Veda. That hymn is no doubt pre-Homeric. But then an author can contemplate any period for his work. If for a moment we hold that Janamejaya and Vyaasa are merely brought in by way of literary poses

into the epic, we can straightway hold that it was a post-Buddhistic work. It was called into existence by a cause, and that cause was the rapid spread of Buddhism. The story of Shri-Hari, as of a god of the Shoora Senas, was for long in existence but not it was adopted by the epic as its own for combating the heresy that was spreading alarmingly. Such a view is possible and even probable were it not for the names of Vyaasa and his four disciples appearing in the Vedic literature of the pre-Buddhistic period. It is necessary, before concluding on this point, to know whether those works were really pre-Buddhistic. As far as I know, there is only one such work and not many.

Our only object in this enquiry is to know whether the epic is pre-Homeric or post-Homeric so that we could rightly infer about the chances of imitation or at least about an inspiration for writing a similar Indian work. In this connection, the journey of Vyaasa to 'the white Island' becomes very relevant. If he had really gone to Shweta-Dweepa, his authorship would be tainted with a Greek bias. His disciples might also be Greeks. They might be Ionians by race but Indians by culture. 'Mantu' in Su-mantu, his disciple, means a 'Mantis' a prophet or soothsayer, but from what time has the word come into vogue ? If it is a Greek word in Indian garb, does it not show a Greek origin for his name ? If the name had a Greek origin, it speaks of much more Greek influence in Indian life than is commonly admitted.

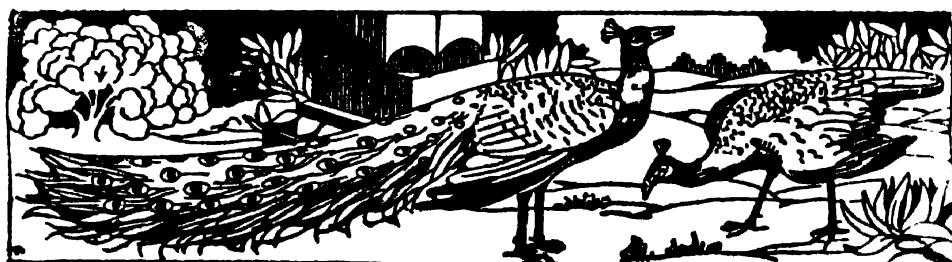
'Vaishampa'-ayana, for its part, may be 'vishampaalayati' but this is a very unusual way of giving its etymology. Vaishanta-ayan would have been comparatively better explained. (Buzantion) Jaimee seems to be a Semitic name (Ben-Jamine, Jemine). Paila (Peleious) is particularly open to Greek

etymology. Paila in Sanskrit would be from Pila which is scarcely a Sanskrit word or name but in Greek it is the familiar name Peleos. All this would be simply forcing Sanskrit names into Greek forms but it is worthwhile doing so in the case of those words that otherwise disclose a possible Greek derivation. Today the names are purely Sanskrit but 2000 years ago they may not have been so.

The map of India in the days of the epic is very different from the map in the Vedic times. The Vedic map included only the province of Punjab together with the country of Afghanistan. The epic map, on the other hand, is not different from the India of today if we allow for the change of names of nationalities. In the days of the epic, Emperor Jaraa-sandha ruled in Magadha (Bihar) ; his friend Shishupala ruled over the neighbouring Anga nation ; beyond these, there were the Wangas (Bengalee) and the Kalingas (Orissa) ; on the Emperor's right were the Kingdoms of Kashi, Kaampilya, Ahi Chhatra etc, and of the Kuru-Panchalas ; to the north of the Kuru-Panchalas were the Madras, Balhikas, Gandhars and Kekayas ; to their south, near Mathura, were the Yadawas. This is all historical and not merely mythological India. Not a single name from amongst these (except Gandhara) is Vedic. At least a millennium must have passed before such a state of things could emerge. This

unmistakably brings us to post-Homeric times. Besides, the art of writing creates the same question. The epic was preferably created when it could be written down. Oral transmission of its vast contents was not probable though it was possible.

Thus, we find that the author of the epic could have borrowed from the *Iliad*, but in fact he has not done so. Herakles is not a hero in the *Iliad*. Shri-Hari's acts in the epic are totally different from and unrelated to his acts in his personal legend. The only link between Herakles and Shri-Hari as appearing in the Indian epic is the number of names and epithets by which the latter is known. If Shri Hari in the epic is known by the name Shri-Krishna alone, the others being forgotten, we would never infer that he may be Herakles in Indian garb, though of course on certain assumptions. The contact of the author of the Indian epic with Homer's *Iliad* is in doubt, and the probability is that there was no such contact at all inspite of the apparent quibbling on Vyaasa's name. Homer and Vyaasa are independent in their own spheres. If some little similarities now and then peep out in their works, they should be attributed rather to the uniformity of human experience than to deliberate plagiarism. Such a plagiarism, to be true, will be of a very different sort. Even Hopkins did not suggest it.,



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Table-IV

Year	Total Population Class I	Growth rate★	Class II	Growth rate	Class III	Growth rate	Class IV	Growth rate	Class V	Growth rate	Class VI	Growth rate
1951	2,37,25,020		75,44,968		1,11,35,350		92,90,827		84,71,910		21,08,654	
1961	3,51,10,251	+4%	96,25,724	+2.4%	1,56,50,419	-3.5%	1,12,57,580	+2%	63,12,590	-2.9%	8,79,375	-8.3%
1971	5,70,16,458	+5%	1,32,23,110	+3.2%	1,88,85,483	+1.9%	1,30,97,780	+1.5%	56,17,716	-1.03%	8,86,535	-16%

* Calculation of annual growth rate.

$$PE = P\sigma (1 + \pi)^E$$

Where PE = Population in year E

P_σ = Original population

E = Time period

π = Annual compound growth rate

$$\frac{\text{Log PE} - \text{Log } P\sigma}{E} = \text{Log} (1 + \pi)$$

$$\text{or, } \pi = \text{Anti Log} \left\{ (\text{Log PE} - \text{Log } P\sigma) - 1 \right\}$$

The table clearly reveals that the increase in population of class I towns is the heaviest i. e. 5% per annum calculated on the basis of compound interest rate formula. The change in class II towns is also significant. The towns of class III and IV show a declining trend. The towns of class V & VI show a negative trend. Evidently there is a heavy migration from class V and VI towns to class I and II. This migration is not due to the demand of labour from class I or II towns. But this migration takes place with the hope of getting glamorous employment in industry and business and finding better housing and medical facilities and education for children. The big and rich farmers also rush to the big cities to enjoy modern living such as telephone, automobile and other electric and electronic equipments. As a result of which the population of big cities is increasing more

rapidly than the number of jobs available to them causing severe unemployment and under employment. The rising population of big cities exerts great pressure and strain on the social services and social overhead investments, which the cities are financially unable to provide. Hence there are deficiencies in basic infrastructure, inadequacy in transportation and inefficiencies in resource allocation. This leads to the retardation of industrialisation and creates bottlenecks to the growth of employment and hampers the national economy.

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WAR ON BLACK MONEY

I. SATYA SUNDARAM

The proliferation of black money on an unprecedented scale in recent times has developed itself into a parallel economy due mainly to some serious blemishes in tax administration in India. Neither the Government nor the public can afford to be nonchalant to the virus of black money especially in view of the acute dearth of financial resources for the government to take up developmental programmes, and also due to abject poverty among the masses.

The Wanchoo Committee was appointed "to examine and suggest legal and administrative measures for countering evasion and avoidance of direct taxes". It was asked to :

- (a) recommend concrete and effective measures (1) to unearth black money and prevent its proliferation through further evasion ; (2) to check avoidance of tax through various legal devices, including the formation of trusts ; and (3) to reduce tax arrears.
- (b) examine various exemptions allowed by the tax laws with a view to their modification, curtailment or withdrawal ; and
- (c) indicate the manner in which tax assessment and administration may be improved for giving effect to all its recommendations.

Black money is generally used to denote

unaccounted money or concealed income and undisclosed wealth. Black money and tax evasion go hand in hand ; and ultimately lead to growing income inequalities and concentration of economic power in the hands of the unscrupulous few.

A galloping growth in the volume of black money, tax evasion and the arrears of uncollected taxes are the two major problems facing the tax administration in India. These two problems have been carefully studied by the Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee (headed by Justice K. N. Wanchoo) which recently submitted its final report to the Government.

Several estimates have been made from time to time to find out the exact volume of black money and of tax evasion. The Wanchoo Committee estimates that in 1968-69, the extent of income tax evaded would be Rs 470 crores on the basis of a concealed income of Rs 1400 crores. The Committee puts the money value of deals involving black income at Rs 7000 crores for the same year i. e. 1968-69.

Dr. D. K. Rangnekar, one of the members of the Wanchoo Committee, doubts the above mentioned estimate. He comes to the conclusion that while black money which slipped through the tax net was about Rs 1031 crores in 1961-62, it rose to Rs 2,833 crores in 1968-69. While the majority in the Committee think that black money is growing at a rate

which is one per cent less than the growth of the national income, Dr. Rangnekar puts its growth rate at one per cent more than the national income.

Whatever may be the exact volume or size of black money there is no doubt that it has reached ominous proportions—the consequences that emanate from this can be ignored at our own peril. The problem of black money is a problem to be faced boldly by the government and the tax administration. This is more urgent because the volume of black money has a tendency to grow at an alarming rate, very often leading to chaos in the economy and ultimately causing its collapse.

The Wanchoo Committee says : Black money symbolised something which violates moral, social, or legal norms. It suggests a veil of secrecy surrounding it. Today black money means unaccounted money or concealed income and or undisclosed wealth. This has become parallel to the official economy. The parallel economy has grown in size and dimensions”.

Black money has three aspects, generation, circulation and accumulation. Black money burns. Like a bad coin, those who receive it are in a hurry to get rid of it. It is thus a source of inflation. It becomes the prime source to support luxurious hotels, night clubs, blue films and similar enterprises. Who will pay, except the people earning black money, the exorbitant rates being charged in the luxurious hotels of big cities ?

Black money is often used for conspicuous consumption and wasteful expenditure, traditional and non-traditional. It is often invested in gold and jewellery. It is primarily responsible for unproductive investment.

One of the reasons very often advanced for the growth of black money is the presence of a very high rate of income tax. It is argued that people are tempted to conceal income and

evasion, if, say more than 90 per cent of their incomes go to the Government in the form of tax. The Wanchoo Committee supported this view and it maintained that the maximum marginal rate of income tax including surcharge should be brought down.

But, all economists do not agree with the view that a drastic reduction in the income tax rate would automatically bring down the volume of black money appreciably. They maintain that it is the loopholes in our tax structure and administration rather than high rates of income tax, that are responsible for the proliferation of black money. Therefore, the need of the hour is to streamline tax administration.

It has been said in a popular weekly, “the idea that a lowering of the taxation levels at the higher reaches will have a profound effect is somewhat naive. The people who make that kind of money (nobody EARNS it) are not governed by moral considerations or financial restraints” (Blitz, May 20, '72).

Between 1961-62 and 1965-66 the highest rate was reduced from 87 per cent to 81.25 per cent and even though it was raised for unearned incomes to 89.4 per cent in 1966-67, this was brought down to 82.5 per cent in 1968-69 and the same highest rate applied to both earned and unearned incomes.

Thus, whether or not a reduction in tax rates would bring down the volume of black money is a moot question. It seems that we should attempt to bring down tax rates, if only it has other beneficial effects, apart from reducing the volume of black money. We believe that streamlining tax administration would greatly reduce the volume of black money.

But, Dr. N. A. Palkhivala, an expert on taxation and constitutional laws had strongly advanced a case for reducing tax rates. He had argued that a reduction in tax rates would

not only solve the problem of black money, but would also increase the revenue to the Government. He says, in his article, "If I were a Finance Minister" (Published in "The Illustrated Weekly of India", March 12, 1972) as follows :

"Black money of which the estimates vary from Rs 200 to Rs 1400 crores per year is India's parallel economy and bids fair to become one day the paramount economy in certain fields. The honour for enthroning black money must be divided equally between our industrial policy which believes in perpetuating shortages and our fiscal policy which believes in putting a strain on public integrity which it cannot possibly bear.

"The rich pay at the high tax rates ; but the entire nation pays FOR the high tax rates. The invisible social cost of crushing taxation is the further debasement of the nation's character, debased as it is now. Tax evasion corrupts the whole society, since it creates inflation by wasteful expenditures ; enables black money to be used to bribe and thus pervert public administration ; and siphons savings from the productive to largely unproductive sectors".

The Wanchoo Committee had recommended demonetisation of high denomination currency notes and also lowering of the income tax levels for unearthing black money and checking tax evasion. It seems that the Government is not in favour of reducing the tax rates. Mr. Chavan also declared that

there was no plan to demonetise the higher denomination currency notes.

In the course of recent five hundred raids on the houses of cine artistes, directors and producers, not more than Rs. 7 crores were unearthed. This does not touch even the fringe of the problem of black money which may be of the order of Rs. 1000 crores, if not more. However, the raids yielded valuable information and documents. Efforts should, however be made to curb the black money "at source", and not after its accumulation. The Committee has also suggested that the Income Tax Department should make an increasing use of its powers of search and seizure in appropriate cases.

Perhaps nowhere in the world, except in India, the marginal rate of taxation is as high as 97.5 per cent. The Committee felt that the prevalence of high tax rates is "the first and foremost reason for tax evasion". The public cannot be convinced that tax evasion is anti-social "so long as the marginal rates of taxation are confiscatory".

Black money inspires people to include in smuggling of gold, diamonds and luxurious goods, and also unauthorised transactions in foreign currency, hoarding, speculation, black marketing and host of other economically and socially obnoxious activities. Black money is the root cause for vulgar display of wealth which is evidenced by ostentatious living and lavish expenditure on weddings and festivals.

W A N T E D

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It is again the black money which is widely used for donations to political parties at the time of elections.

The Committee says that the quantum of penalty imposed for concealment of income should be with reference to the tax sought to be evaded instead of the income concealed. "A penalty based on income instead of tax hits the smaller tax payers more harshly," it observed.

The Committee has also suggested substitution of sales tax by excise duty as far as possible with due care to minimise the cascading effect on prices. Since excise duty is a tax at the source, there will be little scope to evade the tax.

A good amount of black money has been accumulated in the rural sector due mainly to the absence of agricultural income tax. In India, on account of mainly political reasons, a preposterous and perilous distinction has been made between agricultural and non-agricultural incomes. The agricultural income has been left untaxed. It is therefore no surprise that some rich landlords had been accustomed to ostentatious living through black money.

Advancing a case for agricultural income tax in India. The Wanchoo Committee observed, "Agricultural income which is at present outside the central tax net offers plenty of scope for camouflaging black money". The Committee felt that there is an urgent need for uniform tax on agricultural income more or less on par with the taxation on other incomes.

It further says that agriculture "should also contribute to the national exchequer in much the same way as the other sectors are doing. It is also necessary on grounds of equity and distributive justice".

Although agriculture accounts for nearly half of India's national income, the taxes

contributed by it are around Rs 113 crores only whereas the contribution by the non-agricultural sectors is over six times of that figure.

"There is no justifiable reason for this vast disparity between the tax burden on the two sectors particularly when as a result of the green revolution and the price support policy of the Government, income from agricultural holdings has been progressively rising in recent years" the Committee declared.

The Government however wants to wait to take any decision on this controversial issue of imposing agricultural income tax till it gets the report of K. N. Raj Committee. It is very likely that the Raj Committee would advance a strong case for taxing the rural rich, and the Government will not hesitate to implement it.

The Wanchoo Committee had listed a number of causes for the proliferation of black money. Among the contributory factors are the economy of shortages and consequent controls and licences, corrupt business practices, deterioration in moral standards and ineffective enforcement of tax laws.

The Committee had suggested a number of incentives which would not only increase production, but also reduce the temptation of tax evasion. It had advanced a case for abolition of surtax on companies and exemption of new companies from capital levy for a period of five years from the date of their incorporation.

Among the income tax concessions suggested by the Committee to reduce the volume of black money, mention must be made of the establishment of a National Development Fund to which all tax payers other than companies may make contributions repayable after seven years. They should carry an interest of 4.5 per cent. A certain percentage of the contributions should be deducted for

computing the total income for tax purposes. The Committee had made it clear that the Fund should be earmarked by the Government for development projects only.

For the corporate sector, the Wanchoo Committee had suggested the creation of another Fund to be called the Reconstruction and Stabilisation Fund to which all companies may contribute up to a maximum of 10 per cent of their gross income and earn an interest of 6 per cent. These contributions should be deducted in arriving at the total income of the companies for income tax purpose. The Companies would be free to withdraw at any time up to 50 per cent of the deposits for current repairs to buildings or plant and machinery and for research. The remaining 50 per cent of the deposits should become repayable only after five years, and that too with the approval of the Government, again for development purposes only.

Cine artistes earn incomes which are highly disproportionate to their work. There is at present heavy temptation among them to

conceal some part of their exorbitant remunerations to avoid payment of tax. The contribution of film industry to the volume of black money seems to be quite significant.

The Wanchoo Committee had therefore recommended that where the remuneration payable to an artiste under an agreement exceeds Rs. 5000 both the film producer and the artiste should be under a statutory obligation to furnish a copy of the agreement to their respective income tax officers within a period of one month from the date of execution of such an agreement.

Though one might question the efficacy of some of the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee to unearth black money, one should admit that they deserve a fair trial, coming as they do from taxation experts. Apart from streamlining the tax administration, some concrete measures, more or less on the lines of Committee's recommendations, should be taken, before the virus of black money disrupts and creates chaos in our economy.



Current Affairs

Violence for Establishing Rights

Civil commotion and, even, revolutions take place when widely demanded rights are denied to the people of any country. "No taxation without representation" was the demand which led to the "Boston Tea Party" and eventually to the American War of Independence. The right to exclusive employment of the peoples of a racial or linguistic category cannot be compared to the rights that the American or the French People claimed before the American War of Independence or the French Revolution. But such claims can lead to civil commotion and to the destruction of public property. This has, in fact occurred in Andhra Pradesh on a large scale for establishing exclusive rights of employment for particular groups of Indian citizens. Such agitations and violent activities are not in keeping with the provisions of the Indian Constitution. But people in many parts of India are flouting the constitution by their actions against minorities. The Central Government are not taking any action to protect the constitutional rights of the peoples of India in a manner and to the extent that the public expect them to do.

Biological Research in India

Science and Culture publishes an article by U. Sinha about the progress made in Biological Studies and Research in India and we are quoting from that journal to present before our readers the conclusions arrived at by him.

"Spectacular discoveries in genetics and

molecular biology have brought to the surface the basic unity of all life. The invisible microbes and gigantic whale—all have been proved to possess the same basic attributes of life. The universal similarity in the mode of reproduction, metabolism and cell structure of men, millets and microbes unmistakably point to an unified pattern in their integration, differentiation and evolution to different levels of organisation. Biology, therefore, should be presented to the receptive mind as an integrated whole. Gone are the days when a botanist could afford to ignore the microbes or the nasty flies that buzzed over his fresh bananas.....Thus botany, zoology, anthropology, genetics, microbiology, bacteriology, virology, biochemistry, molecular biology, environmental biology etc. cannot and should never be taught in isolation, at least upto the graduate level."

During the days when the late Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose carried on his epoch making researches in plant biology and established the unity that he disclosed to exist between plant and animal life ; the interconnections of the various branches of the science of life were realised and understood to a great extent by scientists. The present developments are largely due to the filling up of gaps by more intensive and detailed researches in these various branches of science,

Russian Methods and Appliances in Mining

Coal mining in the Soviet Union is a very advanced and progressive branch of scientific economic activity. Scientists, industrial experts, technicians and inventors of applia-

ances have combined to make mining easy, less costly, arduous and non-hazardous and highly productive in all mines of the Russian State. Fire, gas, coal dust explosions, and collapsing, of seams etc. etc. have been taken up by the Russians, and methods and means created by which safety and easy working of mines have been assured. Indian mines have benefited too by utilising Russian know how and aids in the field of mining and Indian mines technicians are making the fullest use of Russian knowledge, technique and experience.

International Policy of Rumanian Communist Party

The National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party took place in Bucharest during July 19-21, 1972 when far reaching decisions were taken as a directive to the state to implement. Some of the statements relative to the International Policy and Activity of the Socialist Republic of Romania are reproduced below from the report published by the Foreign Affairs Association of India on Romanian Foreign Policy. Romania paid "Particular attention" in "developing relations with all the socialist countries, to intensifying cooperation with all the states engaged on the road of independent development as well as with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Socialist Republic of Romania has diplomatic and consular relations with 106 states and is developing economic and cooperation exchanges with 110 states" and the National conference took particular notice of these facts which illustrated the "scope of the international activity of the" State. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party is quoted in the above report to have said :

"In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania expands her relations

with the states on the other continents too, in this respect, I should like to mention the progress made in the relations between Romania and Iran, Australia and New Zealand, the upward development of the relations between our country and India and Pakistan. I avail myself of this opportunity to express our satisfaction with the recent agreements between India and Pakistan with a view to the development of an active cooperation between these two countries ; this meets the interests of both peoples, of the cause of strengthening peace on the subcontinent and all over the world. I also wish to mention that our country has recognised Bangla Desh and has established relations with this new state.

Indo-Polish Collaboration in Coal-Mining

Poland is one of the major coal producing countries of the world. The coal fields in Poland are extensive and valuable and the annual coal output of that country comes to nearly 150 million tonnes. Poland's exports of coal are also extensive. In the field of mining technique Poland ranks very high and there is valuable collaboration between India and Poland in the scientific development of coal mines in India. The mines developed with Polish assistance in the Jharia coal fields are a tribute to the mining experts of the East European Communist State. We may mention the Sudamdh and Monidih mines as examples.

Polish Industries Supply Indias' Needs

Polish tractors, ships engines, Machine tools, T N Cameras and a host of other industrially produced goods are now being supplied to India in a competitive manner. People making use of these machinery and appliances express their complete satisfaction with Polish goods. India is the biggest buyer of Polish chemical products in Asia. Poland sends

fertilisers, petro chemical, plastic goods, paints, laquer dyes, medicines and cosmetics to India. The total value of these goods is calculated in hundred of millions of rupees and the trade is growing year by year. Pharmaceuticals perhaps top the list of this extensive assortment of chemical products the annual imports of these goods exceeded 600 million rupees in 1971. Among machine components Poland turns out about 1000 varities of bearings for use in machinery of all kinds. Poland's industrial progress, still in all kinds productive work and technological excellence have been of great use to India.

Sant Fateh Singh

Prem Bhasin writing in *Janata* about Sant Fateh Singh : The Giant Among Sikhs, says the Sant was no ordinary politician. He achieved a number of spectacular objectives out of which one may mention the creation of a Panjab Suba, the severance of the common links binding Punjab, Haryana and Himachal together, the return of Chandigarh to Punjab and the formation of a dominant political force out of a ragged Akali Dal. He

captured the Akali Dal from the hands of Master Tara Singh and put new life into it in a manner which made it in a powerful political party.

Fateh Singh was born in an ordinary peasant family of Bhatinda District. He knew only Punjabi as far as knowledge of languages was concerned and intended to devote his life to religion when he was quite young. He mastered the tenets of Sikhism and learnt the traditions on which rested the strength and vitality of the Sikh Community. Later he went to Ganganagar in Bikaner State and organised the Sikh settlers of that area in a firm and stable manner. He built Gurdwaras, schools and other socio-religious institutions which brought him fame and he began to be called Sant. He stood behind the common people and fought their battle against the feudal aristocracy and the urban industrial owners of factories and other economic masters of the wage earners. He worked hard for his followers and suffered from ill health on account of tasks he set to himself. His death has been an irreparable loss to the poorer members of the Sikh Community.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION TO-DAY AND THE ROLE OF COLLECTOR

A. K. ROY

A district is a unit of administration in our country and Collector being the head of a district administration, he may be called the pivot of administration in the whole country. The concept of administration to-day has completely changed. This change is mainly due to two reasons—firstly attainment of political independence and secondly building up of a welfare state as envisaged in our Constitution. But the bureaucracy is not yet imbued with a new psychology inherent in a free State. The large army of bureaucracy that we have in our country still considers itself to be the master of the people. However by training this new psychology of service and welfare is instilled in the Services, but this new psychology or concept has yet to percolate into the lower rung of administration where it is connected with the public by many vital links.

Mere change in the form of administration is not enough. As we know the oft repeated proverb,—“For forms of government let fools contest, what administers best is the best.” Unless this new psychology of welfare and service concept of administration invigorates every section and branch of the entire administration, even the best constitution that we have framed after independence will not deliver the goods.

It is the administration in the district that produces a profound impact upon the people of the country. A district may be described as the corner-stone on which the entire edifice of administration all over the country is built up. All the functions of various departments of government converge on district administration. Enormous responsibility is shouldered by the Collector to-day as head of district administration.

Although the power and position of the Collector have considerably changed in a

democratic set up, none the less he continues to retain his old image among the majority of the people in the country side. With the rapid expansion of functions of a modern state, Collector as agent of government exercises his powers over a much wider field. In one respect however Collector has lost that power derived from the administration of criminal justice. This is due to separation of judiciary from the executive in the services of a state. It is observed in certain quarters that this separation has resulted in the weakening of the authority of Collector as custodian of law and order in the district. The view is also held that the Police is not as much subordinate to the magistrate as was before separation. The Law Commission in its report says, ‘It needs to be emphasised at the risk of repetition that the scheme of separation will in no way make the path of the wrong doer easier or weaken legitimate authority. The powers necessary for maintaining law and order in the hands of the Collector and his subordinates will remain unaffected’. Whatever may be its repereussion on law and order situation, this separation is desirable as a sound theory of good government creating confidence among the people that justice is being done.

The other factor that has affected the position of the Collector is the advent of the Panchayati Raj. The people's elected representative the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad is likely to become a serious rival of the Collector in the district administration. With the re-introduction and reorganisation of the Zilla Parishad with more powers in Orissa, it is to be seen what position Collector can occupy in relation to the Panchayati Raj. It is believed in certain quarters that times are not far off when with gradual democratic decentralisation all powers of administration will be transferred

as a natural corollary into the hands of an Elected Executive in the district to whom Collector will be responsible for the discharge of all of his duties. In course of time public becoming enlightened, civic-conscious and educated, this possibility cannot be a remote one.

There are three current views or practices relating to Collector's position visavis the Zilla Parishad. The Collector in Maharashtra has been kept outside the purview of the Zilla Parishad. There are strong reasons for this. In the first place, he is likely to play effectively the role as ears and eyes of the state government. In the event of his being associated with the activities of the Zilla Parishad, he cannot play this role without detachment or influence. Secondly inclusion of a civil servant of the rank of Collector in the elected bodies distorts the democratic principle and may lead to serious rivalry between Collector and Chairman of Zilla Parishad. The other view is making Collector a powerful functionary within the Zilla Parishad. This is what we find in Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh the existence of Zilla Development Board with Collector as Chairman besides Collector being the Chairman in all the standing committees have enhanced the authority of Collector and Chairman Zilla Parishad plays a secondary role. It is very aptly said, with the enhanced powers and authority of Collector, the government has physically come down to district level. Between these two extreme views, a third view is that Collector may be associated with the Zilla Parishad occupying the position of a friend, philosopher and guide. This seems to be the proper position of Collector in relation to Zilla Parishad when reintroduced and reorganised in Orissa.

Much controversy is raised in recent times on the dual authority between the Police and the Magistracy in the maintenance of law and order. With the separation of Judiciary from the Executive, the correct course would have

been the transference of the magisterial powers relating to the Preventive Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code into the hands of the Police Magistrates—they may be called so and the term Executive Magistrate seems to be a misnomer. The intermediary class between the Police and the Judiciary seems to be superfluous as it appears to be an anachronism in a free state.

The Collector or the District Magistrate as an agent of the government in the district is to implement the various programmes and policies and therefore in handling law and order problems under preventive sections of the Cr. P. C. he is likely to be influenced by these extraneous circumstances. Hence the same considerations that led to the separation of Judiciary from the Executive are also strong enough to separate the two functions of (1) law and order and (2) development, welfare and revenue now combined in the hands of Collectors.

The role of Police during the British regime was to assist an autocratic government in ruthlessly suppressing all movements to overthrow an alien government. But we cannot say Police to be an engine of oppression in a free country to-day. Police is now an agent of law and not an agent of government in the sense as Collector is. If this concept of functions of the Police is properly understood, then the public will look upon the Police as the custodian of justice, liberty and equality through administration of laws. Is it necessary for the Collector to control the district Police for the execution of government policies and programmes? Whenever there is an apprehension of trouble or violence, the Police may be informed in time by the Collector or by a subordinate officer and it will be the duty of the Police to take all precautionary measures. To say that the functions of the Police will be better performed under the control of the

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magistracy is looking things with prejudiced or jaundiced eyes. This also means belittling our Police Forces.

A view is generally held that the Magistrates are better than Police officers in controlling a mob or a violent agitation and therefore fire order whenever necessary should come from a magistrate present on the spot. Being equipped with arms, the Police is likely to use fire excessively. This view seems to be erroneous. The Police Service is manned to-day by highly educated persons—persons who can well understand the mob psychology or psychology of the people in certain circumstances. They can also understand the various problems—political, economic and social and to suppose that they are inferior to persons in the Administrative Services is to unduly stress on the superiority complex of the latter Services. If the District and Sessions Judge can relieve the District Magistrate of his outmoded responsibility of being the head of the Magistracy in the district, the District Superintendent of Police can, equally well relieve the District Magistrate of his out-dated responsibility of maintaining law and order, which appears to be a secondary role of the Collector to-day in the context of a multiplicity of functions of a welfare state and Panchayati Raj. The Collector is already over burdened with the manifold work connected with land revenue, land reform, welfare, development and relief and it is found he devotes only 2% of his time to law and order matters. The young I. A. S. officer who nowadays holds charge of a district is not well equipped to discharge the functions of law and order, besides he has not the long experience of handling criminal cases like his old predecessor. The number of senior I. A. S. officers posted as District officers has gradually fallen to 19% in 1965 from 45.6% in 1950 and this percentage perhaps has further declined in recent years.

As early as from 1860, there was the controversy about the Police becoming independent of the Magistracy. In a debate raised on Oct. 6, 1860 in the Legislative Council Sir H. B. E. Frere the Home Member pointed out that the Police should be independent of the Magistrate although he supported the existing arrangement as a measure of expediency and expressed the view that it was a temporary measure. The debate on the subject continued for long and it was Sir Stephen who put an end to this controversy by saying, 'the maintenance of the position of the District officer was essential for the maintenance of British Rule in India and that neither from improvement of justice nor for any other purpose should this position be allowed to be weakened'.

This the control of the Police by the Magistracy is a legacy of the British Rule. The Police has been made an instrument of oppression to protect the so-called law and order during the British period and this has instilled in public mind a feeling of hatred and this psychology of hatred cannot be removed to-day unless the Police become an independent force. When the Police is requisitioned by Magistrates to quell any riot or disturbance, the public regard the Police as an instrument of suppression, and there is always a violent reaction. The Police may be compelled to open fire at the order of the Magistrate. But it is seen in majority of cases the odium of public opinion falls on the Police, as the killing of innocent lives is done by the bullet of the Police. There will be much restraint in the use of fire if power and responsibility are combined in one hand. The Magistrate cannot have the right to dictate to what degree or extent and the manner in which fire will be used to control a violent mob. The Police or the Army if called on becomes the undisputed master as regards the use of force. The Magistrate meddling in situations where

technical skill is more important will prove to be a greater failure. This raises a heated controversy to-day among technocrats and generalist administrators.

Let us now examine the role of Collector in development work. With the advent of Five Year Plans and a Welfare State, the enormous task of development devolves on the Collector. The importance of co-ordination in development work cannot be exaggerated, when each Department is engaged in building its empire. In this context, the Collector in a district is just like a Captain, others may say he is also a Referee controlling a game. All Departments of government connected with development or welfare work have their branches and officers in a district to implement various programmes. It has been generally agreed that the Collector will be the Co-ordinator of all development work with the assistance of the district officers in all fields of administration.

Addressing the N.D.C. on 27th Oct. 1964, Late Lal Bahadur Sastri emphasised the role of Collector as a co-ordinate of all developmental activities. Again in a broadcast to the nation on Oct. 10, 1965 the Prime minister emphasised the role of Collector in the drive to attain self-sufficiency in food production. 'The entire team in a district has to work with a sense of dedication in the same manner as a soldier on the battle front. The district officer should regard himself in all humility as commander who has to organise this drive and achieve the target which must be clearly laid down.'

The question is why Collector among all district officers is more eminently fit for this task of co-ordination. The Collector is the symbol of authority of the government in the district and as such he gets from the public and other officers willing co-operation and obedience. This is the reason why the law

and order and revenue officer should be kept in the central stream of development.

The successful implementation of development programme particularly in the rural areas depends on proper co-ordination of various agencies both governmental and non-governmental and willing co-operation of the public in the provision of inputs and supplies and their proper application in the fields. Collector at the head of the district administration invested with governmental powers—both magisterial and others is capable of effective co-ordination at the district level. Even after separation of power—judiciary from the executive, it was found expedient to arm Collector with the powers under the preventive sections of the Cr.P.C., not only for the maintenance of law and order but also for the smooth and peaceful performance of development work. Being the head of the revenue administration as well custodian of law and order in a district, disputes with regard to the release of waters from canals or any other disputes relating to rights over land likely to disturb peace and order call for Collector's intervention.

It should be examined very carefully whether this long tradition of this concentration of authority in the hands of Collector, thus enabling him to play an effective role of co-ordination at the district level can be replaced by decentralised and multiple authorities with the advent of Panchayati Raj and a clamour and discontent of the technocrats.

Two patterns of district administration have emerged in the country during the last ten years. One pattern developed in Maharashtra and Gujrat and the second pattern found favour in Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and other states. In the first pattern of district administration, all district level officers are under the control of the Zilla Parishad and a senior I.A.S. officer is appointed as the Executive Officer of the Zilla

Parishad. Thus the law and order administration and the development work are separated. In this pattern the Collector is not actively or directly associated with development work. But as an agent of the state government, he keeps a watch over the development work and can report of his own accord or when such a report is called for. In the other pattern, both the law and order and development work are combined in the hands of Collector. But in the first pattern, the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad being an elected head is likely to get greater co-operation both from the public and the official class. With a growing democracy and a better sense of responsibility, the association of the symbol of authority with development programmes would be redundant. Thus in the present context of democratic decentralisation, all powers would come from people through their elected representatives. The rule of bureaucracy in the district will be ultimately replaced by the rule of law directly administered by the elected functionary and as pointed out earlier the Chairman Zilla Parishad will control the general administration of the district including law and order and development administration. The role of Collector who will take the position of the Executive officer will be that of a friend, philosopher and guide in the new set up of a district.

While referring to the dual authority of Magistracy and the Police in the maintenance of law and order which is a very peculiar feature of law and order administration in our country having perhaps no parallel instance in any other country, it may very appropriately be pointed out here that a police officer in Great Britain is an independent holder of a public office. He is an agent of the law and order of the land and not of the Police Authority nor of the government. He may be

sued in respect of his own wrongful act. The Police is the sole authority in the maintenance of law and order. There is no intermediary between the Police and Judiciary—styled as the Executive Magistracy. Magisterial powers of the Preventive Sections of Cr.P.C. are normally discharged by the Public Prosecutors both in England and America. "In England the great majority of prosecutions are in fact instituted and conducted by the Police. In case of offences of exceptional gravity, the responsibility of initiating the prosecution lies with an officer known as the Director of Prosecutions. He is an official appointed by the Home Secretary from Barristers or Solicitors of ten years' standing. In the American legal system Prosecutors are generally elected by the people for a fixed term, and appear to enjoy even greater powers than their counterparts in England. The American prosecutor has the power to investigate the case himself. The District Prosecutor has the exclusive power to decide whether to send the accused for trial or not. He may disregard the police investigation or he may supplement it with his own." (The Law Commission of India.)

In order to make separation of judiciary from the executive complete, the power of taking cognizance of an offence and the power to commit for trial which are exercised in England and America by Public Prosecutors should rest with the Executive Magistrates. A Judicial Magistrate's work will only begin from the commencement of the trial of an accused in a Court. In taking cognizance of an offence, a judicial mind is applied, and the recognition of the fact that there is a *prima facie case* for an offence may likely to prejudice the mind of a Judge from the very commencement of the trial.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Facts About Bulgaria

These facts are taken from the official publication *news from Bulgaria*.

Heavy Chemicals :

The Sixth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the Nation's Economy (1971-1975) lays great stress on the further development of our chemical industry. The extensive use of chemical has been a primary concern and a task of the general economic policy of the country. All spheres of life will greatly benefit when this policy is translated into reality : the national economy will be supplied with the necessary fertilizers and plant-protection preparations, the needs of plastics for industry and the everyday requirements of the population will be met, petrochemistry and the production of synthetic fibers will develop further.

Some of the largest combined works and plants of our heavy chemical industry will be built under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The plan envisages that the needs of the nation's economy of fertilizers, soda ash, liquid fuels, chemical fibre, automobile tyres and polyamide cord, and a number of valuable medicines and medical preparations be fully met.

The most important task of our chemical industry is to more than double its production in five years. In 1975 (the last year of the five-year plan) it is to process 12 to 13 million tons of crude oil in the Bourgas and Pleven petrochemical works, to produce about 10 million tons of liquid fuel, 142,000 tons of plastics, synthetic resins and glues, 86,000 tons of synthetic fibre, 727,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizers, 450,000 tons of phosphate fertilizers, 1,462,000 tons of soda ash, 134,000 tons of caustic soda, 1,441,000 automobile tyres,

353,200 tons of paper, 537,000 tons of antibiotics etc. The meeting of these targets will, no doubt, carry the development of the chemical industry still further.

The construction of several combined works and plants of the heavy chemical industry is proceeding at accelerated rates. A combined works for the production of complex fertilizers with an annual capacity of 1,200,000 tons is being built at Devnya. A plant for the production of soda ash with an annual capacity of 1,200,000 tons is also being built there ; it will turn out 20 additional chemical products. A plant for the production of cellulose and artificial fibre is being built on the bank of the Danube near the town of Svishtov. Every year it will turn out 50,000 tons of pure cellulose on the basis of which 28,000 tons of staple fibre, 12,000 tons of polynose fibre, 5,000 tons of rayon and 5,000 tons of cellophane for packings will be made, too. These three plants will be put into operation by the end of the five-year plan and will supply our industry and agriculture with new products.

Viscose Fibre :

By the end of 1975 Bulgaria will be producing 9.7 kg of man-made fibres per capita] of the population and about 50 per cent of all textiles produced there will be made of them. These fabrics are already well-known abroad ; they include the polyester fibre "Yambolen", polyacrylnitrile "Boulana" and polyamide "Vidlon".

A big chemical combine for artificial fibres, "Sviloza", is under construction in the town of Svishtov. The viscose cellulose plant is now nearing completion ; it will manufacture 50,000 tons of cellulose from beech and poplar

timber and provide the raw materials for the viscose staple fibre plant, which is being constructed with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union and which will be completed at the end of the year. This is the first enterprise of this type to be built in Bulgaria. The technological and electrical equipment and the control and measuring devices for it are being supplied mainly from the USSR.

Another important project of the combine will be the viscose silk plant with a capacity of 5,000 tons of silk. Later it will also produce 4,500 tons of cellophane.

Use of Plastics

More than 330,000 tons of plastic products will be produced in this country in the sixth five-year period. The main supplier of the raw materials for this production—the petrochemical industry—will double its capacities and so ensure the necessary raw materials.

The main efforts in this period will be aimed at enlarging and modernizing the processing enterprises. 87,000,000 leva have been provided for this purpose. The building of a new plastic plant, which will turn out 5,600 tons of plastic products a year, is to begin very soon, as well as a plant for plastic matrices and tools of 4,000-ton capacity. The present activities of the Plastics State Economic Corporation, which comprises 15 state plastic plants, make it possible for specialization to continue in this branch.

Plastic products will be most widely used in building. The corporation has worked out a method for making plastic paking, which is intended for the atomic power-station near Kozlodui. A novelty for Bulgaria are the transparent decorative plastic panels for inner partition walls, for the facing of balconies, etc.

Bulgaria exports her products to eighty countries and we find the following facts relating to these exports in the above official publication.

The number of the machines bearing the trade-mark "Made in Bulgaria", which is already known the world over, is increasing every year. Now in addition to separate machines and equipment, whole plants, constructed by Bulgarian specialists and furnished with Bulgarian-made machinery, go to Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

The well-known ELKA electronic calculators, produced at the Orgatehnika plant in Silistra and at the Elektronika Works in Sofia, are in great demand in the international market. At present more than 80 per cent of the output of such machines is exported to the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Great Britain, France and Switzerland.

Bulgarian metal-cutting machinery is sold to more than 60 countries. Recently big orders have been received for the hydraulic hacksaws and the new 01-251 band-shaped machines produced at the metal-cutting machinery plant in Silistra.

The lorries, which are assembled at the Madara Plant in Shoumen, are in demand not only in this country, but also in more than 15 other countries.

The new types of cables made by the Vaseil Kolarov Metallurgical Plant in Bourgas are exported to ten countries.

In a period of five years the storage battery plant in Tolbouh has succeeded in winning popularity for its production in the international market. 90 per cent of its products are exported to 20 countries. In the current year more than 15,000 storage batteries have already been sent abroad, mostly to the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Italy.

As a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Bulgaria produces at present more than 270 engineering products. Machines with the trade-mark "Made in Bulgaria" are exported to 80 countries.

A part from economic achievements the following description of Bulgaria's achievements at the last Olympic Games shows how progressive that country is in the field of games and sports.

Twenty-one medals of which 6 gold, 10 silver and 5 bronze—this goes to the credit of Bulgarians who competed at the 20th summer Olympic Games in Munich. These were won at Olympics where nearly 50 world, 90 Olympic and numerous national records were broken. They won them at Olympics where one could hardly enter the top six leaning on the "gold" achievements from the previous games in Mexico. They won them in competition against the best sportsmen of 123 states. In the unofficial standings of the countries Bulgaria ranks eighth with her points scored and ninth with her medals won, leaving behind such countries with Olympic traditions of long standing as Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, France, Finland, Czechoslovakia and Canada. A true sports feat to surpass even the most daring forecasts and to remain a glorious page in the history of Bulgarian sports !

Another characteristic fact : unlike the past when points had been scored almost solely by wrestlers, now the number of events where Bulgarian sportsmen ranked high rose sharply. Weightlifters, who had not scored a single point in Mexico, now brought home three gold and two silver medals and won the world title for Bulgaria in the team standings which is valid for the world championships too. It was for the first time that Bulgarian women athletes, though in a few events only, were placed among the strongest in the world with achievements rivalling the best. And for the first time a Bulgarian woman set an Olympic record in athletics—Svetla Zlateva in the 800-metre run. For the first time did Bulgarian boxers come home with a gold and a silver

medal. Rowers also won a bronze medal. And again for the first time did a Bulgarian cyclist score a point at Olympic games.

Here are the names of those who were worthy of Bulgaria's sporting honour at the Olympics, who raised her prestige and made people pronounce her name with respect in Munich.

Gold medalists : Norair Nourikyan, weightlifting, 60 kg class—402.5 kg equalized world and new Olympic record (127.5, 117.5, 157.5); Yordan Bikov, weightlifting, 74 kg class—485 kg, new world and Olympic record (160, 140, 185); Andon Nikolov, weightlifting, 90 kg class—525 kg (180, 115, 190); Georgi Kostalinov, boxing in the 51 kg class; Peter Kirov, wrestling, Graco-Roman style, 52 kg class; Georgi Murkov, wrestling, Graeco-Roman style, 62 kg class.

Silver medalists: Angel Angelov, boxing, 63.5 kg class ; Alexander Kralchev, weightlifting 110 kg class—562.5 kg (197.5, 162.5 202.5); Atanas Shopov, weightlifting, 90 kg class—517.5 kg (180, 145,,192.5); Mladen Kouchev, weightlifting, 67.5 kg class—450 kg (157.5, 125, 167.5); Diana Yorgova, long jump, 6'77 metress; Yordank Blagoeva, high jump—188 cm; Alexander Tomov,wrestling, Graeo Roman style,over 100 kg class; Osman Douraliev, freestyle wrestling, class over 100 kg; Ognyan Niko lov, freestyle wrestling 48 kg class; Stoyan Apostolov, wrestling, Graeco Roman style, 68 kg class.

Bronze medallists : Vassilka Stoeva, discuss throw—64.34 metres; Ivanka Hristova, shot put —19.35 metres; Ivan Krustev, freestyle wrestling 62 kg class; Stefan Angelov, wrestling, Graeco-Roman style, 48 kg class; Fedya Damyanov and Ivan Burchin, canoe-kayak.

Bulgaria's so far best performance at the Olympic games is a law-governed phenomenon resulting from the general upsurge of physical culture and sports, from the particular attention paid to their development.

Medical science is well advanced in Bulgaria. We are given the following details about occupational diseases and how these are being fought :

The rapid development of Bulgaria's economy brought about a rise in the number of industrial and office workers, who marked more than a four-fold increase as compared with 1948. At the same time, the state's concern about the application of the principles of contemporary labour hygiene was enhanced as well as the struggle against occupational diseases and the system of efficient sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The country's network of health broadened, special hospitals, polyestabliment for workers clinics and sanatoria for workers were set up at the large plants. The enterprises participated in financing their construction and up-to-date equipment.

Research institutes came into being which dealt with the problems of sanitation, about protection and occupational pathology, such as the Institute of Labour Hygiene and safety, the Transport Workers' Medical Institute, several special chairs at the institutions of higher learning, sanitary and epidemiological departments, labour safety department at the Central Trade Union Council, etc. All these institutions render assistance to the workers' health services. They study and control working conditions and those of technological safety, follow up the development of occupational injuries and diseases and promptly take the necessary sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The shop physicians, medical assistance and nurses are those who are in closest contact with the workers. In their activities they combine prevention and treatment. They are supervised and assisted by the hospital specialists in the epidemiology departments of labour hygiene. Together with the doctors at the

workers' and distrretet hospitals and polyclinics they render highly specialized medical service. Their attention is on the alert timely to discover all injuries to the workers' health. Periodical medical check-ups are carried out. In Sofia, alone, more than 40,500 laboratory examinations were made in 1971 of the sanitary state of working conditions.

Some working people are sent to stay at the prophylactoria without interrupting their work. Other are sent for treatment to health resorts. Prophylactic physical exercises are organized at the different enterprises, which have a favourable effect on the workers' health. Timely and to the point health lectures on personal and public sanitation are held.

As a result, the workers' regime of work and leisure has been considerable improved. The concentration of noxious substances in the air at workshops and offices has been greatly reduced and this has contributed for the gradual reduction of some occupational diseases and intoxications. Bulgaria is among the first countries in the world in lead production, but thanks to the active prophylactic work carried on, there are no cases of grave poisonings. The number of those suffering from silicosis has fallen sharply, and in recent years there have been only isolated cases, while almost all other occupational diseases have appeared in less serious forms.

And the scientists who are assisting the Bulgarian Nation to achieve success in various fields have mentioned too. We have been told :

In the last decade the number of research workers in Bulgaria has doubled to reach 13,000. At present 2,600 of them have scientific degrees : 30 academicians and corresponding members, 150 professors and more than 1,500 senior scientific workers, etc., are working in the three academies, in 300 scientific and development institues and organizations and in 28 higher educational institutes.

Almost one-third of all research workers are women.

These Bulgarian specialists are linking their activities still more closely with the process of socialist construction. The scientific sections in the intensive branches of the economy, which are concerned with practical research, doubled in size in the last five years. At present they account for about 77 per cent of the scientific workers in the country, while about 72 per cent of those, who are working in industry, are concentrated in the sphere of engineering. In recent years the scientific organizations have been elaborating documentation for more than 1,000 industrial products annually; new technologies, prospects for raising the degree of mechanization and automation in production, etc.

The present and future generations of scientific workers in Bulgaria are developing according to a detailed plan.

According to forecasts, in 1980 the number of research workers will reach 30,000 people, 10,330 postgraduates course of study will be undertaken and 1,200 doctoral theses will be defended. Priority will be given to the spheres of economics and the physical and mathematical sciences. Great attention have been paid of late to improving the quality of scientific training and qualification, as well as to increasing the involvement of younger experts in scientific activity. The intensive integration of science and production on the one hand, and higher education on the other, provide extremely favourable conditions. The selection of the young workers and their training under well-known researchers in academies and specialists in the industrial enterprises will become an invariable rule, secured by the new structure of higher education. Recently a new law came into force in Bulgaria; it envisages even stiffer conditions for the awarding of scientific qualifications.

It also points out that scientific titles can not only be given, but also taken away, if the research workers do not justify them.

International Terrorism

Abba Eban Foreign Minister of Israel delivered an address in the 27th session of the General Assembly of the UN which is reproduced below in part from *News From Israel*.

When the Secretary General decided to inscribe an agenda item on international terrorism he was giving a correct and preceptive interpretation of his rights and duties under the charter. Organized groups of terrorists, for whom violence is both a means and an end, are threatening the texture of international life. Innocent civilians live in fear of attack by murder squads from abroad. The airlines work in an atmosphere of vulnerability. The international mails are violated by the assaults of cowardly men whose malice knows no restraint or compassion.

Once the deliberate and unprovoked murder of unarmed civilians is justified by reference to the murderers' "motives" or "frustrations", we might as well include murder amongst the legitimate indulgences of a permissive society and wipe the sixth commandment of the tablet of man's ethical history.

In addition to the need for international and national action there is an important area for regional cooperation. The terrorists have made the liberal societies of Western Europe the main arena of their activities. It is here that the majority of outrages against vulnerable aircraft and civilian establishments have taken place. We attach importance and interest to the discussion initiated by the Federal Republic of Germany at the Council of Ministers of the European Community a few weeks ago regarding measures to combat international terrorism.

In this context, I would like to discuss the

methods used by Arab terrorist organisations, their political aims, and above all the crucial role of Arab governments in creating and maintaining them—from the early 1950s to the present day.

In the history of revolutionary violence there is a constant clash between ends and means. But in the Arab terrorist movement, dedicated to enslavement and genocide, there is no such ambivalence. The aims which Arab terrorism serves are even worse than the means that it employs. The means are murder and kidnapping. The aim is not to win freedom for the Arab nation whose freedom is amply and lavishly assured, but to liquidate the national liberation which the most ancient of nations has already achieved.

There is no need of interpretation here. Quotation is enough. The Palestine terrorist organizations are not at all concerned with finding a solution for the problems of Palestinian Arabs within the framework of a Middle East of which Israel forms a part. This, is what they are fighting to prevent, the aim is more radical. Let their leader Yasser Arafat speak for himself : "Al-Fatah started its activities in 1956 and its armed struggle in 1965. Its aim is the liquidation of Zionist Israeli existence".

President Sadat is particularly frank on this theme. He said on June 2, 1971 to the Egyptian National Council—I heard it on the Egyptian radio : "The Zionist conquest to which we are being subjected will not be terminated by the return of the occupied territories. This is a new crusader war which will persist during our generation and through coming one".

A compact expression of this policy came from the former Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad, in a press conference in Paris on October 1, 1971 : "I give complete support to the organizations and their programme of wiping out the Jewish State".

The concept of "policide"—the extinction of the identity and personality of a sovereign state is so unfamiliar, indeed unique, that it may be difficult for other governments to grasp its significance.

Israelis study this motion against the background of another unique experience, the memory of which no other people has ever shared. In the Hitler decade we learned that some things are too terrible to believe—but that nothing in our people's history is too terrible to have happened.

In questioning Israel's axiomatic right to security and independence the terrorist organizations commit the most disruptive heresy at work in the life of our age. They rise up in brutal revolt against history, law, justice, humanity, and peace. There are now eighteen Arab states with a population of a hundred million, an area of 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles and unlimited wealth and opportunity. Facing them alone on the scale of equity is the small State of Israel. There is, therefore, only one nation which stands or falls in history by the way in which this conflict is resolved. By its solitude and uniqueness Israel's secure existence is the overriding moral, imperative in this dispute. The moral quality of the Arab terrorists organizations is determined not only by their brutal acts but by the destructive vision which inspires them. Their close links with Neo-Nazi and Anti-Semitic organizations are in full harmony with their inner nature.

I have said that the resurgence of Arab terrorism is a massive obstacle on the road to peace. This is not only a reflection on the psychological atmosphere. It is true that a condition of hate, fear, bloodshed and bereavement worked against the prospect of a conciliatory effort which would be difficult enough in any case. What is no less grave is that we find it impossible to accept the distinction between these organizations and the Arab

governments which are our destined partners in the peace effort. The support given by these governments to the organizations undermine the credibility of their professions of peaceful purpose—and even the professions are few and far between.

Egyptian support for the terrorists finds expression in the press, radio and television. The terrorist leaders see Cairo, as the centre at which they coordinate matters of common concern with the Egyptian authorities and the Arab League. Egypt serves as the centre where the heads of the terrorist movements meet the representatives of the various Arab countries passing through Cairo. Not a week passes without a central Egyptian personality meeting with a terrorist leader for coordination and cooperation. Cairo radio gives a special programme on Palestine in which terrorist activities are constantly praised.

The special radio station broadcasting from

Cairo, called "Saut Falastin", belongs entirely to the terrorists, they are free to broadcast whatever they like. The station broadcasts constant agitation and incitement against Israel. It justifies every terrorist action.

Egyptian support on the military level is very broad. On many occasions delegations of the organizations with Arafat at their head pay visits to Egyptian army camps in the rear and at the front. Arafat wears an Egyptian army decoration for valour.

The terrorist organizations are permitted to carry on activity everywhere in the country to mobilize volunteers. Apart from their own independent mobilization machinery, they receive active support in this respect from the Lybian Embassy in Cairo, which openly signs up volunteers, pays them and sends them to Libya for training.

Delegations from the various terrorist organizations receive information and instruction

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in Egyptian military bases. The Fatah stands apart from the rest and has special privileges in Egypt. Its members actually go through training together with Egyptian soldiers in the ranks of the Egyptian army.

In Lebanon there are 5,000 terrorists whose constant activity is undisturbed by the authorities. Under the Cairo agreement of 1969 between Lebanon and the terrorist organizations the Lebanese government granted the terrorists legal recognition, freedom to organize and a base for activity against Israel.

Beirut is the seat and centre of terrorist planning and propaganda. It is from Beirut that groups set out with detailed plans to commit murders and set off explosions in Europe and elsewhere. It was in Beirut and Baalbek that Kozo Okamoto received shelter and training for his assault on the airport at Lod.

Syria was the first Arab state which supported terrorist activities from the outset. President Asad said on 2 September, 1971 in the weekly journal "El Musawar" that "The fedayeen are to be found in more than one area of Syria, and they have absolute freedom of movement on the Syrian front. Moreover we encourage and stimulate them, and often we complain that they are not sufficiently active."

Lybian support for terrorist assaults in the Middle East and Europe needs no documentation. President Qadhafi's admiration of the Munich murderers was rhapsodic and explicit.

Whatever the position may be with other terrorist groups, there is no truth in a discussion of Arab terrorism which does not face the fact that it is a recognized arm of Arab governments in a policy of war against Israel. These organizations could not exist, still less function, without the shelter, support, endorsement, financial aid, arms, training facilities and territorial bases supplied by

sovereign Arab states. All the activities of these organizations without exception violate the principles which the signatories of the charter, including Arab signatories, pledged themselves to defend.

The attitude to Arab Governments towards Arab terrorists is today a graver obstacle to peace than the admittedly disparate positions of the parties to the problems of withdrawal, boundaries, navigation etc. I say in all frankness. I do not today believe that Egypt and Syria are willing or that Lebanon is able to make peace with Israel and in that profound scepticism the attitude of those movements to terrorism plays a central role.

Jews in Arab Countries and in Russia

Abba Ebon also referred to the condition of Jewish people in Arab countries as well as in the Soviet Union. He said :—

At the same time our Jewish destiny and responsibility inspire our concern for the fate of the small Jewish minority still lingering in Syria. In Syria 4,500 Jews are held as helpless hostages, forbidden to depart, discriminated against and humiliated. Their movement within the country restricted, essential services denied to them, their property confiscated, their livelihood in constant jeopardy.

This matter of the plight of Syrian Jewry has been brought to the United Nations Assembly and to its committees in the past. Two years ago committees to help the Jews of the Arab countries arose in 23 different lands in 4 continents, and an International Committee on behalf of the Jews of the Arab Countries came into existence. This committee counts among its members prominent people of different views and from different walks of life, all united in their humanitarian concern for the fate of the Jews of the Arab countries.

Some of the Arab Countries responded to

the humanitarian pressure of world public opinion and permitted the Jews who had remained on their territories to leave. Only Syria has persisted in its stubborn position. Public opinion will not rest nor remain silent until the imprisoned are released and until the Jews of Syria are permitted to reach safety.

As part of the attempts made by the Soviet Government to dissuade Jews from submitting applications for exit permits for Israel, that Government has decided on 3 August to impose a special tax on Jews with higher education who wish to go to Israel. This tax effectively deprives thousands of Jews of any possibility and any hope ever to join their families and to realize their national aspirations. A scale has been established for each level of education, sometimes reaching 25,000 U.S. Dollars and more per person.

The Soviet argument on the brain-drain is irrelevant and inapplicable. The Soviet Union is not one of the needy developing countries, and Israel is not offering Jewish members of the professions who come from the Soviet Union superior financial rewards.

Israel is only able to give them a home, where they will feel as Jews who are not being discriminated against because of their being Jews. Likewise irrelevant is the Soviet argument that graduates are obliged, as it were, to repay the cost of their education.

The noted demographer, Urlanis, states in an article published on 26 July 1970 in Literaturnaya Gazeta, that in the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union the average university graduate repays by four years work the state's investment in his training. The majority of the scientists have thus already repaid that investment many times over by their creativity, invention, research and professional work. This decree constitutes not only harassment and oppression of thousands of Jews, it is a serious infringement on intellectual freedom and scientific liberty. It creates a new enslavement—the enslavement of scientists and intellectuals—whose only crime is that they have studied and worked and contributed to the progress of their country and that today they obey the call of their conscience and wish to pursue their intellectual and social vocation elsewhere.

Scientific personalities and institutions across the world have reacted with astonishment and indignation to this limitation of intellectual freedom. It is precisely because we wish to see a greater harmony between East and West in all fields including that of science that we raise our voice in protest against this super-fluous obstacle to international coexistence.



